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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xiii
ORATION I.—PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS	5
ORATION II.—THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CON- STANTIUS, OR, ON KINGSHIP	133
ORATION III.—PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPRESS EUSEBIA	275
ORATION IV.—HYMN TO KING HELIOS DEDICATED TO SALLUST	353
ORATION V.—HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS . . .	443
INDEX	505

V. 1
1.2
17M413

INTRODUCTION

FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS,¹ son of Julius Constantius and nephew of the Emperor Constantine, was born at Constantinople in 331 A.D. His father, eldest brother, and cousins were slain in the massacre by which Constantius, Constantine II., and Constans secured the empire for themselves on the death of their father Constantine in 337. Julian and his elder brother Gallus spent a precarious childhood and youth, of which six years were passed in close confinement in the remote castle of Macellum in Cappadocia, and their position was hardly more secure when, in 350, Gallus was elevated to the Caesarship by Constantius, who, after the violent deaths of his two brothers, was now sole ruler of the empire. But Julian was allowed to pursue his favourite studies in Greek literature and philosophy, partly at Nicomedia and Athens, partly in the cities

¹ The chief sources for the life of Julian are his *Orations*, his *Letter to the Athenians*, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Orations* and *Epistles* of Libanius.

INTRODUCTION

of Asia Minor, and he was deeply influenced by Maximus of Ephesus, the occult philosopher, Libanius of Nicomedia, the fashionable sophist, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator, the only genuine philosopher among the sophists of the fourth century A.D.

When the excesses of the revolutionary Gallus ended in his death at the hands of Constantius, Julian, an awkward and retiring student, was summoned to the court at Milan, where he was protected by the Empress Eusebia from the suspicions of Constantius and the intrigues of hostile courtiers. Constantius had no heir to continue the dynasty of the Constantii. He therefore raised Julian to the Caesarship in 355, gave him his sister Helena in marriage, and dispatched him to Gaul to pacify the Gallic provinces. To the surprise of all, Julian in four successive campaigns against the Franks and the Alemanis proved himself a good soldier and a popular general. His *Commentaries* on these campaigns are praised by Eunapius¹ and Libanius,² but are not now extant. In 357-358 Constantius, who was occupied by wars against the Quadi and the Sarmatians, and threatened with a renewal of hostilities by the Persian king Sapor, ordered Julian,

¹ fr. 89.

² Epistle, 33.

INTRODUCTION

who was then at Paris, to send to his aid the best of the Gallic legions. Julian would have obeyed, but his troops, unwilling to take service in the East, mutinied and proclaimed him Emperor (359 A.D.). Julian issued manifestoes justifying his conduct to the Senates of Rome and Athens and to the Spartans and Corinthians, a characteristic anachronism, since their opinion no longer had any weight. It was not till 361 that he began his march eastward to encounter the army of Constantius. His troops, though seasoned and devoted, were in numbers no match for the legions of his cousin. But the latter, while marching through Cilicia to oppose his advance, died suddenly of a fever near Tarsus, and Julian, now in his thirtieth year, succeeded peacefully to the throne and made a triumphal entry into Constantinople in December, 361.

The eunuchs and courtiers who had surrounded Constantius were replaced by sophists and philosophers, and in the next six months Julian set on foot numerous economic and administrative reforms. He had long been secretly devoted to the Pagan religion, and he at once proclaimed the restoration of the Pagan gods and the temple worship. Christianity he tolerated, and in his brief reign of sixteen months the Christians were not actively persecuted. His

INTRODUCTION

treatise *Against the Christians*, which survives only in fragments, was an explanation of his apostasy. The epithet "Apostate" was bestowed on him by the Christian Fathers. Meanwhile he was preparing—first at Constantinople then at Antioch, where he wrote the *Misopogon*, a satire on the luxury and frivolity of the inhabitants—for a campaign against Sapor, a task which he had inherited from Constantius. In March, 362 he left Antioch and crossed the Euphrates, visited Carrhae, memorable for the defeat of Crassus, then crossed the Tigris, and, after burning his fleet, retired northwards towards Armenia. On the march he fought an indecisive battle with the Persians at Maranga, and in a skirmish with the retreating enemy he was mortally wounded by a javelin (January 26th, 363). His body was carried to Tarsus by his successor the Emperor Jovian, and was probably removed later to Constantinople. The legend that as he died he exclaimed: Γαλιλαῖε νενίκηκας, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!" appears first in the Christian historian Theodoret in the fifth century. Julian was the last male descendant of the famous dynasty founded by Constantius Chlorus.

In spite of his military achievements, he was, first of all, a student. Even on his campaigns he took his

INTRODUCTION

books with him, and several of his extant works were composed in camp. He had been trained, according to the fashion of his times, in rhetorical studies by professional sophists such as Libanius, and he has all the mannerisms of a fourth century sophist. It was the sophistic etiquette to avoid the direct use of names, and Julian never names the usurpers Magnentius, Silvanus, and Vetranio, whose suppression by Constantius he describes in his two first *Orationes*, regularly refers to Sapor as "the barbarian," and rather than name Mardonius, his tutor, calls him "a certain Scythian who had the same name as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Hellas."¹ He wrote the literary Greek of the fourth century A.D. which imitates the classical style, though barbarisms and late constructions are never entirely avoided. His pages are crowded with echoes of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates, and his style is interwoven with half verses, phrases, and whole sentences taken without acknowledgment from the Greek masterpieces. It is certain that, like other sophists, he wished his readers to recognise these echoes, and therefore his source is always classical, so that where he seems to imitate Dio Chrysostom or Themistius, both go back to a common source, which

¹ 352 A.

INTRODUCTION

Julian had in mind. Another sophistic element in his style is the use of commonplaces, literary allusions that had passed into the sophistic language and can be found in all the writers of reminiscence Greek in his day. He himself derides this practice¹ but he cannot resist dragging in the well-worn references to Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander, to the nepenthe poured out by Helen in the *Odyssey*, to the defiance of nature by Xerxes, or the refusal of Socrates to admit the happiness of the Great King. Julian wished to make Neo-Platonism the philosophy of his revived Hellenism, but he belonged to the younger or Syrian branch of the school, of which Iamblichus was the real founder, and he only once mentions Plotinus. Iamblichus he ranked with Plato and paid him a fanatical devotion. His philosophical writing, especially in the two prose *Hymns*, is obscure, partly because his theories are only vaguely realised, partly because he reproduces the obscurity of his model, Iamblichus. In satire and narrative he can be clear and straightforward.

¹ 236 A.

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¹ The text of the present edition is Hertlein's, revised.

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THE ORATIONS OF
THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION I

VOL. I.

B

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION I

JULIAN's training in rhetoric left its mark on all his writings, but technically speaking his work as a Sophist is comprised in the three panegyrics (Orations 1-3) and the prose "Hymns" (Orations 4-5). Oration 1 was considered his masterpiece and was used as a model by Libanius. It was written and probably delivered in 355 A.D., before Julian went to Gaul. The excuse of being an amateur is a commonplace (τόπος) in this type of epideictic speech. He follows with hardly a deviation the rules for the arrangement and treatment of a speech in praise of an emperor (βασιλικὸς λόγος) as we find them in Menander's handbook of epideictic oratory written in the third century A.D. The speech is easily analysed. First comes the prooemium to conciliate the audience and to give the threads of the argument, then the praises of the emperor's native land, ancestors, early training, deeds in war (ὁ περὶ τῶν πράξεων λόγος) and in peace (ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης λόγος), and the stereotyped contrasts with the Persian monarchs, the Homeric heroes, and Alcibiades. In the two last divisions the virtues of Plato's ideal king are proved to have been displayed by Constantius, his victories are exaggerated and his

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION I

defeats explained away. Then comes a description of the happy state of the empire and the army under such a ruler, and the panegyric ends abruptly without the final prayer (εὐχή) for the continuance of his reign, recommended by Menander. This peroration has evidently been lost. The arrangement closely resembles that of Oration 3, the panegyric on the Empress Eusebia, and the "Evagoras" of Isocrates, which Julian frequently echoes. Julian's praises were thoroughly insincere, a compulsory tribute to a cousin whom he hated and feared.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΟΝ

Πάλαι με προθυμούμενον, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πράξεις ὑμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας ὅπως ἀνήρηκας, τῆς μὲν λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ τοὺς δορυφόρους ἀποστήσας, τῆς δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσας, τὸ μέγεθος εἶργε τῶν πράξεων, οὐ τὸ βραχὺ λειφθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἔργων δεινὸν κρίνοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ παντελῶς τῆς ὑποθέσεως διαμαρτεῖν δόξαι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν ποίησιν διατρίβουσιν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαδίως ἔξεστιν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῶν σοι πραχθέντων· περίεστι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ 2 τῆς τοῦ λέγειν μελέτης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις συνηθείας τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐν δίκῃ. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν τοιούτου μέρους κατωλιγώρησαν, ὥρμησαν δ' ἐφ' ἕτερον παιδείας εἶδος καὶ λόγων ξυγγραφὴν οὐ δῆμῳ κεχαρισμένην οὐδ' ἐς θεάτρα παντοδαπὰ τολμῶσαν ἀποδύεσθαι, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰκότως εὐλαβεστέρως. ἔστι γὰρ οὐκ ἄδηλον τοῦθ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς Μοῦσαι καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν B ἐκείθεν ἐπιπνεομένους τὴν ποίησιν γράφειν ἄφθονον

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS

I HAVE long desired, most mighty Emperor, to sing the praises of your valour and achievements, to recount your campaigns, and to tell how you suppressed the tyrannies; how your persuasive eloquence drew away one usurper's¹ bodyguard; how you overcame another² by force of arms. But the vast scale of your exploits deterred me, because what I had to dread was not that my words would fall somewhat short of your achievements, but that I should prove wholly unequal to my theme. That men versed in political debate, or poets, should find it easy to compose a panegyric on your career is not at all surprising. Their practice in speaking, their habit of declaiming in public supplies them abundantly with a well-warranted confidence. But those who have neglected this field and chosen another branch of literary study which devotes itself to a form of composition little adapted to win popular favour and that has not the hardihood to exhibit itself in its nakedness in every theatre, no matter what, would naturally hesitate to make speeches of the epideictic sort. As for the poets, their Muse, and the general belief that it is she who inspires their verse, obviously gives them unlimited

¹ Vetricano.

² Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

παρέχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πλάσματος· τοῖς
 ῥήτορσι δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὴν ἴσιν παρέσχευεν ἄδειαν,
 τὸ μὲν πλάττειν ἀφελομένη, τὸ δὲ κολακεύειν
 οὐδαμῶς ἀπαγορεύσασα, οὐδὲ αἰσχύνην ὁμολογου-
 μένην τῷ λέγοντι τὸ ψευδῶς¹ ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς οὐκ
 ἀξίους ἐπαίνου κρίνασα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπειδὰν καινόν
 τινα μῦθον καὶ μηδέπω τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπινοηθέντα
 φέρωσιν αὐτοὶ ξυνθέντες, τῷ ξένῳ τοὺς ἀκούοντας C
 ψυχαγωγήσαντες πλέον θαυμάζονται· οἱ δὲ τῆς
 τέχνης ἀπολαῦσαί φασιν ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι περὶ τῶν
 μικρῶν μειζόνως διελθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀφελεῖν
 τῶν ἔργων τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὅλως ἀντιτάττειν τῇ
 τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει τὴν δύναμιν² τῶν λόγων.

Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ταύτης ἐμαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ
 παρόντος ἐν χρεῖα τῆς τέχνης, ἦγον ἂν τὴν προ-
 σήκουσαν ἡσυχίαν τοῖς ἀμελετήτως ἔχουσι τῶν
 τοιούτων λόγων, παραχωρῶν τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων D
 ἐκείνοις, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαν
 τοῦναντίον ὁ παρὼν ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἀπλὴν διήγησιν οὐδενὸς ἐπεισάκτου κόσμου
 δεομένην, ἔδοξε καμοὶ προσήκειν, τοῦ³ ἀξίως
 διηγῆσασθαι τῶν ἔργων ἀνεφίκτου καὶ τοῖς προλα-
 βοῦσιν⁴ ἤδη φανέντος. ἅπαντες γὰρ σχεδὸν οἱ
 περὶ παιδείαν διατρίβοντές σε⁵ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ 3
 καταλογάδην ὑμνοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἅπαντα περι-
 λαβεῖν ἐν βραχεὶ τολμῶντες, οἱ δὲ μέρεσιν
 αὐτοὺς ἐπιδόντες τῶν πράξεων ἀρκεῖν ᾤθησαν,

¹ ψεῦδος V. ² τὴν δύναμιν Wytttenbach, δύνασθαι τὴν
 MSS, Hertlein. ³ τοῦ Reiske adds. ⁴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν
 Hertlein suggests, τότε προλαβοῦσιν MSS, ⁵ σε Schaefer adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

license to invent. To rhetoricians the art of rhetoric allows just as much freedom ; fiction is denied them, but flattery is by no means forbidden, nor is it counted a disgrace to the orator that the object of his panegyric should not deserve it. Poets who compose and publish some legend that no one had thought of before increase their reputation, because an audience is entertained by the mere fact of novelty. Orators, again, assert¹ that the advantage of their art is that it can treat a slight theme in the grand manner, and again, by the use of mere words, strip the greatness from deeds, and, in short, marshall the power of words against that of facts.

If, however, I had seen that on this occasion I should need their art, I should have maintained the silence that befits those who have had no practice in such forms of composition, and should leave your praises to be told by those whom I just now mentioned. Since, on the contrary, the speech I am to make calls for a plain narrative of the facts and needs no adventitious ornament, I thought that even I was not unfit, seeing that my predecessors had already shown that it was beyond them to produce a record worthy of your achievements. For almost all who devote themselves to literature attempt to sing your praises in verse or prose ; some of them venture to cover your whole career in a brief narrative, while others devote themselves to a part only, and think that if they succeed in doing justice to that part they have proved themselves equal to the task.

¹ Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 42 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

εἰ τούτων τῆς ἀξίας μὴ διαμάρτοιεν. ἄξιον δὲ ἄγασθαι τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων, ὅσοι τῶν σῶν ἐπαίνων ἤψαντο. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν σοι πραχθέντων ἀμαυρωθείη, τὸν μέγιστον ὑποδῦναι πόνον ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτήσῃν ἤλπιζον, τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην ἐν μέρει προύφηναν, ἄμεινον τοῦ τῆς B
σιωπῆς ἀκινδύνου γέρωσ κρίναντες κατὰ δύναμιν σοι τῶν οἰκείων πόνων ἀπάρξασθαι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ὧν ἐτύγχανον τῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεικτικούς ἀγαπώντων λόγους, ἐχρῆν ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως, τὴν ἴσην εὖνοιαν ἀπαίτησαντα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἤδη σοι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ δεηθέντα τῶν λόγων ἀκροατὴν εὐμενῇ γενέσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον κριτὴν καταστήναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ἄλλοις μαθήμασι τραφέντες C
καὶ παιδευθέντες, καθάπερ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ νόμοις, ἀλλοτρίων κατατολμᾶν ἔργων δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς, μικρά μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι καὶ περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι, οἰκειοτέραν ἀρχὴν προθέντα τοῦ λόγου.

Νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθρώποις φήναντος οὕτως κείμενος· ἅπαντας πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν βλέποντας D
ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν ξυνουσίαις, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον μικροῖς καὶ μέζουσι τοῦ καλοῦ πάντως ἐφίεσθαι. πάντων δὲ ὅτι κάλλιστον ἀρετῇ, τίς ἂν ἡμῖν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀμφισβητήσῃ; ταύτης τοίνυν ἀντέχεσθαι διακελεύεται τοὺς μὴ μάτην τουτὶ περιοίσοντας

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Yet one can but admire the zeal of all who have made you the theme of a panegyric. Some did not shrink from the tremendous effort to secure every one of your achievements from the withering touch of time; others, because they foresaw that they could not compass the whole, expressed themselves only in part, and chose to consecrate to you their individual work so far as they were able. Better this, they thought, than "the reward of silence that runs no risk."¹

Now if I were one of those whose favourite pursuit is epideictic oratory, I should have to begin my speech by asking from you no less goodwill than I now feel towards yourself, and should beg you graciously to incline your ear to my words and not play the part of a severe and inexorable critic. But since, bred as I have been and educated in other studies, other pursuits, other conventions, I am criticised for venturing rashly into fields that belong to others, I feel that I ought to explain myself briefly on this head and begin my speech more after my own fashion.

There is an ancient maxim taught by him who first introduced philosophy to mankind, and it is as follows. All who aspire to virtue and the beautiful must study in their words, deeds, conversation, in short, in all the affairs of life, great and small, to aim in every way at beauty. Now what sensible man would deny that virtue is of all things the most beautiful? Wherefore those are bidden to lay firm hold on her who do not seek to blazon abroad her name in vain,

¹ Simonides *fr.* 66. Horace, *Odes* 3. 2. 25.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τοῦνομα, προσῆκον οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς σφετερισαμένους.
 ταῦτα δὴ διαγορεύων ὁ νόμος οὐδεμίαν ιδέαν ἐπι-
 τάττει λόγων, οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος τραγικῆς
 μηχανῆς, φησί, χρῆναι προαγορεύει τοῖς ἐντυγ- 4
 χάνουσι σπεύδειν μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀποφεύγειν
 δὲ τὴν πονηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 δίδωσι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλευθέντι μιμῆσθαι τὴν ἐκεί-
 νου φύσιν. καὶ γὰρ παραίνεσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ λόγων
 προτρεπτικῶν χρῆσιν καὶ τὸ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπιπλήτ-
 τειν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐπαινεῖν τε αὐτὰ καλῶς
 πραχθέντα καὶ ψέγειν, ὅταν ἡ καιρὸς, τὰ μὴ B
 τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων. ἐφίησι δὲ καὶ¹ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 ιδέαις, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι, πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν λόγων
 χρῆσθαι, ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράξει
 μεμνήσθαι προστάττων, ὅπῃ τούτων ὑφέξουσιν
 εὐθύνας, ὧν ἂν τύχωσιν εἰπόντες, λέγειν δὲ οὐδὲν
 ὅ τι μὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀνοίσουσι.
 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα.
 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄρα τί ποτε δράσομεν, εἰργόμενοι μὲν
 τῷ δοκεῖν ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς χάριν τὴν εὐφημίαν, τοῦ C
 γένους δὲ ἤδη τῶν ἐπαίνων διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 μετιόντας ὑπόπτου καθεστῶτος δεινῶς, καὶ κολα-
 κείας ἀγεννοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐ μαρτυρίας ἀληθοῦς τῶν
 ἀρίστων ἔργων εἶναι νομισθέντος; ἡ δὴλον ὅτι τῇ
 περὶ τὸν ἐπαινούμενον ἀρετῇ πεπιστευκότες ἐπι-
 δώσομεν ἑαυτοὺς θαρροῦντες τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις; τίς
 ἂν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴ καὶ τάξις τοῦ λόγου γένοιτο
 καλλίστη; ἡ δὴλον ὡς ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῇ, δι' D
 ἣν ὑπῆρξέ σοι καὶ τὸ τοιούτῳ γενέσθαι; τροφῆς

¹ καὶ Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

appropriating that which in no way belongs to them. Now in giving this counsel, the maxim does not prescribe any single type of discourse, nor does it proclaim to its readers, like a god from the machine in tragedy, "Ye must aspire to virtue and eschew evil." Many are the paths that it allows a man to follow to this goal, if he desire to imitate the nature of the beautiful. For example, he may give good advice, or use hortatory discourse, or he may rebuke error without malice, or applaud what is well done, or condemn, on occasion, what is ill done. It permits men also to use other types of oratory, if they please, so as to attain the best end of speech, but it enjoins on them to take thought in every word and act how they shall give account of all they utter, and to speak no word that cannot be referred to the standard of virtue and philosophy. That and more to the same effect is the tenour of that precept.

And now, what am I to do? What embarrasses me is the fact that, if I praise you, I shall be thought simply to curry favour, and in fact, the department of panegyric has come to incur a grave suspicion due to its misuse, and is now held to be base flattery rather than trustworthy testimony to heroic deeds. Is it not obvious that I must put my faith in the merit of him whom I undertake to praise, and with full confidence devote my energies to this panegyric? What then shall be the prelude of my speech and the most suitable arrangement? Assuredly I must begin with the virtues of your ancestors through which it was possible for you to come to be what you are. Next I think it will be proper to describe

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δὲ οἶμαι καὶ παιδείας ἐξῆς προσήκει μνησθῆναι, ἥπερ σοι τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρετὴν συνεισηνέγκατο, ἐφ' ἅπασι δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ γνωρίσματα τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῶν τὰς πράξεις διελθεῖν, καὶ τέλος ἐπιτιθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τὰς ἕξεις δηλῶσαι, ὅθεν ὁρμώμενος τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἔδρασας καὶ ἐβουλεύσω. τούτῳ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ 5 τῶν ἄλλων πάντων διοίσειν τὸν λόγον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἴστανται, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενοι πρὸς τὴν τελείαν εὐφημίαν τὸ τούτων μνησθῆναι, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι δεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἦλθες. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔργων, σχεδὸν δὲ πάντα, τύχη καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ στρατιωτῶν φάλαγγες καὶ τάξεις ἱππέων¹ συγκατορθοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα μόνου τέ B ἐστὶ τοῦ δράσαντος, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τούτων ἔπαινος ἀληθῆς καθεστὼς ἰδιός ἐστι τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὐκ οὖν ἐπειδὴ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν σαφῶς διώρισται, τῶν λόγων ἄρξομαι.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπαίνων νόμος οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιοῖ μεμνήσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τίνα χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπολαβεῖν πατρίδα σὴν· ἔθνη γὰρ μυρία περὶ ταύτης ἀμφισβητεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον. καὶ ἡ μὲν βασιλεύουσα C τῶν ἀπάντων πόλις, μήτηρ οὖσα σὴ καὶ τροφὸς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης παρασχούσα, ἐξαίρετον αὐτῆς φησιν εἶναι τὸ γέρας, οὐ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐφ' ἀπάντων τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων δικαίοις χρωμένῃ· λέγω δὲ ὅτι, καὶ ἄλλα-

¹ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

your upbringing and education, since these contributed very much to the noble qualities that you possess, and when I have dealt with all these, I must recount your achievements, the signs and tokens, as it were, of the nobility of your soul, and finally, as the crown and consummation of my discourse, I shall set forth those personal qualities from which was evolved all that was noble in your projects and their execution. It is in this respect that I think my speech will surpass those of all the others. For some limit themselves to your exploits, with the idea that a description of these suffices for a perfect panegyric, but for my part I think one ought to devote the greater part of one's speech to the virtues that were the stepping-stones by which you reached the height of your achievements. Military exploits in most cases, nay in almost all, are achieved with the help of fortune, the body-guard, heavy infantry and cavalry regiments. But virtuous actions belong to the doer alone, and the praise that they inspire, if it be sincere, belongs only to the possessor of such virtue. Now, having made this distinction clear, I will begin my speech.

The rules of panegyric require that I should mention your native land no less than your ancestors. But I am at a loss what country I ought to consider peculiarly yours. For countless nations have long asserted their claim to be your country. The city¹ that rules over them all was your mother and nurse, and in an auspicious hour delivered to you the imperial sceptre, and therefore asserts her sole title to the honour, and that not merely by resorting to the plea that has prevailed under all the emperors.

¹ Rome.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

χόθεν τυγχάνωσι, τῷ μετέχειν ἅπαντας ἤδη τοῦ
 πολιτεύματος καὶ τοῖς ἐκείθεν ἡμῖν καταδειχθεῖσιν
 ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι πολῖται γεγόνασιν·
 οὐκ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὥς¹ τεκοῦσα τὴν σὴν μητέρα D
 καὶ θρεψαμένη βασιλικῶς καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων
 ἐκγόνων² ἀξίως. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Βοσπόρῳ πόλις,
 ὅλου τοῦ γένους τοῦ Κωνσταντίων ἐπώνυμος,
 πατὴρ μὲν οὐκ εἶναί φησι, γεγονέναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 σοῦ πατρὸς ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ δεινὰ πάσχειν οἰήσεται,
 εἰ ταύτης γοῦν τις αὐτὴν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς συγγενείας
 ἀφαιροῖτο. Ἰλλυριοὶ δέ, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῖς γέγονας,
 οὐκ ἀνέξονται τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν εὐτυχημάτων
 στερόμενοι, εἴ τις ἄλλην σοι πατρίδα προσνέμοι. 6
 ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἤδη τινὰς λέγειν,
 ὅτι μὴ δίκαια δρῶμεν ἀφαιρούμενοι σφᾶς τὸν
 ἐπὶ σοὶ λόγον· αὐτοὶ γάρ φασι τὴν τήθην ἐπὶ
 τὸν τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ σοῦ προπέμψαι γάμον.
 καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ προφάσεις ἐπι-
 νοοῦντες μικρὰς ἢ μείζονας αὐτοῖς σε³ εἰσποιεῖν
 ἐκ παντὸς ἐγνώκασιν. ἐχέτω μὲν οὖν τὸ γέρας
 ἦν αὐτὸς ἐθέλεις, καὶ ἦν ἀρετῶν μητέρα καὶ B
 διδάσκαλον πολλάκις ἐπαινῶν εἶρηκας, τυγχαν-
 όντων δὲ ἐκάστη κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αἱ λοιπαὶ τοῦ
 προσήκοντος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν ἀπάσας

¹ γεγόνασιν· οὐκοῦν ὥς MSS, οὐκ οὕτως ἀλλ' ὥς M, οὐκοῦν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ὥς Hertlein suggests.

² ἐκγόνων Wright, ἐγγόνων MSS, Hertlein.

³ σε Schaefer adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I mean that, even if men are born elsewhere, they all adopt her constitution and use the laws and customs that she has promulgated, and by that fact become Roman citizens. But her claim is different, namely that she gave your mother birth, rearing her royally and as befitted the offspring who were to be born to her. Then again, the city on the Bosphorus which is named after the family of the Constantii, though she does not assert that she is your native place, but acknowledges that she became your adopted land by your father's act, will think she is cheated of her rights if any orator should try to deprive her of at least this claim to kinship. Thirdly, the Illyrians, on whose soil you were born, will not tolerate it if anyone assign you a different fatherland and rob them of the fairest gift of fortune. And now I hear some even of the Eastern provinces protest that it is unjust of me to rob them of the lustre they derive from you. For they say that they sent forth your grandmother to be the consort of your grandfather on the mother's side. Almost all the rest have hit on some pretension of more or less weight, and are determined, on one ground or another, to adopt you for their own. Therefore let that country¹ have the prize which you yourself prefer and have so often praised as the mother and teacher of the virtues; as for the rest, let each one according to her deserts obtain her due. I should be glad to praise them all, worthy as they are of glory and honour, but I am

¹ Rome.

ἐθέλοιμ' ¹ ἂν ἀξίας οὔσας δόξης ² καὶ τιμῆς, ὅκνῳ δὲ μὴ διὰ τὸ μῆκος, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ λίαν οἰκεῖα τοῦ παρόντος λόγου, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀλλότρια φανῇ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπαίνους διὰ τοῦτ' ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ, τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συλλαβὼν ἐν βραχεῖ C καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀρετῆς προσειπὼν, τῷ δοῦναι τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ἐγκωμίων, τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων λόγους ἀφήρησαι. τί γὰρ λέξομεν ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον ἕτερον; τί δὲ ἄλλος τις εἰπεῖν ἔχει; ὥστε μοι δοκῶ σεβόμενος εἰκότως τὴν πόλιν τούτῳ τιμᾶν αὐτὴν πλεον, τῷ παραχωρεῖν σοι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν λόγων.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς σῆς ἴσως ἄξιον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν βραχεῖ διελθεῖν. ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἔοικα κἀνταῦθα, πόθεν ἀρχεσθαι χρή. πρόγονοί D τε γάρ εἰσί σοι καὶ πάπποι καὶ γονεῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ καὶ ξυγγενεῖς βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες, αὐτοὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐννόμως ἢ παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων εἰσποιηθέντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν, Κλαυδίου μνησθέντα, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου ἐναργῆ παρέχειν καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τεκμήρια, τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ³ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀναμνησκοντα, καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁσίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ἐκτή- 7 σατο, καὶ τὴν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῆς διαίτης λιτότητα, καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὀρωμένην ἔτι; τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πάππων τῶν σῶν ἐστι μὲν τούτων νεώτερα, λαμπρὰ δὲ οὐ μείον

¹ ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν Cobet, ἔχοιμ' ἂν Hertlein, εὔχομαι MSS.

² δόξης Wytttenbach ἀξίας MSS, Hertlein.

³ τῶν Hertlein adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

afraid that my compliments, however germane they may seem to my subject, might, on account of their length, be thought inappropriate to the present occasion. For this reason, then, I think it better to omit a eulogy of the others, but as for Rome, your imperial Majesty summed up her praises in two words when you called her the teacher of virtue, and, by bestowing on her the fairest of all encomiums, you have forestalled all that others might say. What praise of mine would come up to that? What indeed is left for anyone to say? So I feel that I, who naturally hold that city in reverence, shall pay her a higher honour if I leave her praise in your hands.

Now perhaps I ought at this point to say a few words about your noble ancestors. Only that here too I am at a loss where to begin. For all your ancestors, grandfathers, parents, brothers, cousins and kinsfolk were emperors, who had either acquired their power by lawful means or were adopted by the reigning house. Why should I recall ancient history or hark back to Claudius and produce proofs of his merit, which are manifest and known to all? To what end recount his campaigns against the barbarians across the Danube or how righteously and justly he won the empire? How plainly he lived while on the throne! How simple was his dress, as may be seen to this day in his statues! What I might say about your grandparents¹ is comparatively recent, but

¹ Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἐκείνων. ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς δι' ἀρετὴν ἀξίω κριθέντε, γενομένω δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους εὐνοϊκῶς ἔσχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεταδόντα τῆς βασιλείας εὐσεβῶς, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν ὠμολόγει μηδὲν τούτου πώποτε κρεῖττον βεβουλεῦσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα σωτήρια τοῖς B κοινοῖς ἐξευρών, οἱ δὲ τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων κοινωνίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχήν, εἶπερ οἶόν τε ἦν, ἐκάστω περιγενομένην ἠγάπων. οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἔργων ἔδρων τὰ κάλλιστα, σεβόμενοι μὲν μετὰ τὴν κρεῖττονα φύσιν τὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς παρασχόντα, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ πράως¹ καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐκ ἐλαύνοντες μόνον πάλοι κατοικούντας καὶ νεμομένους καθάπερ τὴν οἰκείαν C ἀδεῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα, φρούρια δὲ ἐπιτειχίζοντες αὐτοῖς τοσαύτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις κατέστησαν, ὅσῃν οὐδὲ εὐξασθαι τότε ῥάδιον ἐδόκει. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἄξιον ἐν παρέργῳ λέγειν. τῆς δὲ ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸ μέγιστον σημεῖον παραλιπεῖν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογον, καὶ ἄλλως προσήκον τῷ λόγῳ. κοινωνίαν γὰρ τὴν καλλίστην τοῖς αὐτῶν παισὶν D ἐπινοήσαντες τῶν σῶν πατέρων τοὺς γάμους ἤρμωσαν. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν βραχεὶ διελθεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς φανῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς κληρονόμος. τὴν μὲν οὖν βασιλείαν ὅπως μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσχε τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκείνου τῇ κρίσει καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀπάντων τῇ ψήφῳ πατὴρ ὁ σός, τί χρὴ νῦν περι-

¹ πράως Cobet, δσίως MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

equally remarkable. Both of them acquired the imperial sceptre as the reward of conspicuous merit, and having assumed the command, they were on such good terms with each other and displayed such filial piety to him¹ who had granted them a share in the empire, that he used to say that of all the safeguards designed by him for the realm, and they were many, this was his master-stroke. They, meanwhile, valued their mutual understanding more than undivided empire, supposing that it could have been bestowed on either of them separately. This was the temper of their souls, and nobly they played their part in action, while next to the Supreme Being they revered him who had placed authority in their hands. With their subjects they dealt righteously and humanely, and expelled the barbarians who had for years settled in our territory and had occupied it with impunity as though it were their own, and they built forts to hinder encroachment, which procured for those subjects such peaceful relations with the barbarians as, at that period, seemed to be beyond their dreams. This, however, is a subject that deserves more than a passing mention. Yet it would be wrong to omit the strongest proof of their unanimity, especially as it is related to my subject. Since they desired the most perfect harmony for their children, they arranged the marriage of your father and mother.² On this point also I think I must say a few words to show that virtue was bequeathed to you as well as a throne. But why waste time in telling how your father, on his father's death, became emperor both by the choice of the deceased monarch and by

¹ Diocletian.

² Constantine and Fausta.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

εργάζεσθαι ; τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμην ἐκ
 τῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων ἂν τις γνωρί- 8
 σειε. τυραννίδας γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλείας ἐννόμους
 καθαιρῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν. το-
 σαύτην δὲ εὖνοϊαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέστησεν,
 ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν στρατευόμενοι τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς
 καὶ τὰς χάριτας μεγαλοψυχίας ἔτι μεμνημένοι
 καθάπερ θεὸν διατελοῦσι σεβόμενοι· τὸ δὲ ἐν ταῖς
 πόλεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πλήθος, οὐχ οὕτω τῆς
 τῶν τυράννων ἀπαλλαγῆναι βαρύτητος εὐχόμενοι,
 ὡς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχθῆναι, τὴν κατ' B
 ἐκείνων αὐτῷ νίκην ἐπηύχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπάντων
 κύριος κατέστη, ὥσπερ ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τῆς ἀπληστίας
 τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος πολλῆς ἀπορίας χρημάτων
 οὔσης καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν βασιλείων ἐν μυχοῖς
 συνεληλαμένου, τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀφελὼν ἐπέκλυσεν
 ἀθρόως τῷ πλούτῳ πάντα, πόλιν τε ἐπώνυμον
 αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα, C
 τοσούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν μείζονα, ὅσῳ τῆς
 Ῥώμης ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖ, ἥς τὸ δευτέραν τετάχθαι
 μακρῷ βέλτιον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων
 ἀπασῶν πρώτην νομίζεσθαι. καλὸν ἴσως ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ τῶν αἰοιδίμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι, ἃς ἐκεῖνος
 ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλει.
 βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὢν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς
 ἐκείνων ἡξίου καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνας
 τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάνυτο πλέον ἢ
 τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιωθείς. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ D
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι
 πολλάκις μυρίους καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δωρεὰν καρ-
 ποῦσθαι, ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

the vote of all the armies? His military genius was made evident by his achievements and needs no words of mine. He traversed the whole civilised world suppressing tyrants, but never those who ruled by right. His subjects he inspired with such affection that his veterans still remember how generous he was with largess and other rewards, and to this day worship him as though he were a god. As for the mass of the people, in town and country alike, they prayed that your father might be victorious over the tyrants, not so much because they would be delivered from that oppression as because they would then be governed by him. But when he had made his power supreme, he found that the tyrant's¹ greed had worked like a drought, with the result that money was very scarce, while there were great hoards of treasure in the recesses of the palace; so he unlocked its doors and on the instant flooded the whole country with wealth, and then, in less than ten years, he founded and gave his name to a city² that as far surpasses all others as it is itself inferior to Rome; and to come second to Rome seems to me a much greater honour than to be counted first and foremost of all cities beside. Here it may be proper to mention Athens "the illustrious,"³ seeing that during his whole life he honoured her in word and deed. He who was emperor and lord of all did not disdain the title of General of the Athenians, and when they gave him a statue with an inscription to that effect he felt more pride than if he had been awarded the highest honours. To repay Athens for this compliment he bestowed on her annually a gift of many tens of thousands of bushels

¹ Maxentius. ² Constantinople. ³ Pindar *fr.* 46

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν
βελτίστων.

Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ἔργων τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σὺ
πραχθέντων, ὧν τε ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸ
μῆκος παραλιπεῖν δοκῶ, πάντων ἄριστον ἔγωγε
φαίην ἄν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας 9
ὁμολογήσειν, τὴν σὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ
παιδείαν· ἐξ ἧς ὑπάρχει τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ τὸ πρὸς
ὀλίγον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὥς
οἶόν τέ ἐστιν εἰς πλείονα χρόνον. δοκεῖ γοῦν
ἄρχειν ἐκείνος εἰσέτι. καὶ Κύρῳ μὲν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε
τοῦτο. τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ὁ παῖς ὥφθη μακρῷ
φαιλότερος, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο πατήρ, ὁ δὲ
ἐπωνομάσθη δεσπότης. σὲ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ B
πατρὸς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς κρείττονα σαφῶς
τε¹ οἶδα, καὶ δηλώσω τοῦ καιροῦ φανέντος ἐν τῷ
λόγῳ. ἐκείνῳ δὲ προσήκειν καὶ τούτου νομίζω
μεταδόντι σοι τῆς ἀρίστης τροφῆς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἤδη
λέγειν πειράσομαι, μητρὸς καὶ ἀδελφῶν τῶν σῶν
ἐπιμνησθεῖς.

Τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐγενείας τοσοῦτον περιῆν καὶ κάλ-
λους σώματος καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλη
γυναικὶ ῥαδίως ἄν τις ἐξεύροι. ἐπεὶ καὶ Περσῶν
ἀκούω τὸν ὑπὲρ Παρυσάτιδος λόγον, ὅτι μόνη γέ- C
γονεν ἀδελφῇ καὶ μήτηρ καὶ γαμετὴ καὶ παῖς βασι-
λέως. ἀλλ' ἦν γε αὕτη τοῦ γήμαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ
φύσει, νόμος δὲ ἐδίδου γαμεῖν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Πέρσῃ.
τὴν σὴν δὲ μητέρα κατὰ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν νόμους
ἄχράντους καὶ καθαρὰς τὰς οἰκειότητας ταύτας

¹ τε Cobet, εἶ MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of wheat, so that while she enjoyed plenty, he won applause and reverence from the best of men.

Your father's achievements were many and brilliant. Some I have just mentioned, and others I must omit for the sake of brevity. But the most notable of all, as I make bold to say and I think all will agree, was that he begat, reared and educated you. This secured to the rest of the world the advantages of good government, and that not for a limited time but for a period beyond his own lifetime, as far as this is possible. At any rate your father seems still to be on the throne. This is more than Cyrus himself could achieve. When he died his son proved far inferior, so that while men called Cyrus "father," his successor was called "master."¹ But you are even less stern than your father, and surpass him in many respects, as I well know and will demonstrate in my speech as occasion shall arise. Yet, in my opinion, he should have the credit of this as well, since it was he who gave you that admirable training concerning which I shall presently speak, but not till I have described your mother and brothers.²

Your mother's ancestry was so distinguished, her personal beauty and nobility of character were such that it would be hard to find her match among women. I have heard that saying of the Persians about Parysatis, that no other woman had been the sister, mother, wife, and daughter of kings. Parysatis, however, was own sister of her husband, since their law does not forbid a Persian to marry his sister. But your mother, while in accordance with our laws she kept pure and unsullied those ties

¹ Herodotus 3. 89.

² Constantine II. and Constans.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

φυλάττουσαν συνέβαινε¹ τοῦ μὲν εἶναι παῖδα, γαμετὴν δὲ ἑτέρου, καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλου, καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, οὐχὶ δὲ ἑνὸς μητέρα. ὧν ὁ μὲν τις D τῷ πατρὶ συγκατεργάσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Γέτας ἡμῖν εἰρήνην τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσας ἀσφαλῆ παρεσκέυασεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτήρησεν ἄβατον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν χώραν, αὐτὸς ἐπιστρατεύων ἐκείνοις πολλάκις, ἕως ἐπέτρεπον οἱ μικρὸν ὕστερον τῶν εἰς ἐκείνους ἀδικημάτων δίκην ὑποσχόντες. πολλῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνοις περιφανῶν ἔργων, ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις αὐτοὺς δικαίως ἐπαινεῖν ἔχοι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν περιουσίας οὔσης,² οὐδὲν ἔστι τοιοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐφ' ᾧ μακα- 10 ρίζων ἂν³ τις αὐτοὺς εἰκότως σεμνύνει, ὥς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀπόγονοι, τῶν δὲ ἔκγονοι⁴ γεγόνασιν.⁵ ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ μακρότερα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς σοῖς καιρὸν ἀναλώσω τοῦ λόγου, πειράσομαι λοιπὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἄξιον, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, μακρῷ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιδείξω σε⁶ σεμνότερον.

Φήμας μὲν δὴ καὶ μαντείας καὶ ὄψεις τὰς B ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα θρυλεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτω λαμπρὰ καὶ περιφανῇ πραξάντων, Κύρου καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκιστοῦ πόλεως καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἐκὼν ἀφίημι.

¹ συνέβαινε Reiske, lacuna Hertlein.

² οὔσης Wytttenbach adds, περιουσίας MSS, Hertlein.

³ ἂν Schaefer adds.

⁴ ἔκγονοι Petavius, ἔγγονοι MSS, Hertlein.

⁵ γεγόνασιν Wytttenbach adds. ⁶ σε Wytttenbach adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of kinship, was actually the daughter of one emperor,¹ the wife of another, the sister of a third, and the mother not of one emperor but of several. Of these one aided your father in his war against the tyrants; another conquered the Getae and secured for us a lasting peace with them; the third² kept our frontiers safe from the enemy's incursions, and often led his forces against them in person, so long at least as he was permitted by those who were so soon punished for their crimes against him. Though by the number and brilliance of their achievements they have indeed earned our homage, and though all the blessings of fortune were theirs in abundance, yet in the whole tale of their felicity one could pay them no greater compliment than merely to name their sires and grandsires. But I must not make my account of them too long, lest I should spend time that I ought to devote to your own panegyric. So in what follows I will, as indeed I ought, endeavour—or rather, since affectation is out of place, let me say I will demonstrate—that you are far more august than your ancestors.

Now as for heavenly voices and prophecies and visions in dreams and all such portents³ as are common gossip when men like yourself have achieved brilliant and conspicuous success, Cyrus, for instance, and the founder⁴ of our capital, and Alexander, Philip's son, and the like, I purposely ignore them. Indeed

¹ Maximianus.

³ Isocrates, *Evagoras* 21.

² Constans.

⁴ Romulus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ταῦτα τῆς ποιητικῆς ἔξου-
 σίας εἶναι. καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπάρ-
 ξαντά σοι γένεσιν ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικά
 καὶ¹ τὸ λέγειν εὐήθες. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐν τοῖς C
 παισὶν ἀγωγῆς ὁ καιρὸς ὑπομένηκεν, ἔδει σοι
 τῆς βασιλικῆς τροφῆς δῆπουθεν, ἥ τὸ μὲν σῶμα
 πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην καὶ εὐεξίαν καὶ κάλλος
 ἀσκήσει, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιο-
 σύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν ἐμμελῶς
 παρασκευάσει. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ ῥάδιον διὰ τῆς
 ἀνειμένης ὑπάρχειν διαίτης, θρυπτούσης μὲν, ὡς
 εἰκός, τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἀσθενεστέρας δὲ D
 ἐργαζομένης πρὸς τε τοὺς κινδύνους τὰς γνώμας
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους τὰ σώματα. οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν
 ἔδει γυμναστικῆς, τῷ σώματι, τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ τῇ τῶν
 λόγων ἐκόσμεις μελέτῃ. ἐπὶ πλεον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἄξιον διελθεῖν· ἀρχὴ γάρ τις αὕτη τῶν μετὰ
 ταῦτα πράξεων γέγονε. τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιμελείας τῆς
 περὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἀρμόζον
 ἤσκησας, ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν ὑπολαβὼν τῶν
 τὰς παλαιστρας κατειληφόντων τὴν θρυλουμένην εὐε- 11
 ξίαν, μέλλοντι τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀγώνων μεθέξειν, ὑπ-
 νου τε ἐλαχίστου δεομένῳ καὶ τροφῆς οὐ πολλῆς,
 καὶ ταύτης οὔτε κατὰ πλῆθος οὔτε κατὰ ποιότητα
 πάντως ὠρισμένης οὔτε κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, δν χρῆ προσ-
 φέρεσθαι, τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης δέ, ἐπειδὴ αἱ πράξεις
 τὸν καιρὸν ἐνδῶσιν. ὅθεν ᾧου δεῖν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια
 πρὸς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι,² πολλὰ καὶ στρατιωτικά,
 χορείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, δρόμον τὸν ἐν τούτοις, B
 τὴν ἵππικὴν τέχνην, οἷς ἅπασι διατετέλεκας ἔξ

¹ καὶ Wytttenbach adds.

² ποιεῖσθαι Wytttenbach, ποιεῖσθαι εἶναι δὲ MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I feel that poetic license accounts for them all. And it is foolish even to state that at the hour of your birth all the circumstances were brilliant and suited to a prince. And now the time has come for me to speak of your education as a boy. You were of course bound to have the princely nurture that should train your body to be strong, muscular, healthy, and handsome, and at the same time duly equip your soul with courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom. But this cannot result from that loose indulgence which naturally pampers body and soul, weakening men's wills for facing danger and their bodies for work. Therefore your body required training by suitable gymnastics, while you adorned your mind by literary studies. But I must speak at greater length about both branches of your education, since it laid the foundation of your later career. In your physical training you did not pursue those exercises that fit one merely for public display. What professional athletes love to call the pink of condition you thought unsuitable for a king who must enter for contests that are not make-believe. Such a one must put up with very little sleep and scanty food, and that of no precise quantity or quality or served at regular hours, but such as can be had when the stress of work allows. And so you thought you ought to train yourself in athletics with a view to this, and that your exercises must be military and of many kinds, dancing and running in heavy armour, and riding. All these you have

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀρχῆς ἐν καιρῷ χρώμενος· καὶ κατώρθωται παρὰ
 σοὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὡς παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀπλιτῶν. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τις ἐκείνων, πεζὸς ὢν
 ἀγαθός, τὴν ἵππικὴν τέχνην ἠγνόησεν, ὁ δέ, ἐπι-
 στάμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἵππικοῖς, ὁκνεῖ πεζὸς εἰς
 μάχην ἵέναι. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπάρχει σοὶ τῶν μὲν
 ἵππέων ἀρίστῳ φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίως ἐκείνους
 σταλέντι, μετασκευασαμένῳ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὀπλίτας C
 κρατεῖν ἀπάντων ῥώμῃ καὶ τάχει καὶ τῇ τῶν
 ποδῶν κουφότητι. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὰς ἀνέσεις
 ῥαθύμους εἶναι μὴδ' ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ποιεῖσθαι
 συμβαίνει, ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύειν ἤσκησας. καὶ τὸ
 μὲν σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐκουσίων πόνων πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀκουσίους εὖ ἔχειν παρεσκεύασας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ
 ἡγείτο μὲν ἢ τῶν λόγων μελέτη καὶ τὰ προ-
 σήκοντα τοῖς τηλικούτοις μαθήματα. ὅπως δὲ μὴ D
 παντάπασιν ἀγύμναστος ἢ μὴδὲ καθάπερ ἄσματα
 καὶ μύθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπακοῦή λόγους,
 ἔργων δὲ ἀγαθῶν καὶ πράξεων ἄπειρος οὔσα τὸν
 τοσοῦτον διαμείνῃ χρόνον, καθάπερ ὁ γενναῖος
 ἡξίωσε Πλάτων οἶονεῖ πτερὰ τοῖς παισὶ χαριζό-
 μενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζοντα¹ ἄγειν εἰς
 τὰς μάχας, θεατὰς ἐσομένους ὢν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 ἀγωνιστὰς ἐχρῆν καταστήναι, πατέρα τὸν σὸν
 διανοηθέντα φαίην ἂν εἰκότως τοῖς Κελτῶν ἔθνεσιν 12
 ἐπιστῆσαί σε φύλακα καὶ βασιλέα, μεῖράκιον
 ἔτι, μᾶλλον δὲ παῖδα κομιδῇ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε
 συνέσει καὶ ῥώμῃ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν

¹ ἀναβιβάζοντα Cobet, ἀνάγοντα MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

continued from early youth to practise at the right time, and in every exercise you have attained to greater perfection than any other hoplite. Usually a hoplite who is a good infantryman cannot ride, or, if he is an expert horseman, he shirks marching on foot to battle. But of you alone it can be said that you can put on the cavalry uniform and be a match for the best of them, and when changed into a hoplite show yourself stronger, swifter, and lighter on your feet than all the rest. Then you practised shooting at a mark, that even your hours of leisure might not be hours of ease or be found without the exercise of arms. So by work that was voluntary you trained your body to stand the exertions that you would be compelled to undertake.

Your mind, meanwhile, was trained by practice in public speaking and other studies suitable to your years. But it was not to be wholly without the discipline of experience, nor was it for you to listen merely to lectures on the virtues as though they were ballads or saga stories, and so wait all that time without actual acquaintance with brave works and undertakings. Plato, that noble philosopher, advised¹ that boys should be furnished as it were with wings for flight by being mounted on horseback, and should then be taken into battle so that they may be spectators of the warfare in which they must soon be combatants. This, I make bold to say, was in your father's mind when he made you governor and king of the Celtic tribes while you were still a youth, or rather a mere boy in point of years, though in intelligence and endurance you could already hold your own with men of parts.

¹ *Republic* 467 E.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἐνάμιλλον ἤδη. τοῦ μὲν ἀκίνδυνον γενέσθαι σοι
 τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ὁ πατὴρ προυνόησε
 καλῶς, εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἄγειν
 τοῖς βαρβύροις· μάχεσθαι δὲ ἀναπείθων καὶ στα- B
 σιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων συμφοραῖς
 καὶ τοῖς σώμασι στρατηγικὴν ἐδίδασκε τέχνην,
 ἀσφαλέστερον βουλευόμενος τοῦ σοφοῦ Πλάτωνος.
 τῷ μὲν γάρ, εἰ πεζὸς ἐπέλθοι πολεμίων στρατός,
 οἱ παῖδες θεαταὶ καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἣν που
 δεηθῶσι, τοῖς πατράσι γένοιντ' ἄν· κρατούντων δὲ
 ἱππεύσι τῶν πολεμίων, ὥρα μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς
 μεираκίοις σωτηρίας τρόπον δυσεπινόητον. τὸ δὲ C
 ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις κινδύνοις τοὺς παῖδας ἐθίζειν πο-
 λεμίων ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀρκούντως
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν δοκεῖ βεβουλευσθαι.

Ἐν μὲν δὴ τούτοις σοι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν ὑπῆρχε
 μελέτη. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ μὲν φύσις, ἣν εἵληχας,
 αὐταρκὴς ἡγεμόν· παρήσαν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν πολι-
 τῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκοντες. καὶ
 παρεῖχον ἡθῶν καὶ νόμων καὶ ξένων ἐπιτηδευμάτων D
 ἐμπειρίαν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τῇδε
 βαρβάρων ἐντεύξεις. καίτοι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά συνε-
 τὸν Ὅμηρος ἐκ παντὸς ἀποφῆναι προαιρούμενος
 πολύτροπον εἶναί φησι καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων
 τὸν νοῦν καταγνῶναι καὶ ἐπελθεῖν τὰς πόλεις,¹ ἵν'
 ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐπιλεξάμενος ἔχοι τὰ κράτιστα
 καὶ πρὸς παντοδαποὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλεῖν
 δύναιτο. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὃς² οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε

¹ τὰς πόλεις Cobet, ταῖς πόλεσιν MSS, Hertlein.

² τῷ μὲν ὃς Wright, τὸν μὲν MSS, Hertlein, τὸ μὲν V.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Your father wisely provided that your experience of war should be free from risks, having arranged that the barbarians^e should maintain peace with his subjects. But he instigated them to internal feuds and civil war, and so taught you strategy at the expense of their lives and fortunes. This was a safer policy than the wise Plato's. For, by his scheme, if the invading army were composed of infantry, the boys could indeed be spectators of their fathers' prowess, or, if need arose, could even take part. But supposing that the enemy won in a cavalry engagement, then, on the instant, one would have to devise some means to save the boys, which would be difficult indeed. But to inure the boys to face the enemy, while the hazard belongs to others, is to take counsel that both suffices for their need and also secures their safety.

It was in this way then that you were first trained in manliness. But as regards wisdom, that nature with which you were endowed was your self-sufficing guide. But also, I think, the wisest citizens were at your disposal and gave you lessons in statecraft. Moreover, your intercourse with the barbarian leaders in that region gave you an acquaintance at first hand with the manners, laws, and usages of foreigners. Indeed, when Homer set out to prove the consummate wisdom of Odysseus, he called him "much-travelled," and said that he had come to know the minds of many peoples and visited their cities, so that he might choose what was best in every one and be able to mix with all sorts and conditions of men. Yes, even Odysseus, who never ruled an

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ποικίλων ἡθῶν ἐμπειρίας χρεία· τὸν δὲ πρὸς 13
 τοσαύτην ἡγεμονίαν τρεφόμενον οὐκ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ
 που χρήν διδάσκεσθαι οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν,
 καθάπερ ὁ Κῦρος, παίζοντα μιμῆσθαι οὐδὲ
 χρηματίζειν τοῖς ἡλιξι, καθάπερ ἐκείνον λέγουσιν,
 ἀλλ' ἔθνεσιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ δήμοις, καὶ στρατιωτῶν
 τάγμασιν ἐπιτάττειν ἀπλῶς τὸ πρακτέον· ὅλως δὲ
 οὐδενὸς ἀπολείπεσθαι τούτων, ὧν ἐχρῆν ἄνδρα
 γενόμενον ἐπ' ἀδείας πράττειν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἐδιδάχθης B
 καλῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἡπειρον μετιῶν τοῖς
 Παρθυαίων καὶ Μήδων ἔθνεσιν ἀντετάχθης
 μόνος. ὑποτυφομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μέλλοντος ἀναρριπίζεσθαι,
 ταχέως καὶ τούτου κατέγνωσ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ
 τὴν τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺν ἐμιμήσω, καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 ὥραν τοῦ θέρους εἵθισας καρτερεῖν τὸ σῶμα.
 πυνθάνομαι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων
 Ἑλλήνων οὕτως εὐφυῶς μεταβολὰς ἐνεγκεῖν, ὥς C
 καὶ μιμήσασθαι πρῶτον¹ μὲν τὴν τῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίων ἐγκράτειαν, ἐπειδὴ Σπαρτιάταις αὐτὸν
 ἐδεδώκει, εἶτα Θηβαίους, καὶ Θράκας ὕστερον, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τέλει τὴν τῶν Περσῶν τρυφήν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος
 μὲν τοῖς χωρίοις συμμεταβάλλων καὶ τὸν τρόπον
 ἀνεπίμπλατο πολλῆς δυσχερείας καὶ τὸ πάτριον
 ἐκινδύνευε παντελῶς ἀποβαλεῖν, σὺ δὲ τῆς μὲν

¹ πρῶτον Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

empire, needed experience of the many and divers minds of men. How much more necessary that one who was being brought up to guide an empire like this should not fit himself for the task in some modest dwelling apart; neither should he, like young Cyrus in his games, play at being emperor, nor give audiences to his playmates, as they say¹ Cyrus did. Rather he ought to mix with nations and peoples, and give orders to his troops definitely indicating what is to be done, and generally he should be found wanting in none of those things which, when he comes to manhood, he must perform without fear.

Accordingly, when you had gained a thorough knowledge of the Celts, you crossed to the other continent and were given sole command against the Parthians and Medes. There were already signs that a war was smouldering and would soon burst into flame. You therefore quickly learned how to deal with it, and, as though you took as model the hardness of your weapons, steeled yourself to bear the heat of the summer season. I have heard say that Alcibiades alone, among all the Greeks, was naturally so versatile that when he cast in his lot with the Spartans he copied the self-restraint of the Lacedaemonians, then in turn Theban and Thracian manners, and finally adopted Persian luxury. But Alcibiades, when he changed his country changed his character² too, and became so tainted with perversity and so ill-conditioned that he was likely to lose utterly all that he was born to. You, however, thought it your duty to maintain your severity of

¹ Herodotus 1. 114.

² Cf. Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 78. Horace *Epistles* 1. 11. 27.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἐγκρατοῦς διαίτης ὧν δεῖν ἔχεσθαι πανταχοῦ,
 ἐθίζων δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς D
 ῥᾶον ἤνεγκας¹ τὴν ἐκ Γαλατῶν εἰς Παρθυαίους
 ἄνοδον ἢ² τῶν πλουσίων οἱ ταῖς ὥραις τὴν οἴκησιν
 συμμεταβάλλοντες, εἰ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν βιασθεῖεν.
 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ θεὸς εὐμενὴς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων
 ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν παρασκευάζειν
 ἐθέλων, κύκλω σε περιαγαγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ὅρους καὶ πέρατα καὶ φύσιν χωρίων
 καὶ μέγεθος χώρας καὶ δύναμιν ἐθνῶν καὶ πλήθος 14
 πόλεων καὶ φύσιν δήμων καὶ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῶν
 ἐκείνων τὴν περιουσίαν³ ὧν οὐδενὸς ἀπολελείφθαι
 χρὴ τὸν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν τρεφόμενον. τὸ
 μέγιστον δὲ μικροῦ με διέφυγεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτων
 ἀπάντων ἄρχειν ἐκ παίδων διδασκόμενος, ἄρχεσθαι
 κρεῖττον ἔμαθες, ἀρχῇ τῇ πασῶν ἀρίστη καὶ
 δικαιοτάτῃ, φύσει τε καὶ νόμῳ, σαυτὸν ὑποτιθείς·
 πατρὶ γὰρ ὑπήκουες ἅμα καὶ βασιλεῖ· ὧν εἰ καὶ
 θάτερον ὑπῆρχεν ἐκείνῳ μόνον, ἄρχειν αὐτῷ
 πάντως προσήκον ἦν. καίτοι τίνα ποτ' ἂν τις B
 ἐξεύροι βασιλικὴν τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν ἀμείνω
 ταύτης πάλαι γενομένην; οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἀρίστης ἀρχῆς
 τῆς τῶν βασιλέων μεταλαβεῖν, οὔτω τοὺς Ἑρα-
 κλείδας ἐπαίδευον, οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ Καρχη-

¹ ἤνεγκας Cobet, διήνεγκας MSS, Hertlein.

² ἢ Reiske adds.

³ περιουσίαν Petavius, γερουσίαν MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

life wherever you might be, and by hard work inuring your constitution to change, you easily bore the march inland from Galatia to Parthia, more easily in fact than a rich man who lives now here, now there, according to the season, would bear it if he were forced to encounter unseasonable weather. I think Heaven smiled on you and willed that you should govern the whole world, and so from the first trained you in virtue, and was your guide when you journeyed to all points, and showed you the bounds and limits of the whole empire, the character of each region, the vastness of your territory, the power of every race, the number of the cities, the characteristics of the masses, and above all the vast number of things that one who is bred to so great a kingship cannot afford to neglect. But I nearly forgot to mention the most important thing of all. From a boy you were taught to govern this great empire, but a better thing you learned, to be governed, submitting yourself to the authority that is the best in the world and the most just, that is to say nature and law. I mean that both as son and subject you obeyed your father. Indeed, had he been only your father or only your king, obedience was his due.

Now what rearing and education for a king could one find in history better than this? Consider the Greeks. Not thus did the Spartans train the Heracleidae, though they are thought to have enjoyed the best form of government, that of their kings. As for the barbarians, not even the Cartha-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δόνιοι, βασιλευόμενοι διαφερόντως, τῆς ἀρίστης
 ἐπιμελείας τὸν ἄρξοντα¹ σφῶν ἡξίου· ἀλλὰ
 πᾶσιν ἦν κοινὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀρετῆς
 γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ παιδεύματα, καθάπερ ἀδελφοῖς C
 τοῖς πολίταις ἄρξειν τε καὶ ἀρχθῆσθαι μέλ-
 λουσι, καὶ οὐδὲν διάφορον προσῆν εἰς παιδείας
 λόγον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ
 εὖθες ἀπαιτεῖν μὲν ἀρετῆς μέγεθος ἀνυπέρβλητον
 παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, προνοεῖν δὲ μηδέν, ὅπως
 ἔσονται τῶν πολλῶν διαφέροντες; καὶ τοῖς μὲν
 βαρβάροις, ἅπασιν ἐν κοινῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης
 προκειμένης, τὸ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἡθῶν ὁμοίαν
 γίγνεσθαι παράσχοι συγγνώμην· τὸν Λυκοῦργον
 δὲ τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασι- D
 λείαν διαφυλάττοντα² μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν ταῖς
 ἐπιμελείαις τῶν νέων εὐρόντα σφόδρα ἂν τις
 εἰκότως μέμψαιτο. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντας Λακεδαι-
 μονίους ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς καὶ τροφίμους ᾤετο δεῖν
 εἶναι, τῆς ἴσης ἀξιούν ἐχρῆν τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας
 τοὺς ιδιώτας τοῖς ἄρξουσιν.³ ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη κατὰ 15
 μικρὸν παραδυομένη⁴ συνήθεια ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέ-
 τεκεν⁵ ὑπεροψίαν τῶν κρειττόνων· ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲ
 κρείττονας νομιστέον τοὺς οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν πρωτεύειν

¹ ἄρξοντα Hertlein suggests, ἄρχοντα MSS.

² διαφυλάττοντα [καὶ] Hertlein.

³ ἄρξουσιν Cobet, ἄρχουσιν MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ παραδυομένη Wright, cf. *Rep.* 424 D, ὑποδυομένη MSS, Hertlein.

⁵ ἐνέτεκεν Wytttenbach, ἐντεκεῖν MSS, Hertlein, πέφυκεν ἐντεκεῖν Petavius.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

ginians, though they were particularly well-governed by their kings, chose the best method of training their future rulers. The moral discipline and the studies prescribed by their laws were pursued by all alike, as though the citizens were brothers, all destined both to govern and be governed, and in the matter of education they made no difference between their princes and the rest of the citizens. Yet surely it is foolish to demand superlative excellence from one's rulers when one takes no pains to make them better than other men. Among the barbarians, indeed, no man is debarred from winning the throne, so one can excuse them for giving the same moral training to all. But that Lycurgus, who tried to make the dynasty of the Heracleidæ proof against all shocks,¹ should not have arranged for them a special education better than that of other Spartan youths is an omission for which he may well be criticised. He may have thought that all the Lacedaemonians ought to enter the race for virtue, and foster it, but for all that it was wrong to provide the same nurture and education for private citizens as for those who were to govern. The inevitable familiarity little by little steals into men's souls and breeds contempt for their betters. Though, for that matter, they are not in any sense one's betters unless it was their own merit that earned them the right to rule. This, in

¹ cf. Xenophon *Rep. Lac.* 15. 7.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

λαχόντας. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας χαλε-
 πωτέρους ἀρχθῆναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρείχε πολ-
 λάκις. χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν τις σαφεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῶν
 ῥηθέντων τῇ Λυσάνδρου πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον φιλο- B
 τιμίᾳ καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν, ἐπιὼν τὰ πεπραγμένα
 τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

Ἄλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἡ πολιτεία τὰ¹ πρὸς ἀρετὴν
 ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζουσα, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν δια-
 φέρον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἐδίδου τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ὑπάρχειν παρείχεν ἀνδράσι·
 Καρχηδονίων δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
 μάτων ἐπαινεῖν ἄξιον. ἐξελαύνοντες γὰρ τῶν
 οἰκιῶν οἱ γονεῖς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέταττον εὐπο-
 ρεῖν διὰ τῶν πόνων τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀναγ- C
 καίων, τὸ δρᾶν τι τῶν δοκούντων αἰσχρῶν ἀπαγο-
 ρεύοντες. τὸ δὲ ἦν, οὐ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελεῖν τῶν
 νέων, ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν² πειρᾶσθαι τι δρῶντα³ προστάτ-
 τειν. πέφυκε γὰρ οὐ τρυφή μόνον ἦθος διαφθεί-
 ρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς δίαιτα,
 ἐφ' ᾧ οὐπω τὸ κρίνειν ὁ λόγος προσλαβὼν
 ἔπεται ταῖς χρεῖαις ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀναπειθό-
 μενος, ἄλλως τε εἰ καὶ τούτου μὴ κρατοίη τοῦ D
 πάθους, πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ἐκ παίδων συνεθιζό-
 μενος καὶ τινὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἐμποριῶν καὶ καπηλείας
 τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρὼν τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων
 μαθὼν, ὑπὲρ ᾧ οὐ λέγειν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούειν

¹ τὰ Wyttenbach adds.

² λαθεῖν Cobet, τὸ λαθεῖν MSS, Hertlein, τοῦ λαθεῖν
 Schaefer. ³ τι δρῶντα Spanheim, ἰδρῶτα MSS, Hertlein. a

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

my opinion, is the reason why the Spartan kings often found their subjects hard to govern. In proof of what I say one might quote the rivalry of Lysander and Agesilaus, and many other instances, if one should review the history of the Spartan kings.

The Spartan polity, however, by securing a satisfactory development of the moral qualities in their kings, even if it gave them a training in no way different from that of the crowd, at least endowed them with the attributes of well-bred men. But as for the Carthaginians, there was nothing to admire even in the discipline that they all shared. The parents turned their sons out of doors and bade them win the necessities of life by their own efforts, with the injunction to do nothing that is considered disgraceful. The effect of this was not to uproot the evil inclinations of the young, but to require them to take pains not to be caught in wrong-doing. For it is not self-indulgence only that ruins character, but the lack of mere necessities may produce the same result. This is true at any rate in the case of those whose reason has not yet assumed the power to decide, being swayed by physical needs and persuaded by desire. It is especially true when one fails to control the passion for money-getting, if from boyhood one is accustomed to it and to the trading and bartering of the market-places. This business, unfit for a youth of gentle birth to mention, or so much as hear spoken of, whether the youth finds it out for himself

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἄξιον ἐλευθέρῳ παιδί, πλείστας ἂν κηλίδας ἐναπόθοιτο τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν πασῶν καθαρὸν εἶναι χρή καὶ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ πολίτην, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ στρατηγὸν μόνον.

ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκείνοις προσήκει· δείξω δὲ μόνον τῆς τροφῆς¹ τὸ 16
διαφέρον, ἧ χρησάμενος κάλλει καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ
δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διήνεγκας, διὰ μὲν
τῶν πόνων τὴν εὐεξίαν περιβαλόμενος, διὰ δὲ
τῶν νόμων τὴν σωφροσύνην κατακτησάμενος,²
καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι ῥωμαλεωτέρῳ διὰ τὴν ἐγκρά-
τειαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τῇ ψυχῇ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
σώματος καρτερίαν δικαιότερα χρώμενος, τὰ μὲν
ἐκ φύσεως ἀγαθὰ συναύξων ἐκ παντός, τὰ δὲ ταῖς
ἐπιμελείαις ἔξωθεν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνων· καὶ δεό- B
μενος³ μὲν οὐδενός, ἐπαρκῶν δ' ἄλλοις καὶ χαριζό-
μενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ὅσαι τοὺς λαβόντας
ἤρκουσι ἀποφῆναι τῷ Λυδῶν δυνάστη παραπλη-
σίους, ἐνδεέστερον μὲν ἀπολαύων αὐτὸς τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἢ Σπαρτιατῶν ὁ σωφρονέ-
στατος, τοῦ τρυφᾶν δὲ παρέχων ἄλλοις χορηγίαν,
καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις σωφρονεῖν παρέχων σπαντὸν
μιμεῖσθαι, ἄρχων μὲν πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως
τῶν ἄλλων, ἀρχόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σω- C
φρόνως καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἅπαντα
διετέλεις χρόνον. παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι σοι καὶ μεираκίῳ
ταῦτά τε ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, περὶ ὧν νῦν
λέγειν μακρότερον ἂν εἴη τοῦ καιροῦ.

¹ τροφῆς MSS, Cobet, διατροφῆς V, Hertlein.

² κατακτησάμενος Cobet · κτησάμενος MSS, Hertlein, κατα-
χρησάμενος V.

³ δεόμενος MSS, Cobet, ἐνδεόμενος Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

or learns it from those of greater experience, leaves many scars on the soul ; and even a respectable citizen ought to be free from all this, not a king or general alone.

But it is not for me to criticise the Carthaginians in this place. I will only point out how different was your education, and how you profited by it and have come to excel in looks, strength, justice, and temperance. By your active life you achieved perfect health ; your temperance was the result of obedience to the laws ; you enjoy a body of unusual strength by reason of your self-control, and a soul of unusual rectitude because of your physical powers of endurance. You left nothing undone to improve your natural talents, but ever acquired new talents by new studies. You needed nothing yourself but gave assistance to others, and lavished such generous gifts that the recipients seemed as rich as the monarch of the Lydians.¹ Though you indulged yourself less in the good things that were yours than the most austere of the Spartans, you gave others the means of luxury in abundance, while those who preferred temperance could imitate your example. As a ruler you were mild and humane ; as your father's subject you were ever as modest as any one of his people. All this was true of you in boyhood and youth, and much more about which there is now no time to speak at length.

¹ Gyges.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Γενόμενος δὲ ἐφ' ἡλικίας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν
 εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ δαίμονος μάλα ὀλβίαν
 παρασχόντος, οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν
 ἐπενεχθέντων τὸν τάφον ἐκόσμεις, γενέσεως καὶ
 τροφῆς ἀποτίνων τὰ χαριστήρια, πολὺ δὲ πλεόν D
 τῷ μόνος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων ζῶντος
 μὲν ἔτι καὶ πιεζομένου τῇ νόσῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμῆσαι,
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ τὰς μεγίστας τιμὰς καταστήσαι,
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔξαρκεὶ καὶ τὸ μνησθῆναι. καλοῦσι γὰρ
 ἡμᾶς ἐφ' αὐτὰς αἱ πράξεις ὑπομινησकुσαι τῆς
 ῥώμης, τῆς εὐψυχίας, εὐβουλίας τε ἅμα καὶ δικαιο-
 τητος, οἷς ἅμαχος ὤφθης καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος, τὰ
 μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ
 τοὺς πατρώους σοὶ φίλους καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα 17
 δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως καταστησάμενος· πλὴν εἴ
 που βιασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἅκων ἐτέρους
 ἔξαμαρτεῖν οὐ διεκώλυσας· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 πολεμίους ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς
 προὔπαρχούσης ἀξίως τοῦ γένους δόξης κατα-
 στησάμενος. τοῖς μὲν δι' ὁμονοίας τὸν ἅπαντα
 χρόνον συγγέγονας, ἀστασίαστον μὲν τὴν πόλιν
 διαφυλάττων καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς συνάρχοντας B
 θεραπεύων αἰεὶ, τοῖς φίλοις δὲ τῆς ἰσηγορίας¹ μετα-
 διδούς καὶ τῆς παρρησίας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν
 ἀφθόνως, κοινωνῶν μὲν ἅπασιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων,
 μεταδιδούς δὲ ὧν ἕκαστος ἐνδεὴς δόξειε. καὶ
 τούτων μάρτυσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις εἰκότως ἂν τις
 χρήσαιτο, καὶ τὰ πράγματα δὲ τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι

¹ ἰσηγορίας Petavius, ἴσης παρρηγορίας MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

When you had come to man's estate, and after fate had decreed the ending of your father's life¹ and Heaven had granted that his last hours should be peculiarly blest, you adorned his tomb not only by lavishing on it splendid decorations² and so paying the debt of gratitude for your birth and education, but still more by the fact that you alone of his sons hastened to him when he was still alive and stricken by illness, and paid him the highest possible honours after his death. But all this I need only mention in passing. For now it is your exploits that cry aloud for notice and remind me of your energy, courage, good judgment, and justice. In these qualities you are unsurpassed, unrivalled. In your dealings with your brothers,³ your subjects, your father's friends, and your armies you displayed justice and moderation; except that, in some cases, forced as you were by the critical state of affairs, you could not, in spite of your own wishes, prevent others from going astray. Towards the enemy your demeanour was brave, generous, and worthy of the previous reputation of your house. While you maintained the friendly relations that already existed, kept the capital free from civil discord, and continued to cherish your brothers who were your partners in empire, you granted to your friends, among other benefits, the privilege of addressing you as an equal and full freedom of speech without stint, and perfect frankness. Not only did you share with them all whatever you possessed, but you gave to each what he seemed most to need. Anyone who wants testimony to all this might reasonably call your friends to witness, but if he does not know your friends, the facts

¹ At Nicomedia 337 A.D.

² Isocrates, *Evagoras* 1.

³ Constans and Constantine.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συνουσίας ἱκανὰ δηλῶσαι τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου παντός.

Ῥητέον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἤδη τῶν πράξεων ἀνα- C
βαλλομένοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξεων λόγον. Πέρσαι
τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης πάλαι κρατήσαντες καὶ τῆς
Εὐρώπης τὰ πολλὰ καταστρεψάμενοι, μικροῦ δέω
φάναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιβαλόμενοι
κύκλῳ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ
Μακεδόνων ἀφήρηντο, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατη-
γίας ἔργον γενόμενοι, μᾶλλον δὲ παῖγνιον,
χαλεπῶς φέροντες¹ τὸ δουλεύειν, ὥς ἐκείνον
ἠσθοντο τετελευτηκότα, τῶν διαδόχων ἀποστάντες
Μακεδόσι τε εἰς τὴν ἀντίπαλον δύναμιν αὐθις D
κατ-στησαν καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ λειπόμενον τῆς Μακεδόνων
ἀρχῆς κατακτησαμένοις ἀξιόμαχοι διὰ τέλους
ἔδοξαν εἶναι πολέμιοι. καὶ τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν τί χρὴ
νῦν ὑπομνησκειν, Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κράσσου, στρατη-
γῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνα διὰ μακρῶν ἀπω-
σάμεθα κινδύνων τὰ αἴσχη, πολλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων
αὐτοκρατόρων ἀναμαχεσαμένων τὰ πταίσματα;
τί δὲ χρὴ τῶν δευτέρων ἀτυχημάτων μεμνήσθαι
καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Κάρου πράξεων, ὅσπερ 18
μετὰ τὰς συμφορὰς ἠρέθη στρατηγός;² ἀλλ' οἱ
τὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀγαπωμένην
εἰρήνην ἐπιτάξαντες ἐκείνοις ἄγειν, οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ
πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντες, οὐχ ὁ μὲν
καῖσαρ καθ' αὐτὸν συμβαλὼν αἰσχροῦς ἀπήλ-
λαξεν; ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἀπάσης ἄρχοντος καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῆς ἡγεμονίας

¹ φέροντες πρὸς MSS.

² ὅσπερ στρατηγός MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

themselves are sufficient to demonstrate the policy of your whole life.

But I must postpone the description of your personal qualities and go on to speak of your achievements. The Persians in the past conquered the whole of Asia, subjugated a great part of Europe, and had embraced in their hopes I may almost say the whole inhabited world, when the Macedonians deprived them of their supremacy, and they provided Alexander's generalship with a task, or rather with a toy. But they could not endure the yoke of slavery, and no sooner was Alexander dead, than they revolted from his successors and once more opposed their power to the Macedonians, and so successfully that, when we took over what was left of the Macedonian empire, we counted them to the end as foes with whom we must reckon. I need not now remind you of ancient history, of Antony and Crassus,¹ who were generals with the fullest powers, or tell how after long-continued dangers we succeeded in wiping out the disgrace they incurred, and how many a prudent general retrieved their blunders. Nor need I recall the second chapter of our misfortunes and the exploits of Carus² that followed, when after those failures he was appointed general. Among those who sat on the throne before your father's time and imposed on the Persians conditions of peace admired and welcomed by all, did not the Caesar³ incur a disgraceful defeat when he attacked them on his own account? It was not till the ruler of the whole world⁴ turned his attention to

¹ Defeated at Carrhae B.C. 53: the Roman standards were recovered by Augustus B.C. 20.

² Emperor 282-283 A.D.

³ Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, was defeated in Mesopotamia, 296 A.D., by Narses.

⁴ Diocletian.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀπάσης ἐκείσε τρέψαντος καὶ προκαταλαβόντος B
 τὰς εἰσβολὰς στρατεύμασι καὶ καταλόγοις ὀπλι-
 τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ νεολέκτων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς
 παρασκευαῖς, δεδιότες μόλις τὴν εἰρήνην ἡγάπη-
 σαν. ἦν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως περιόντος τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
 σοῦ συγχέαντες καὶ συνταράξαντες, τῆς μὲν παρ'
 ἐκείνου τιμωρίας διήμαρτον, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν
 πόλεμον παρασκευαῖς τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος·
 σοὶ δὲ ὑπέσχον τὴν δίκην ὕστερον τῶν τετολημ-
 μένων. μέλλων δὲ ἔτι δὴ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 ἀγώνων γενομένων σοι πολλάκις ἄπτεσθαι τοσοῦ-
 τον ἀξιῶ σκοπεῖν τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὅτι τοῦ C
 τρίτου μορίου τῆς ἀρχῆς καθεστὼς κύριος οὐδα-
 μῶς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐρῶσθαι δοκούντος, οὐχ
 ὄπλοις, οὐκ ἀνδράσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις, οὐδενὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα πρὸς τηλικούτον πόλεμον ἐχρῆν
 ἐπιρρεῖν ἄφθονα, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀδελ-
 φῶν σοι δι' ἀσδηποτοῦν αἰτίας τὸν πόλεμον
 ἐλαφρυνόντων· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἀναίσ-
 χυντος οὐδὲ βάσκανος συκοφάντης, ὃς οὐκ αἰτιώ- D
 τατον γενέσθαι σὲ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμονοίας
 φήσει· ὄντος δὲ οἶμαι τοῦ πολέμου καθ' αὐτὸν
 δυσχεροῦς, τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων πρὸς τὴν μετα-
 βολὴν διεταράττετο, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν σφῶν
 ἡγεμόνα ποθεῖν ἐκβοῶντες, ὑμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν ἐθέλ-
 οντες· καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἄτοπα καὶ δυσχερῆ παντα-
 χόθεν ἀναφυόμενα χαλεπωτέρας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 πολέμου παρείχεν ἐλπίδας· Ἀρμένιοι παλαιοὶ
 σύμμαχοι στασιάζοντες καὶ μοῖρα σφῶν οὐ φαύλη 19
 Πέρσαις προσθέμενοι, τὴν ὁμορον σφίσι λησταῖς
 κατατρέχοντες· καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαί-

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

them, directing thither all the forces of the empire, occupying all the passes with his troops and levies of hoplites, both veterans and new recruits, and employing every sort of military equipments, that fear drove them to accept terms of peace. That peace they somehow contrived to disturb and break during your father's lifetime, but they escaped punishment at his hands because he died in the midst of preparations for a campaign. It was left for you later on to punish them for their audacity. I shall often have to speak of your campaigns against them, but this one thing I ask my hearers to observe. You became master of a third of the empire,¹ that part in fact which seemed by no means strong enough to carry on a war, since it had neither arms nor troops in the field, nor any of those military resources which ought to flow in abundantly in preparation for so important a war. Then, too, your brothers, for whatever reason, did nothing to make the war easier for you. And yet there is no sycophant so shameless and so envious as not to admit that the harmony existing between you was mainly due to you. The war in itself presented peculiar difficulties, in my opinion, and the troops were disaffected owing to the change of government; they raised the cry that they missed their old leader and they wished to control your actions. Nay, more; a thousand strange and perplexing circumstances arose on every hand to render your hopes regarding the war more difficult to realise. The Armenians, our ancient allies, revolted, and no small part of them went over to the Persians and overran and raided the country on their borders.

In this crisis there seemed to be but one hope of

¹ The provinces of the East.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

νετο μόνον σωτήριον, τὸ σὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχεσθαι
 καὶ βουλευέσθαι, τέως οὐχ ὑπῆρχε διὰ τὰς πρὸς
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν Παιονίᾳ συνθήκας, ἃς αὐτὸς
 παρὼν οὕτω διώκησας, ὥς μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν
 ἐκείνοις παρασχεῖν μέμψεως. μικροῦ με ἔλαθεν ἡ¹
 τῶν πράξεων ἀρχὴ διαφυγοῦσα καλλίων ἀπασῶν
 ἢ ταῖς καλλίσταις ἐξ ἴσης θαυμαστή. τὸ γὰρ B
 ὑπὲρ τοσούτων πραγμάτων βουλευόμενον μηδὲν
 ἔλαττοῦσθαι δοκεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τὸ πλεόν
 ἔχειν ἐκὼν συγχωροίης, σωφροσύνης καὶ
 μεγαλοψυχίας μέγιστον ἂν εἴη σημεῖον. νῦν
 δὲ εἰ μὲν τις τὴν πατρῴαν οὐσίαν πρὸς
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νεμόμενος ἑκατὸν ταλάντων,
 κείσθω δέ, εἰ βούλει, τοσούτων ἄλλων, εἴτα
 ἔχων πεντήκοντα² μναῖς ἔλαττον ἡγάπησε δὴ, καὶ
 μικροῦ παντελῶς ἀργυρίου τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὁμό-
 νοιαν ἀνταλλαξάμενος, ἐπαίνων ἂν ἐδόκει καὶ C
 τιμῆς ἄξιος ὥς χρημάτων κρείττων, ὥς εὐβουλος
 φύσει, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὥς καλὸς καγαθός.
 ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς οὕτω μεγαλοψύχως
 καὶ σωφρόνως δοκῶν βεβουλευσθαι, ὥς τὸν μὲν ἐκ
 τῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῷ μείζονα μὴ προσθεῖναι πόνον,
 τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς προσόδων ἐκὼν ὑφίεσθαι
 ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαίων
 ἀπάντων εἰρήνης, πόσων ἐπαίνων ἄξιον κρινεῖ τις; D
 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκείνο λέγειν ἔνεστιν ἐνταῦθα, ὥς
 καλῶς μὲν, ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελεῖς³ μὲν γὰρ

¹ ἡ Schaefer adds.

² πεντήκοντα μναῖς Reiske, Cobet, μναῖς MSS.

³ ἀλυσιτελῶς δέ· λυσιτελεῖς Petavius, Wytttenbach, Hertlein,
ἀλυσιτελεῖς MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

safety, that you should take charge of affairs and plan the campaign, but at the moment this was impossible, because you were in Paeonia¹ making treaties with your brothers. Thither you went in person, and so managed that you gave them no opening for criticism. Indeed, I almost forgot to mention the very first of your achievements, the noblest of all, or at any rate equal to the noblest. For there is no greater proof of your prudence and magnanimity than the fact that, in planning for interests of such importance, you thought it no disadvantage if you should, of your own free will, concede the lion's share to your brothers. Imagine, for instance, a man dividing among his brothers their father's estate of a hundred talents, or, if you prefer, twice as much. Then suppose him to have been content with fifty minae less than the others, and to raise no objection, because he secured their goodwill in exchange for that trifling sum. You would think he deserved all praise and respect as one who had a soul above money, as far-sighted, in short as a man of honour. But here is one whose policy with regard to the empire of the world seems to have been so high minded, so prudent, that, without increasing the burdens of administration, he willingly gave up some of the imperial revenues in order to secure harmony and peace among all Roman citizens. What praise such a one deserves! And certainly one cannot, in this connection, quote the saying, "Well done, but a bad bargain." Nothing, in my opinion,

² Regularly in Greek for Pannonia.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

οὐδέν, ὅ, τι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ καλόν, ἔμοιγε φαίνεται.
 ὅλως δὲ εἴ τιμι καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ συμφέρον ἐξετάζειν
 δοκεῖ, κρινέτω μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοπῶν μηδὲ
 προσόδους χωρίων ἀπαριθμούμενος, καθάπερ οἱ
 φιλάργυροι γέροντες ὑπὸ τῶν κωμωδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν
 σκηνὴν ἐλκόμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
 ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν. φιλονεικῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ 20
 τῶν ὀρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχων ἐκείνων ἂν ἥρξε
 μόνων ὧν ἔλαχεν, εἰ καὶ πλέον ἔχων ἀπήει·
 ὑπερορῶν δὲ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ καταφρονήσας ἥρχε
 μὲν ἀπάσης μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τοῦ λαχόντος μέρους, ἀπολαύων
 μὲν τελείας τῆς τιμῆς, μετέχων δὲ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ πόνων.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ αὐθις ἐξέσται
 διὰ μακροτέρων δηλῶσαι. ὅπως δὲ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων ἐπεμελήθης, τοσούτων κύκλῳ περιστάν- B
 των μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν κινδύνων
 καὶ παντοδαπῶν πραγμάτων, θορύβου,¹ πολέμου
 ἀναγκαίου,² πολλῆς καταδρομῆς, συμμαχῶν ἀπο-
 στάσεως, στρατοπέδων ἀταξίας, ὅσα ἄλλα τότε
 δυσχερῇ κατελάμβανεν, ἴσως ἤδη διελθεῖν ἄξιον.
 ἐπειδὴ γάρ σοι τὰ τῶν συνθηκῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης
 ὁμονοίας διώκητο, παρῆν δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι ἐπιτάττων βοηθεῖν κινδυνεύουσι, πορείαις C
 ταχείαις³ χρησάμενος ὅπως μὲν ἐκ⁴ Παιόνων ἐν
 Σύροις ὤφθης, οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖξαι ῥάδιον· ἀρκεῖ

¹ πραγμάτων θορύβου Wytttenbach, θορύβου πραγμάτων MSS, Hertlein. ² ἀναγκαίου Capps suggests, γενναίου MSS, Hertlein.

³ πορείαις ταχείαις Capps suggests, πορείας μὲν τάχει MSS, Hertlein. ⁴ ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Petavius, ἀθρόως ἐκ MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

can be called a good bargain if it be not honourable as well. In general, if anyone wish to apply the test of expediency alone, he ought not to make money his criterion or reckon up his revenues from estates, like those old misers whom writers of comedy bring on to the stage, but he should take into account the vastness of the empire and the point of honour involved. If the Emperor had disputed about the boundaries and taken a hostile attitude, he might have obtained more than he did, but he would have governed only his allotted share. But he scorned and despised such trifles, and the result was that he really governed the whole world in partnership with his brothers, but had the care of his own portion only, and, while he kept his dignity unimpaired, he had less than his share of the toil and trouble that go with such a position.

On that subject, however, I shall have a chance later to speak in more detail. This is perhaps the right moment to describe how you controlled the situation, encompassed as you were, after your father's death, by so many perils and difficulties of all sorts—confusion, an unavoidable war, numerous hostile raids, allies in revolt, lack of discipline in the garrisons, and all the other harassing conditions of the hour. You concluded in perfect harmony the negotiations with your brothers, and when the time had arrived that demanded your aid for the dangerous crisis of affairs, you made forced marches, and immediately after leaving Paeonia appeared in Syria. But to relate how you did this would tax my powers of description, and indeed for those who know the

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δὲ τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν ἡ πείρα. ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν
 παρουσίαν τὴν σὴν ἀθρώως ἅπαντα μεταβαλόντα
 καὶ μεταστάντα πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον οὐ μόνον τῶν
 ἐπικρεμασθέντων ἡμᾶς ἀπήλλαξε φόβων, ἀμείνους
 δὲ μακρῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων παρέσχευ
 ἐλπίδας, τίς ἂν ἀρκέσειε τῶν ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν; τὰ D
 μὲν τῶν στρατοπέδων, πλησίον γενομένου μόνον,
 ἐπέπαυτο τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ μεθειστήκει πρὸς
 κόσμον, Ἀρμενίων δὲ οἱ προσθέμενοι τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις εὐθὺς μετέστησαν, σοῦ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς
 φυγῆς τῷ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἄρχοντι παρ' ἡμᾶς
 ἐξαγαγόντος, τοῖς φεύγουσι δὲ τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
 κάθοδον ἀδεᾶ παρασκευάσαντος. οὕτω δὲ φιλαν-
 θρώπως τοῖς τε παρ' ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένοις ἄρτι 21
 χρησαμένου καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς μετὰ τοῦ
 σφῶν ἄρχοντος κατεληλυθόσι πρῶως ὁμιλοῦντος,
 οἱ μὲν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἀπέστησαν, αὐτοὺς ἀπω-
 λοφύραντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην τῆς πρόσθεν
 ἡγάπων μᾶλλον δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες
 ἔμπροσθεν ἔργῳ σωφρονεῖν ἔφασαν ἐκμαθεῖν, οἱ
 δὲ τοῦ μὴ μεταστῆναι τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἀξίας τυγ-
 χάνειν. τοσαύτη δὲ ἐχρήσω περὶ τοὺς κατελ-
 θόντας ὑπερβολῇ δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῆς, ὥστε μηδὲ
 τοῖς ἐχθίστοις σφῶν εὖ πράττουσι καὶ τὰ εἰκότα B
 τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν. ταῦτα δὲ
 ἐν βραχεὶ καταστησάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραβίας
 ληστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς πρεσβείαις
 τρέψας, ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς ἦλθες,
 ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ χεῖρον ἐν βραχεὶ προειπεῖν.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

facts their own experience is enough. But who in the world could describe adequately how, at the prospect of your arrival, everything was changed and improved all at once, so that we were set free from the fears that hung over us and could entertain brighter hopes than ever for the future? Even before you were actually on the spot the mutiny among the garrisons ceased and order was restored. The Armenians who had gone over to the enemy at once changed sides again, for you ejected from the country and sent to Rome those who were responsible for the governor's¹ exile, and you secured for the exiles a safe return to their own country. You were so merciful to those who now came to Rome as exiles, and so kind in your dealings with those who returned from exile with the governor, that the former did, indeed, bewail their misfortune in having revolted, but still were better pleased with their present condition than with their previous usurpation; while the latter, who were formerly in exile, declared that the experience had been a lesson in prudence, but that now they were receiving a worthy reward for their loyalty. On the returned exiles you lavished such magnificent presents and rewards that they could not even resent the good fortune of their bitterest enemies, nor begrudge their being duly honoured. All these difficulties you quickly settled, and then by means of embassies you turned the marauding Arabs against our enemies. Then you began preparations for the war, about which I may as well say a few words.

¹ Tiranus, King of Armenia, was now, 337 A.D., deposed and imprisoned by Sapor. His son, Arsaces, succeeded him in 341. Julian is describing the interregnum. Gibbon, chap. 18, wrongly ascribes these events to the reign of Tiridates, who died 314 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τῆς πρόσθεν τοῖς μὲν στρα-
 τευομένοις ἀνείσης τοὺς πόνους, τοῖς λειτουργοῦσι
 δὲ κουφοτέρας τὰς λειτουργίας¹ παρασχούσης,
 τοῦ πολέμου δὲ χρημάτων καὶ σιτηρεσίου καὶ
 χορηγίας λαμπρᾶς δεομένου, πολὺ δὲ πλεόν ἰσχύος C
 καὶ ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐμπειρίας τῶν
 στρατευομένων, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς σχεδὸν
 τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς ἐξηῦρες καὶ κατέστησας, τοῖς
 μὲν ἐν² ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι λαχοῦσιν ἀποδείξας
 τῶν πόνων μελέτην, παπαπλησίαν δὲ τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις ἵππικὴν καταστησάμενος δύναμιν, τῷ πεζῷ
 δὲ ἐπιτάξας τῶν πόνων ἔχεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ
 ῥήμασι μόνον οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, μελετῶν δὲ
 αὐτὸς καὶ συνασκούμενος καὶ δεικνύων ἔργῳ τὸ D
 πρακτέον, πολέμων ἐργάτας ἄφνω κατέστησας.
 χρημάτων δὲ ἐπενόεις πόρους, οὐκ αὖξων τοὺς
 φόρους οὐδὲ τὰς συντάξεις, καθάπερ Ἀθηναῖοι
 πρόσθεν, εἰς τὸ διπλάσιον ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν κατα-
 στήσας, ἐμμένων δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πλὴν εἴ
 που πρὸς βραχὺ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν³ ἐχρῆν αἰσ-
 θέσθαι δαπανηροτέρων τῶν λειτουργημάτων. ἐν
 τοσαύτῃ δὲ⁴ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἡγες ἀφθονία, ὥς 22
 μήτε ὑβρίζειν τῷ κόρῳ μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας
 πλημμελεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι. ὅπλων δὲ καὶ ἵππων
 παρασκευὴν καὶ νεῶν τῶν ποταμίων καὶ μηχανη-
 μάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τὸ πλῆθος σιωπῇ
 κατέχω. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τέλος εἶχε

¹ ἀς λειτουργίας Reiske adds.

² ἐν Reiske adds.

³ καιρὸν Cobet, εὐκαιρον MSS, Hertlein. ἔκαιρον V, ἀκαριᾶιον Hertlein conjectures.

⁴ δὲ Wright, τε Schaefer, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

The previous period of peace had relaxed the labours of the troops, and lightened the burdens of those who had to perform public services. But the war called for money, provisions, and supplies on a vast scale, and even more it demanded endurance, energy, and military experience on the part of the troops. In the almost entire absence of all these, you personally provided and organised everything, drilled those who had reached the age for military service, got together a force of cavalry to match the enemy's, and issued orders for the infantry to persevere in their training. Nor did you confine yourself to speeches and giving orders, but yourself trained and drilled with the troops, showed them their duty by actual example, and straightway made them experts in the art of war. Then you discovered ways and means, not by increasing the tribute or the extraordinary contributions, as the Athenians did in their day, when they raised these to double or even more. You were content, I understand, with the original revenues, except in cases where, for a short time, and to meet an emergency, it was necessary that the people should find their services to the state more expensive. The troops under your leadership were abundantly supplied, yet not so as to cause the satiety that leads to insolence, nor, on the other hand, were they driven to insubordination from lack of necessities.

I shall say nothing about your great array of arms, horses, and river-boats, engines of war and the like. But when all was ready and the time had come to

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

καὶ ἔδει χρῆσθαι τοῖς προρρηθεῖσιν εἰς δέον, ἐξεύγνυτο μὲν ὁ Τίγρης σχεδία πολλάκις, ἤρθη δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούρια, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἀμύναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένῃ, πάντα B
δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἦγετο τὰ κείνων ἀγαθὰ, τῶν μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι τολμώντων, τῶν θρασυνομένων δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑποσχόντων. τὸ μὲν δὴ κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσβολῶν τοιοῦτον. καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπεξιέναι τίς ἂν ἀξίως ἐν βραχεὶ λόγῳ δυνηθεῖη, τῶν μὲν τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν δὲ τὰς ἀριστείας ἀπαριθμούμενος; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν, ὅτι πολλάκις τὸν ποτα- C
μὸν ἐκείνον περαιωθεὶς ξὺν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ πολὺν ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ διατρίψας¹ χρόνον, λαμπρὸς ἐπανήεις τοῖς τροπαίοις, τὰς διὰ σέ πόλεις ἐλευθέρας ἐπιὼν καὶ χαριζόμενος εἰρήνην καὶ πλοῦτον, πάντα ἀθρόως τὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τῶν πάλοι ποθουμένων διδοὺς ἀπολαύειν, νίκης κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τροπαίων ἐγειρομένων κατὰ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἀπιστίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας,² ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπεδείξαντο τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγ- D
χέαντες, τὸ δὲ μὴ τολμώντες ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀμύνεσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ με τούτων μὲν ἡδέως μεμνησθαι τῶν ἔργων, ὀκνεῖν δὲ ἐκεῖνα, περὶ ἃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις πλεονεκτῆσαι παρέσχευ ἢ τύχῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ χώρα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ προσλαβοῦσα ῥοπήν, ὥς αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ

¹ διατρίψας Cobet, τρίψας MSS, Hertlein.

² ἀνανδρίας [καὶ δειλίας] Hertlein. M omits καὶ before δειλίας, hence Petavius omits δειλίας.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

make appropriate use of all that I have mentioned, the Tigris was bridged by rafts at many points and forts were built to guard the river. Meanwhile the enemy never once ventured to defend their country from plunder, and every useful thing that they possessed was brought in to us. This was partly because they were afraid to offer battle, partly because those who were rash enough to do so were punished on the spot. This is a mere summary of your invasions of the enemy's country. Who, indeed, in a short speech could do justice to every event, or reckon up the enemy's disasters and our successes? But this at least I have space to tell. You often crossed the Tigris with your army and spent a long time in the enemy's country, but you always returned crowned with the laurels of victory. Then you visited the cities you had freed, and bestowed on them peace and plenty, all possible blessings and all at once. Thus at your hands they received what they had so long desired, the defeat of the barbarians and the erection of trophies of victory over the treachery and cowardice of the Parthians. Treachery they had displayed when they violated the treaties and broke the peace, cowardice when they lacked the courage to fight for their country and all that they held dear.

But lest anyone should suppose that, while I delight in recalling exploits like these, I avoid mentioning occasions when luck gave the enemy the advantage—or rather it was the nature of the ground combined with opportunity that turned

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἔπαινον καὶ τιμὴν φέροντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων
 πειράσομαι δηλώσαι διὰ βραχέων, οὐ πρὸς τὸ
 λυσιτελέστατον ἑμαυτῷ τοὺς λόγους πλάττων, 23
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἐν πᾶσιν. ἥς εἴ τις ἐκὼν
 ἁμαρτάνοι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν αἰσχύνην
 οὐδαμῶς ἐκφεύγει, προστίθῃσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπαινουμέ-
 νοις τὸ δοκεῖν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εὖ ἀκούειν
 κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· ὃ παθεῖν εὐλαβησόμεθα. δείξει
 δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτός, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος πρὸ τῆς
 ἀληθείας τετίμηκεν. οὐκοῦν εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι πάντες
 ἂν μέγιστον φήσειαν πλεονέκτημα τῶν βαρβάρων
 τὸν πρὸ τῶν Σιγγάρων πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνην B
 τὴν μάχην ἴσα μὲν ἐνεγκεῖν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰ
 δυστυχήματα, δεῖξαι δὲ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν περιγενο-
 μένην τῆς ἐκείνων τύχης φαίην ἂν εἰκότως, καὶ
 ταῦτα στρατοπέδῳ χρησαμένου¹ θρασεῖ καὶ τολ-
 μηρῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνίγους
 ῥώμην οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις συνήθει. ὅπως δὲ
 ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, διηγήσομαι. θέρος μὲν γὰρ ἦν
 ἀκμάζον ἔτι, συνήει δὲ ἐς ταῦτόν τὰ στρατόπεδα
 πολὺ πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας. ἐκπληττόμενοι δὲ οἱ C
 πολέμιοι τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν ἡσυ-
 χίαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πλήθει θαυμαστοὶ φανέντες, ἤρχετο
 μὲν οὐδεὶς τῆς μάχης, τῶν μὲν εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι πρὸς
 οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην δύναμιν ὀκνούντων, τῶν δὲ
 περιμενόντων ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, ὅπως ἀμυνόμενοι
 μᾶλλον ἐν πᾶσιν, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ πολέμου μετὰ τὴν

¹ χρησαμένου Hertlein suggests, χρησάμενον V, χρησαμένην MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

the scale—and that I do so because they brought us no honour or glory but only disgrace, I will try to give a brief account of those incidents also, not adapting my narrative with an eye to my own interests, but preferring the truth in every case. For when a man deliberately sins against the truth he cannot escape the reproach of flattery, and moreover he inflicts on the object of his panegyric the appearance of not deserving the praise that he receives on other accounts. This is a mistake of which I shall beware. Indeed my speech will make it clear that in no case has fiction been preferred to the truth. Now I am well aware that all would say that the battle we fought before Singara¹ was a most important victory for the barbarians. But I should answer and with justice that this battle inflicted equal loss on both armies, but proved also that your valour could accomplish more than their luck; and that although the legions under you were violent and reckless men, and were not accustomed, like the enemy, to the climate and the stifling heat. I will relate exactly what took place.

It was still the height of summer, and the legions mustered long before noon. Since the enemy were awestruck by the discipline, accoutrements and calm bearing of our troops, while to us they seemed amazing in numbers, neither side began the battle; for they shrank from coming to close quarters with forces so well equipped, while we waited for them to begin, so that in all respects we might seem to be acting rather in self-defence, and not to be respon-

¹ In Mesopotamia, 348 A.D. (Bury argues for 344 A.D.)

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

εἰρήνην ἄρχοντες φανεῖεν. τέλος δὲ ὁ τῆς βαρ-
 βαρικῆς ἐκείνης δυνάμεως ἡγεμών, μετέωρος ἀρθεὶς D
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ καταμαθὼν τὸ πλήθος ἐν
 τάξει, οἷος ἐξ οἴου γέγονε καὶ ποίας ἀφίει φωνάς;
 προδεδόσθαι βοῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου
 πείσαντας αἰτιώμενος, φεύγειν ὥετο χρήναι διὰ
 τάχους καὶ τοῦτο μόνον οἱ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀρ-
 κέσειν, εἰ φθῆσεται τὸν ποταμὸν διαβῆναι, ὅσπερ
 ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ὁρος ἀρχαῖος. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἐκείνος πρῶτον
 ἐπὶ πόδα σημαίνει τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ κατ'
 ὀλίγον προστιθεὶς τῷ τάχει τέλος ἤδη καρ- 24
 τερῶς ἔφευγεν, ἔχων ὀλίγους ἱππέας ἀμφ'
 αὐτόν, τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ
 πιστοτάτῳ τῶν φίλων ἐπιτρέψας ἄγειν. ταῦτα
 ὁρῶντες τὸ στράτευμα καὶ χαλεπαίνοντες, ὅτι
 μηδεμίαν ὑπέσχον τῶν τετολμημένων δίκην, ἐβόων
 ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ κελεύοντος σοῦ¹ μένειν ἀχθό-
 μενοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔθεον ὥς ἕκαστος εἶχε
 ῥώμης τε καὶ τάχους, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες αὐτοὶ τέως
 τῆς σῆς στρατηγίας, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁρῶντες B
 ἄμεινον αὐτῶν τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν ἥττον ἐπί-
 στευνον· καὶ τῷ πολλὰς² συγκατειργάσθαι τῷ
 πατρὶ τῷ σῷ μάχας καὶ κρατῆσαι πανταχοῦ τὸ³
 δοκεῖν ἀηττήτους εἶναι συνηγωνίζετο. τούτων δὲ
 οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον τὸ παρεστῶς Παρθυαίων δέος
 ἐπῆρεν ὥς οὐκ ἀγωνισαμένους⁴ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας

¹ κελεύοντος σοῦ Hertlein suggests, κελεύοντος MSS.

² τῷ πολλὰς Cobet, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.

³ τὸ Cobet, τῷ MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ ἀγωνισαμένους Rouse suggests, ἀγωνισομένους MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

sible for beginning hostilities after the peace. But at last the leader¹ of the barbarian army, raised high on their shields, perceived the magnitude of our forces drawn up in line. What a change came over him! What exclamations he uttered! He cried out that he had been betrayed, that it was the fault of those who had persuaded him to go to war, and decided that the only thing to be done was to flee with all speed, and that one course alone would secure his safety, namely to cross, before we could reach it, the river, which is the ancient boundary-line between that country and ours. With this purpose he first gave the signal for a retreat in good order, then gradually increasing his pace he finally took to headlong flight, with only a small following of cavalry, and left his whole army to the leadership of his son and the friend in whom he had most confidence. When our men saw this they were enraged that the barbarians should escape all punishment for their audacious conduct, and clamoured to be led in pursuit, chafed at your order to halt, and ran after the enemy in full armour with their utmost energy and speed. For of your generalship they had had no experience so far, and they could not believe that you were a better judge than they of what was expedient. Moreover, under your father they had fought many battles and had always been victorious, a fact that tended to make them think themselves invincible. But they were most of all elated by the terror that the Parthians now shewed, when they thought how they had fought, not only against the enemy, but against the very nature of the ground,

¹ Sapor.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν αὐτήν, καὶ εἴ τι
 μείζον ἔξωθεν προσπίπτοι, καὶ τούτου πάντως
 κρατήσοντας. ταχέως οὖν ἑκατὸν μεταξὺ στάδια
 διαδραμόντες¹ ἐφειστήκεσαν ἤδη Παρθυαίοις εἰς τὸ C
 τεῖχος καταπεφευγόσιν, ὃ πρότερον ἤδη πεποίητο
 σφίσιν ὥσπερ στρατόπεδον. ἐσπέρα δὲ ἦν λοιπὸν
 καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτόθεν ξυνερρήγνυτο. καὶ τὸ μὲν
 τεῖχος αἰρούουσιν εὐθέως τοὺς ὑπὲρ² αὐτοῦ κτείναντες·
 γενόμενοι δὲ εἴσω τῶν ἐρυμάτων πολλὸν μὲν ἡρίσ-
 τευον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δίψους ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη
 καὶ λάκκοις ὕδατος ἐντυχόντες ἔνδον, τὴν καλλίστην
 νίκην διέφθειραν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέσχον
 ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὸ πταῖσμα. τοῦτο τέλος τῆς D
 μάχης ἐκείνης γέγονε, τρεῖς μὲν ἢ τέτταρας
 ἀφελομένης τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, Παρθυαίων δὲ τὸν
 ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τρεφόμενον, ἀλόντα πρότερον,
 καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παμπληθεῖς ξυνδιαφθειράσης.
 τούτοις δὲ ἅπασιν δρωμένοις ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἡγεμὼν οὐδὲ ὄναρ παρῆν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέσχε τὴν
 φυγὴν πρὶν ἢ κατὰ νώτου τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιή-
 σατο· αὐτὸς δὲ διέμενες ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις δι' ὅλης 25
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπάσης, συμμετέχων μὲν τοῖς
 κρατοῦσι τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων, τοῖς πονοῦσι δὲ ἐπαρ-
 κῶν διὰ ταχέων. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνδρείας καὶ τῆς εὐψυ-
 χίας εἰς τοσοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα μετέστησας, ὥστε
 αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβού-
 σης ἀσμένως ἀποσώζεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 μάχης, ἐπομένου σου, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας· οὕτω
 τὸ δέος πᾶσιν ἀνήκας τῆς φυγῆς. ποῖον οὖν B

¹ διαδραμόντες Naber, δραμόντες MSS, Hertlein.

² τοὺς ὑπὲρ MSS, Cobet (τοὺς ἀμυνομένους) ὑπὲρ Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

and if any greater obstacle met them from some fresh quarter, they felt that they would overcome it as well. Accordingly they ran at full speed for about one hundred stades, and only halted when they came up with the Parthians, who had fled for shelter into a fort that they had lately built to serve as a camp. It was, by this time, evening, and they engaged battle forthwith. Our men at once took the fort and slew its defenders. Once inside the fortifications they displayed great bravery for a long time, but they were by this time fainting with thirst, and when they found cisterns of water inside, they spoiled a glorious victory and gave the enemy a chance to retrieve their defeat. This then was the issue of that battle, which caused us the loss of only three or four of our men, whilst the Parthians lost the heir to the throne¹ who had previously been taken prisoner, together with all his escort. While all this was going on, of the leader of the barbarians not even the ghost was to be seen, nor did he stay his flight till he had put the river behind him. You, on the other hand, did not take off your armour for a whole day and all the night, now sharing the struggles of those who were getting the upper hand, now giving prompt and efficient aid to those who were hard-pressed. And by your bravery and fortitude you so changed the face of the battle that at break of day the enemy were glad to beat a safe retreat to their own territory, and even the wounded, escorted by you, could retire from the battle. Thus did you relieve them all from the risks of flight. Now what fort was taken

¹ Sapor's son.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἤλω φρούριον; τίς δὲ ἐπολιορκήθη πόλις; τίνος δὲ ἀποσκευῆς οἱ πολέμοι κρατήσαντες ἔσχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ σεμνύνονται μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον;

Ἄλλ' ἴσως, φήσει τις, τὸ μηδέποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἦττον ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εὐτυχὲς καὶ εὐδαιμον ἡγητέον,¹ τὸ δὲ ἀντιστῆναι τῇ τύχῃ ῥωμαλεώτερον καὶ² μείζονος ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει σημεῖον.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς κυβερνήτης ἐν εὐδία τὴν ναῦν κατευθύνων, γαλήνης ἀκριβοῦς κατεχούσης τὸ πέλαγος; τίς δὲ ἡνίοχος ἄρματος δεξιὸς ἐν ὁμαλῷ καὶ λείῳ χωρίῳ εὐπειθεὶς καὶ πρᾶνος καὶ ταχεὶς ἵππους ζευξάμενος, εἴτα ἐν τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν τέχνην; πόσῳ δὲ ἀμείνων νεῶς μὲν ἰθυνητὴρ ὁ καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα χειμῶνα προμαθὼν καὶ προαισθόμενος καὶ πειραθεὶς γε τοῦτον ἐκκλῖναι, εἴτα δι' ἀσθηποτοῦν αἰτίας ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διασώσας ἀπαθῇ τὴν ναῦν αὐτῷ φόρτῳ; ἄρματος δ' ἐπιστάτης ὁ καὶ πρὸς χωρίων ἀγωνιζόμενος τραχύτητα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους μετατιθεὶς ἅμα καὶ βιαζόμενος, ἣν τι πλημμελώσιν; ὅλως δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἄξιον τέχνην μετὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς σκοπεῖν. οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς ἀμείνων ὁ Κλέων Νικίου, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πύλον ἠτύχησεν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ κρατούντων. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν σὴν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιότεραν τῆς τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κρατίστην φήσαιμι, ἀδικεῖν ἂν εἰκότως

¹ ἡγητέον Schaefer, ἡγεῖ τὸ δὲ Cobet, Hertlein, ἡγεῖτο δὲ V, M, ἡγῆ τὸ δὲ MSS.

² καὶ Reiske, ὃ καὶ MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

by the enemy? What city did they besiege? What military supplies did they capture that should give them something to boast about after the war?

But perhaps some one will say that never to come off worse than the enemy must indeed be considered good fortune and felicity, but to make a stand against fortune calls for greater vigour and is a proof of greater valour.

Is a man a skilful pilot because he can steer his ship in fair weather when the sea is absolutely calm? Would you call a charioteer an expert driver who on smooth and level ground has in harness horses that are gentle, quiet and swift, and under such conditions gives a display of his art? How much more skilful is the pilot who marks and perceives beforehand the coming storm and tries to avoid its path, and then, if for any reason he must face it, brings off his ship safe and sound, cargo and all? Just so, the skilful charioteer is he who can contend against the unevenness of the ground, and guide his horses and control them at the same time, if they grow restive. In short, it is not fair to judge of skill of any sort when it is aided by fortune, but one must examine it independently. Cleon was not a better general than Nicias because he was fortunate in the affair of Pylos, and the same may be said of all whose success is due to luck rather than to good judgment. But if I did not claim that your fortune was both better and better deserved than that of your opponents, or rather of all men, I should with reason be thought to do it an injustice, since it

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δοκοῖν, τὴν μὴ παρασχοῦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσθέσθαι τὸ πλεονέκτημα. χρή γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν ῥηθέντων κρινοῦντα¹ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττωμα τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ἀνανταγωνίστῳ ῥώμῃ λογίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἴσον καταστήσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς συμφοραῖς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αἰσθέσθαι συμφορῶν, ἀγνοῆσαι δὲ τὰ κατορθώματα τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης ἔργον λογίζεσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ μακρότερα περὶ τούτων λέγων B
τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων καιρὸν ἀναλώσω, πειρά-
σομαι λοιπὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο περιστὰν ἡμᾶς τῶν
πραγμάτων πλήθος διεξιέναι² καὶ τῶν κινδύνων
τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ὅπως ἅπασιν ἀντισχὼν τυράννων
μὲν πλήθος, βαρβάρων δὲ ἐτρέψω δυνάμεις. ἦν
μὲν γὰρ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις ἤδη, ἔκτον που
μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτος, οὗ μικρῷ πρό-
σθεν ἐμνήσθην, ἦκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων τις, ὡς Γαλατία C
μὲν συναφεστῶσα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀδελφῷ τῷ σῷ
ἐβούλευσέ τε καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν φόνον, εἶτα ὡς
Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία κατείληπται, τὰ δὲ ἐν
Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατόπεδα ταραχῶδως ἔχει καὶ βα-
σιλέα σφῶν ἀπέδειξε τὸν τέως στρατηγὸν ἀντι-
σχεῖν ἐθέλοντα πρὸς τὴν ἄμαχον δοκοῦσαν τῶν
τυράννων φοράν. ἰκέτευε δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος χρήματα
πέμπειν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν βοηθήσουσαν, σφόδρα
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων, μὴ πρὸς τῶν
τυράννων κρατηθεῖη. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο D
τὰ προσήκοντα δράσειν, οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν

¹ κρινοῦντα Cobet, κρίνοντα MSS, Hertlein.

² διεξιέναι Reiske, lacuna Hertlein following Petavius.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

prevented the enemy from even perceiving their advantage. For, in my opinion, an impartial judge of my narrative ought to ascribe our reverse to the extreme and insupportable heat, and the fact that you inflicted loss on the enemy equal to ours he would regard as achieved by your valour, but that, though they were aware of their losses, they took no account of their success, he would regard as brought about by your good fortune.

That I may not, however, by saying more on this subject, spend time that belongs to more important affairs, I will try to describe next the multitude of difficulties that beset us, the magnitude of our perils, and how you faced them all, and not only routed the numerous following of the usurpers, but the barbarian forces as well.

About six years had passed since the war I have just described, and the winter was nearly over, when a messenger arrived with the news¹ that Galatia² had gone over to the usurper, that a plot had been made to assassinate your brother and had been carried out, also that Italy and Sicily had been occupied, lastly that the Illyrian garrisons were in revolt and had proclaimed their general³ emperor, though for a time he had been inclined to resist what seemed to be the irresistible onset of the usurpers.⁴ Indeed, he himself kept imploring you to send money and men to his aid, as though he were terribly afraid on his own account of being overpowered by them. And for a while he kept protesting that he would do his duty, that for his part he had no pretensions to the throne, but

¹ cf. Demosthenes, *De Corona* 169.

² Gaul.

³ Vetricio.

⁴ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 61.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπίτροπον δὲ οἶμαι πιστὸν καὶ φύλακα
 παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος· ἔμελλε δὲ οὐκ εἰς
 μακρὰν ἄπιστος φανεῖσθαι καὶ δίκην ὑφέξειν
 καίτοι¹ φιλάνθρωπον. ταῦτα πυθόμενος οὐκ ᾔου
 δεῖν ἐν ῥαστώνῃ πολλῇ τὸν χρόνον ἀναλίσκειν
 μάτην. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις
 μηχανημάτων καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ σίτου καὶ τῆς
 ἄλλης παρασκευῆς² ἐμπλήσας, καὶ ἀπὼν ἀρκέσειν
 τοῖς τῇδε προσεδόκησας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς 27
 τυράννους ὁρμᾶν ἐβουλεύου.

Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
 παραφυλάξαντες, ὡς ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν Συρίαν
 ληψόμενοι, πᾶσαν ἐξαναστήσαντες ἡλικίαν καὶ
 φύσιν καὶ τύχην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηντο, ἄνδρες,
 μεράκια, πρεσβῦται καὶ γυναικῶν πλῆθος καὶ
 θεραπόντων, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
 ὑπουργιῶν χάριν, ἐκ περιουσίας δὲ πλείστον
 ἐπόμενον. διεννοοῦντο γὰρ ὡς καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 καθέξοντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἤδη κρατήσαντες B
 κληρούχους ἡμῖν ἐπάγειν.³ κενὰς δὲ ἀπέφηνεν
 αὐτοῖς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς σῆς
 τὸ μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέ-
 στησαν, ἐπετειχίζετο μὲν ἡ πόλις κύκλῳ τοῖς
 χώμασιν, ἐπέρρει δὲ ὁ Μυγδόνιος πελαγίζων τὸ
 περὶ τῷ τείχει χωρίον, καθάπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, φασί,
 τὴν Αἴγυπτον. προσήγετο δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν ταῖς
 ἐπάλξεσι τὰ μηχανήματα, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν ἄλλοι

¹ καίτοι Reiske, καὶ MSS, Hertlein. Petavius omits καί.

² παρασκευῆς V, παρασκευῆς ἀπόδοσις MSS.

³ ἐπάγειν Hertlein suggests, ἐπάγοντες Wytttenbach, ἐπαύξουσιν V, ἐπάξουσιν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

would faithfully guard and protect it for you. Such were his assertions, but it was not long before his treachery came to light and he received his punishment, tempered though it was with mercy. On learning these facts you thought you ought not to waste your time in idleness to no purpose. The cities of Syria you stocked with engines of war, garrisons, food supplies, and equipment of other kinds, considering that, by these measures, you would, though absent, sufficiently protect the inhabitants, while you were planning to set out in person against the usurpers.

But the Persians ever since the last campaign had been watching for just such an opportunity, and had planned to conquer Syria by a single invasion. So they mustered all forces, every age, sex, and condition, and marched against us, men and mere boys, old men and crowds of women and slaves, who followed not merely to assist in the war, but in vast numbers beyond what was needed. For it was their intention to reduce the cities, and once masters of the country, to bring in colonists in spite of us. But the magnitude of your preparations made it manifest that their expectations were but vanity. They began the siege and completely surrounded the city¹ with dykes, and then the river Mygdonius flowed in and flooded the ground about the walls, as they say the Nile floods Egypt. The siege-engines were brought up against the ramparts on boats, and their

¹ Nisibis.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

διενοοῦντο τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ C
 τῶν χωμάτων τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.
 οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἤμυνον καρτερῶς τῇ πόλει.
 μεστὰ δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα σωμάτων καὶ ναυαγίων καὶ
 ὀπλων καὶ βελῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρτι καταδυομένων,
 τῶν δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς βίας κατε-
 νεχθέντα κατέδυν, κουφίζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος.
 ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεῖς
 καὶ νεῶν σέλματα¹ συντριβομένων ἐπ' αὐταῖς τῶν
 μηχανημάτων. βελῶν πλήθος ἐπινηχόμενον μι- D
 κροῦ δεῖν ἐπείχεν ἅπαν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους
 καὶ τῶν χωμάτων. ἐτέτραπτο δὲ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς
 λύθρον, καὶ κύκλω τὸ τεῖχος ἐπήχουν οἰμωγαὶ
 βαρβάρων ὀλλύντων μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὀλλυμένων²
 δὲ πολυτρόπως καὶ τιτρωσκομένων ποικίλοις
 τραύμασι.

Τίς ἂν ἀξίως τῶν δρωμένων διηγοῖτο; πῦρ μὲν
 ἐνίετο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἐξέπιπτον δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 ἡμίκαντοι πολλοί, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀποδιδράσκοντες
 τὴν φλόγα τὸν ἐκ τῶν βελῶν οὐκ ἀπέφευγον
 κίνδυνον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔτι νηχόμενοι τὰ νῶτα 28
 τρωθέντες ἐς βυθὸν κατεδύνοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξαλ-
 λόμενοι τῶν μηχανημάτων πρὶν ὕδατος ἄψασθαι
 βληθέντες οὐ σωτηρίαν, κουφότερον δὲ εὖρον τὸν³
 θάνατον. τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ νεῖν εἰδότας ἀκλεέστερον
 τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπολλυμένους τίς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν
 ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μνήμης; ἐπιλείψει με, καθ' ἕκαστον
 εἰ πᾶσιν ἐπεξελεῖν βουλοίμην, ὁ χρόνος· τὸ

¹ σέλματα Reiske, ἔρματα MSS, Hertlein. Reiske suggests συντριβομένων. ἐπ' αὐταῖς δὲ μηχανημάτων καὶ βελῶν πλήθος.

² ὀλλυμένων Cobet, ἀπολλυμένων MSS, Hertlein.

³ εὖρον τὸν Cobet, ἤϋροντο Hertlein, εὖρον τὸν V, εὖραντο MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

plan was that one force should sail to attack the walls while the other kept shooting on the city's defenders from the mounds. But the garrison made a stout defence of the city from the walls. The whole place was filled with corpses, wreckage, armour, and missiles, of which some were just sinking, while others, after sinking from the violence of the first shock, floated on the waters. A vast number of barbarian shields and also ship's benches, as a result of the collisions of the siege-engines on the ships, drifted on the surface. The mass of floating weapons almost covered the whole surface between the wall and the mounds. The lake was turned to gore, and all about the walls echoed the groans of the barbarians, slaying not, but being slain¹ in manifold ways and by all manner of wounds.

Who could find suitable words to describe all that was done there? They hurled fire down on to the shields, and many of the hoplites fell half-burned, while others who fled from the flames could not escape the danger from the missiles. But some while still swimming were wounded in the back and sank to the bottom, while others who jumped from the siege-engines were hit before they touched the water, and so found not safety indeed but an easier death. As for those who knew not how to swim, and perished more obscurely than those just mentioned, who would attempt to name or number them? Time would fail me did I desire to recount all this in detail. It is enough that you

¹ cf. *Iliad*, 4. 451. ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

κεφάλαιον δὲ ἀκούειν ἀπόχρη. ταύτην ἥλιος B
 ἐπεῖδε τὴν μάχην ἄγνωστον ἀνθρώποις τὸν ἔμπρο-
 σθεν χρόνον· ταῦτα τὴν παλαιὰν ἀλαζονείαν
 ἤλεγξε τῶν Μήδων τύφον ὄντα κενόν· ταῦτα τῆς
 Ξέρξου παρασκευῆς ἀπιστουμένης τέως τὸ μέγεθος,
 εἰ τοσαύτη γενομένη τέλος ἔσχεν αἰσχρὸν καὶ
 ἐπονείδιστον, ἐναργέστερον τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι
 γνωρίμων ἡμῖν κατέστησεν. ὁ μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο πλεῖν
 καὶ πεζεύειν ἀπεναντίον τῇ φύσει μαχόμενος
 καί, ὥσπερ οὖν ᾤετο, κρατῶν ἡπείρου φύσεως C
 καὶ θαλάττης ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνας ἡττᾶτο σοφίας καὶ
 ῥώμης στρατιωτῶν οὐ τρυφᾶν μεμελετηκότων οὐδὲ
 δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρως ἄρχεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν εἰ-
 δότων. ὁ δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐκείνου καταδεέστε-
 ρος, ἔμπληκτος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τοὺς
 Ἀλωάδας ὑπερβαλλόμενος μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ πλησίον
 ὅρος ἐγνωκὼς ἀμφικαλύψαι τῇ πόλει, ἐπαφίεις δὲ
 ποταμῶν ρεύματα καὶ τὰ τείχη διαλύσας οὐδὲ D
 ἀτειχίστου τῆς πόλεως περιγενόμενος ἔσχεν ἐφ'
 ὅτῳ σεμνύνηται, καθάπερ ὁ Ξέρξης ταῖς Ἀθήναις
 ἐμβαλὼν τὴν φλόγα. ἐπανήει δὲ τεττάρων μηνῶν
 ἀναλώσας χρόνον μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἡττον ἀπάγων
 τὸ σράτευμα, καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἡγάπησεν ὁ πρόσ-
 θεν ἀφόρητος δοκῶν, τὴν σὴν ἀσχολίαν καὶ τὴν
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων ταραχὴν ὥσπερ ἔρυμα
 τῆς αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενος σωτηρίας.

Ταῦτα καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τρόπαια καὶ

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

should hear the sum of the matter. On that day the sun beheld a battle the like of which no man had ever known before. These events exposed the historic boastings of the Medes as only empty conceit. Till then men had hardly believed that Xerxes could have had so huge an armament, seeing that for all its size its fate was so shameful and ignominious; but these events made the fact clearer to us than things long familiar and obvious. Xerxes tried to sail and to march by fighting against the laws of nature, and, as he thought, overcame the nature of the sea and of the dry land, but he proved to be no match for the wisdom and endurance of a Greek whose soldiers had not been bred in the school of luxury, nor learned to be slaves, but knew how to obey and to use their energies like free-born men. That man,¹ however, though he had no such vast armament as Xerxes, was even more insensate, and outdid the Aloadae in his infatuation, as if almost he had conceived the idea of overwhelming the city with the mountain² that was hard by. Then he turned the currents of rivers against its walls and undermined them, but even when the city had lost its walls he could not succeed in taking it, so that he had not even that triumph to boast of, as Xerxes had when he set fire to Athens. So, after spending four months, he retreated with an army that had lost many thousands, and he who had always seemed to be irresistible was glad to keep the peace, and to use as a bulwark for his own safety the fact that you had no time to spare and that our own affairs were in confusion.

Such were the trophies and victories that you

¹ Sapor.

² *Odyssey* 8. 49.

νίκας, ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀκμήτας ἤγες τὸ στρά- 29
 τευμα, τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐμπλήσαι τροπαίων
 ἐγνωκώς. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκεῖ¹ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα, εἰ
 καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν εἶχον σεμνότερον,
 πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἀποφῆναί σε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς
 αὐτῆς σοι μετασχόντων τύχης συνέσει καὶ ῥώμῃ
 κρατοῦντα. τὸ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς ὤσασθαι μὲν τὴν
 Περσῶν δύναμιν, οὐ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρούριον, ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ στρατιώτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου προέμενον, B
 πολιορκία δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι λαμπρὸν καὶ οἶον
 οὐπω πρόσθεν ἠκούσαμεν, τίμι χρὴ τῶν ἔμπροσ-
 θεν παραβαλεῖν ἔργων; περιβόητος γέγονεν ἡ
 Καρχηδονίων ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς τόλμα, ἀλλ' ἔτελεύτη-
 σεν εἰς συμφοράς· λαμπρὰ τὰ περὶ τὴν Πλα-
 ταιέων πολιορκίαν γενόμενα, ἐχρήσαντο δὲ οἱ
 δειλαιοὶ γνωριμώτερον τοῖς δυστυχήμασι. τί χρὴ
 Μεσσήνης καὶ Πύλου μεμνήσθαι, οὔτε ἀγωνισαμέ-
 νων καρτερώς οὔτε ἀλόντων ξὺν βία; Συρακούσιοι C
 δὲ τὸν σοφὸν ἐκείνον ἀντιτάξαντες ταῖς παρα-
 σκευαῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως καὶ τῷ καλῷ κάγαθῷ
 στρατηγῷ τί πλεον ὦναντο; οὐχ ἑάλωσαν μὲν
 τῶν ἄλλων αἵσχιον, ἐσώζοντο δὲ καλὸν ὑπόμνημα
 τῆς τῶν ἐλόντων πραότητος; Ἄλλ' εἰ πάσας
 ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις βουλοίμην, αἱ πρὸς τὰς
 ὑποδεεστέρας οὐ κατήρκεσαν παρασκευάς, πόσας
 οἶμι μοι βίβλους ἀρκέσειν; τῆς Ῥώμης δὲ ἴσως
 ἄξιον μνησθῆναι πάλαι ποτὲ χρησαμένης τύχῃ
 τοιαύτῃ, Γαλατῶν οἶμαι καὶ Κελτῶν ἐς ταῦτὸ D

¹ ἀρκεῖ Cobet, ἤρκει MSS, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

left behind you in Asia, and you led your troops to Europe in perfect condition, determined to fill the whole world with the monuments of your victories. Even if I had nothing more wonderful to relate about you, what I have said is enough to demonstrate that in good sense and energy you surpass all those in the past whose fortune was the same as yours. Indeed to have repulsed the whole strength of Persia and remain unscathed, not to have lost so much as a soldier from the ranks, much less a town or fort, and finally to have brought the siege to so brilliant and unprecedented a conclusion,—what achievement I ask in the past could one compare with this? The Carthaginians were famous for their daring in the face of danger, but they ended in disaster. The siege of Plataea shed lustre on its citizens, but all that their valour could do for those unhappy men was to make their misfortunes more widely known. What need to quote Messene or Pylos, since there the defeated did not make a brave defence nor was a vigorous assault necessary to subdue them? As for the Syracusans, they had their famous man of science¹ to aid them against the armaments of Rome and our illustrious general,² but what did he avail them in the end? Did they not fall more ignominiously than the rest, and were only spared to be a glorious monument of their conqueror's clemency? But if I wished to reckon up all the states that could not withstand armaments inferior to their own, how many volumes do you think would suffice? Rome, however, I ought perhaps to mention, because long ago she had just such a fortune, I mean when the Galatians and

¹ Archimedes.

² Marcellus 212 B.C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

πνευσάντων καὶ φερομένων ἐπ' αὐτὴν καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἐξαίφνης. κατέλαβον μὲν γὰρ τὸν λόφον ἐκείνου, οὐ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίδρυται βρέτας· γέρροις δὲ καὶ τισι τοιούτοις οἶονεὶ τείχει φραξάμενοι, πολυπραγμονούντων οὐδὲν προσιέναι τῶν πολεμίων βία τολμώντων, ἐκράτησαν.

Ταύτῃ παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τὴν 30
 ἔναγχος τῷ τέλει τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ἔργοις οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ὅσαι πάλαι γεγόνασιν. τίς γὰρ ἔγνω κυκλουμένην μὲν ὕδασι πόλιν,¹ λόφοις δὲ ἔξωθεν καθάπερ δικτύοις περιβληθεῖσαν, καὶ ποταμὸν ἐπαφιέμενον οἶονεὶ μηχανήμα, συνεχῶς ῥέοντα καὶ προσρηγνύμενον τοῖς τείχεσι, τὰς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑδάτων μάχας καὶ ὅσαι περὶ τῷ τείχει κατενεχθέντι γεγόνασιν;² ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφη, ἀπόχρη καὶ ταῦτα· τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ ἐστὶ μακρῶ σεμνότερα. καὶ τυχὸν οὐδαμῶς εὐλογον ἅπαξ B
 ἐλόμενον ἀπάντων ἐς δύναμιν μνησθῆναι τῶν σοι πραχθέντων, ἀκμαζουσῶν ἔτι τῶν πράξεων, ἀφεῖναι τὴν διήγησιν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔτι τοῖς ἔργοις προσκαθήμενος, ὧν μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην, περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διώκησας, πρεσβείας πέμπων καὶ ἀναλίσκων χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα τὰ προσκαθήμενα τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκπέμπων, τοῦ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τὸν πρεσβύτην ὑπὸ

¹ πόλιν Reiske, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

² γεγόνασιν; Wright, γεγόνασιν. Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Celts¹ conspired together, and without warning poured down on the city like a winter torrent.² The citizens occupied the famous hill³ on which stands the statue of Jupiter. There they intrenched themselves with wicker barricades and such like defences, as though with a wall, while the enemy offered no hindrance nor ventured to approach to attack at close quarters, and so they won the day.

It is with this siege that the recent one may well be compared, at least in the issue of its fortunes; for the actual occurrences could not be paralleled in all history. For who ever heard of surrounding a city with water, and from without throwing hills about it like nets, then hurling at it, like a siege-engine, a river that flowed in a steady stream and broke against its walls, or of fighting like that which took place in the water and about the wall where it had fallen in? For my purpose, this is, as I said, evidence enough. But what remains to tell is far more awe-inspiring. And perhaps, since I have undertaken to record, as far as possible, all that you accomplished, it is not fair to break off my narrative at the point where you were at the very height of your activity. For even while you were occupied by the interests I have just described, you arranged your affairs in Europe, despatching embassies, spending money, and sending out the legions that were garrisoning Paeonia against the Scythians, all of which was with the intention of preventing that feeble old man⁴ from being overpowered by the

¹ The Galatians, i.e. the Gauls, and Celts are often thus incorrectly distinguished, cf. 34 C. 36 B. 124 A.

² 390 B.C. under Brennus.

³ The Capitoline.

⁴ Vetricio.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τοῦ τυράννου προνοῶν, πῶς ἂν τις ἐν βραχεὶ λόγῳ
 παραστήσῃ δύναίτο καὶ πάνυ σπουδάζων;

Ἐπεὶ δέ, ἤδη σου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὠρμημένον,
 οὐκ οἶδα παρ' ὅτου δαιμόνων ἐξαιρεθεὶς τὸν νοῦν καὶ
 τὰς φρένας ὁ τέως πιστὸς μενεῖν φύλαξ ἐπαγγελλό-
 μενος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατοπέδοις καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ περισωζόμενος εἰρήνην
 ὡμολόγησε τῷ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνοσιωτάτῳ
 καὶ πολεμῖν κοινῇ μὲν ἀπάντων, ὁπόσοις εἰρήνης
 μέλει καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκ παντὸς στέργουσιν, ἰδίᾳ D
 δὲ σοὶ καὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων· οὔτε ἔδειςας τῆς
 παρασκευῆς τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε ἀπίστων ἀνδρῶν
 ξυμμαχίαν πλέον ἔχειν¹ ὑπέλαβες τῆς ἔμφρονος
 γνώμης. ἐγκαλῶν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τῷ μὲν ἀπιστίαν,
 τῷ δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ πράξεων ἐναγῶν καὶ παρανόμων
 τολμήματα, τὸν μὲν εἰς δίκην καὶ κρίσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
 στρατοπέδων προυκάλεις, τοῦ δὲ κριτὴν ὑπελάμ-
 βανες εἶναι τὸν πόλεμον. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ὁ
 καλὸς καὶ συνετὸς ἀπήντα πρεσβύτης, εὐχερέστε- 31
 ρον παιδαρίου τινὸς μετατιθέμενος τὰ δόξαντα καὶ
 ὦν εὖ πάθοι δεόμενος μετὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐπιλήσμων·
 παρῇν δὲ ἄγων ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγας καὶ τάξεις
 ἱππέων, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πείθοι, βιασόμενός σε² ὀπίσω
 πάλιν ἀπιέναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἄπρακτον· οὐδὲν ἐκ-
 πλαγεῖς, ὅτι τὸν σύμμαχον καὶ στρατηγὸν μενεῖν
 ἐπαγγελλόμενον πολέμιον εἶδες ἐξ ἴσης ἄρχειν
 ἐθέλοντα, καίτοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατευμάτων

¹ πλέον ἔχειν Hertlein suggests, πλέον MSS.

² σε Hertlein adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

usurper.¹ But how could one, with the best will in the world, present all this in a short speech?

No sooner had you set out for the seat of war, than this very man, who had all along protested that he would loyally continue to guard your interests, though you had reinforced him with money, troops, and everything of the sort, was driven to folly and madness by I know not what evil spirit, and came to terms with the most execrable of mankind, the common enemy of all who care for peace and cherish harmony above all things, and more particularly your enemy for personal reasons. But you were undismayed by the magnitude of his preparations, nor would you admit that a conspiracy of traitors could overreach your own wise purpose. One² of the pair you justly accused of treason, the other³ of infamous crimes besides, and deeds of lawless violence, and you summoned the former to trial and judgment before the legions, the latter you decided to leave to the arbitrament of war. Then he met you face to face, that honourable and prudent old man, who used to change his opinions more easily than any child, and, though he had begged for them, forgot all your favours as soon as the need had passed. He arrived with his phalanxes of hoplites and squadrons of cavalry, intending to compel, if he could not persuade you, to take no action and return the way you came. When, then, you saw this man, who had protested that he would continue to be your ally and general, playing an enemy's part and claiming an equal share of your empire, you were not at all dismayed, though his troops outnumbered

¹ Magnentius.

² Vetranio.

³ Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἐλαττούμενος, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες εἶποντο, πρὸς πλήθει B
 κρατοῦντα διαγωνίζεσθαι τολμηρὸν μὲν ἴσως,
 σφαλερὸν δὲ πάντως¹ ὑπολαβὼν καὶ κρατήσαντι
 τῇ μάχῃ διὰ τὸν ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ τοῖς
 πράγμασιν ἄγριον τύραννον, ἐβουλεύσω καλῶς
 μόνον εἶναι σὸν ἐθέλων τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ παρήγει
 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τοῦ τέως συνάρχοντος· συνῆει C
 δὲ ὀπλίτης δῆμος στίλβων τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὰ ξίφη
 γυμνὰ καὶ τὰ δόρατα προτείνοντες, δειλῶ μὲν φρικῶ-
 δες καὶ δεινὸν θέαμα, εὐψύχῳ δὲ καὶ θαρραλέῳ καὶ
 οἶος αὐτὸς γέγονας ὄφελος γενναῖον. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ
 πρῶτον ἤρξω τῶν λόγων, σιγὴ μὲν ἐπέσχε, πρὸς τὴν
 ἀκοὴν ὠρμημένων πάντων, τὸ στράτευμα· δάκρυα δὲ
 προυχεῖτο πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας
 ὤρεγον, σιγὴ καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες, ὡς μή τις αἰσθηται.
 τὴν εὐνοίαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδείκνυντο καὶ² διὰ τῆς
 ὄψεως, πάντες δὲ τῷ σφόδρα ὠρμησθαι τῶν λόγων D
 ἀκούειν. ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς δημηγορίας συννεθυ-
 σιῶντες τῷ λόγῳ πάντες ἐπεκρότουν, εἴτα αὖθις
 ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡσύχαζον. τέλος δὲ ὑπὸ
 τῶν λόγων ἀναπειθόμενοι σὲ³ μόνον ἐκάλουν
 βασιλέα, μόνον ἄρχειν ἡξίου ἀπάντων, ἡγεῖσθαι
 σφῶν ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον, ἀκολουθήσειν
 ὡμολόγουν, ἀπολαμβάνειν ἡξίου τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ
 γνωρίσματα. σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν χεῖρα προσάγειν
 ὦου δεῖν οὐδὲ ἀφελέσθαι ξὺν βίᾳ· ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν
 καὶ μόλις, εἴξας δὲ ὅμως ὀψέ ποτε, φασί, τῇ

¹ πάντως Hertlein suggests, ἄλλως MSS, cf. 222 A 353 C.

² καὶ Hertlein adds.

³ σὲ Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

yours. For you had not brought your whole force with you, since you decided that to fight it out with such odds against you might be courageous but was in every way hazardous, even if you won the battle, because of that other savage usurper¹ who was lying in wait for a favourable opportunity² when you should be in difficulties. You therefore made a wise resolve in preferring to achieve success single-handed, and you mounted the platform with him who for the moment was your colleague in empire. He was escorted by a whole host of hoplites with glittering weapons,³ presenting drawn swords and spears, a sight to make a coward shake with fear, though it inspired and supported one so brave and gallant as yourself. Now when first you began to speak, silence fell on the whole army and every man strained his ears to hear. Many shed tears and raised their hands to heaven, though even this they did in silence, so as to be unobserved. Some again showed their affection in their faces, but all showed it by their intense eagerness to hear your words. When your speech reached its climax, they were carried away by enthusiasm and burst into applause, then eager to miss no word they became quiet again. Finally, won by your arguments, they hailed you as their only Emperor, demanded that you alone should rule the whole empire, and bade you lead them against your adversary, promising to follow you and begging you to take back the imperial insignia. You, however, thought it beneath you to stretch out your hand for them or to take them by force. Then against his will and with reluctance, but

¹ Magnentius. ² Demosthenes, *De Chersoneso* 42.

³ Euripides, *Andromache* 1146.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Θετταλικῇ πειθανάγκῃ, προσῆγέ σοι περιελόμενος 32
τὴν ἀλουργίδα. οἷός τις ἐνταῦθα γέγονας τοσού-
των μὲν ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων καὶ χρημάτων ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ γεγονὼς κύριος, τὸν πολέμιον δέ, εἰ καὶ
μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα, τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἀφελόμενος καὶ τοῦ σώματος κρατήσας;

Ἄρ' οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ἄμεινον καὶ δικαιότερον
προσηνέχθης ἢ Κῦρος τῷ πάππῳ, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν
δὲ τὰς τιμὰς διεφύλαξας οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς ἀφελόμενος,
προσθεὶς δὲ οἶμαι δωρεὰς πολλοῖς; τίς δέ σ' ¹ B
εἶδεν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ κρατῆσαι σκυθρωπὸν λῖαν ἢ μετὰ
τοῦθ' ὑπερηδόμενον; καίτοι πῶς ² ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν
ἐστί σε δημηγόρον ἅμα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα
χρηστὸν καὶ γενναῖον ὀπλίτην προσαγορεύοντας;
ὃς πάλαι μὲν ἀπορραγὲν τὸ στρατηγεῖον ³ ἀπὸ τοῦ
βήματος εἰς ταῦτόν πάλιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν ἠξίωσας
σχῆμα, μιμούμενος οἶμαι Ὀδυσσεά καὶ Νέστορα
καὶ τοὺς ἐξελόντας Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαίων στρατη- C
γούς, οἳ φοβερωτέρους αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος
τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ τῆς παρατά-
ξεως αἰεὶ κατέστησαν. Δημοσθένους δὲ καὶ ὅστις
τοῦτον ἐξήλωκε τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἰσχὺν αἰδού-
μενος, τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δημηγορίας οὐποτ' ἂν
ἀξιώσαιμι τῷ ⁴ σφ' παραβαλεῖν τὰ κείνων θέατρα.
οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐδημηγόρουν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ
τοσούτων κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἢ

¹ σ' Reiske adds.

² ἴσως Hertlein suggests.

³ στρατηγεῖον Cobet, Hertlein στρατήγιον MSS.

⁴ After τῷ Petavius adds σφ'.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

yielding at last to what is called Thessalian persuasion,¹ he took off the purple robe and offered it to you. What a heroic figure yours was then, when, in a single day, you became master of all those races, those legions, all that wealth, when you stripped of his power and took prisoner one who, if not in fact yet in intention, had shown that he was your enemy!

Did you not behave more nobly and more generously to him than Cyrus did to his own grandfather? For you deprived your enemy's followers of nothing, but protected their privileges and, I understand, gave many of them presents besides. Who saw you despondent before your triumph or unduly elated after it? Orator, general, virtuous emperor, distinguished soldier, though men give you all these titles, how can any praise of ours be adequate? Long had the orator's platform been wholly disconnected from the general's functions²; and it was reserved for you to combine them once more in your person, in this surely following the example of Odysseus and Nestor and the Roman generals who sacked Carthage; for these men were always even more formidable to wrong-doers whom they attacked from the platform than to the enemy in the field of battle. Indeed I pay all the homage due to the forcible eloquence of Demosthenes and his imitators, but when I consider the conditions of your harangue I can never admit that there is any comparison between your theatre and theirs. For they never had to address an audience of hoplites nor had they such great interests at stake, but only

¹ A proverb for necessity disguised as a choice, cf. 274 c

² Aeschines, *Ctesiphon* 74. 18.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τιμῆς ἢ δόξης, ἢ φίλοις συνερεῖν ἐπαγγελάμενοι,
 ἀπῆεσαν οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, τοῦ D
 δήμου θορυβήσαντος, ὥχροι καὶ τρέμοντες, ὥσπερ
 οἱ δειλοὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν ὄψει στρατηγοὶ παρα-
 ταττόμενοι. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοσοῦτον
 ἔργον ἐτέρῳ πραχθὲν πώποτε καὶ τοσοῦτων ἐθνῶν
 κτήσιν ἐκ δικαστηρίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα
 τῆς δίκης οὔσης οὐχ, ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, εὐκατα- 33
 φρόνητον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς μὲν στρατείαις γνώριμον,
 πρεσβύτην δὲ ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ
 χρόνου δοκοῦντα προσειληφέναι καὶ τῶν στρατο-
 πέδων ἐκείνων ἄρχειν λαχόντα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον.
 τίς οὖν ἡ ῥώμη γέγονε τῶν λόγων; τίς δὲ ἡ πειθῶ
 τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπικαθημένη, ἡ¹ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων συνειλεγμένων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν²
 ἰσχύσασα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ νίκην παρασχεῖν τῷ
 μεγέθει μὲν ἐνάμιλλον ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων περι- B
 γινομέναις, εὐαγῇ δὲ καὶ καθαρᾷ, ὥσπερ ἱερέως
 ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως ἐς πόλεμον,
 ἔργον γενομένην; καίτοι γε μὴν ταύτης εἰκόνα τῆς
 πράξεως μακρῷ λειπομένην καὶ Πέρσαι θρυλοῦσι,
 τοὺς Δαρείου παῖδας τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαφερομένους δίκη τὰ καθ'
 αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιτρέψαι κρίσει.
 σοὶ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
 οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἀγῶν γέγονεν οὐδὲ εἰς· ἔχαιρες C

¹ ἢ Cobet, ἢ Reiske adds, Hertlein.

² ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἰσχύσασα Cobet, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχυσε Schaefer, Hertlein, ἐναπολιπεῖν ἰσχύσαι MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

money, or honour, or reputation, or friends whom they had undertaken to assist, yet when the citizens clamoured in dissent, they often, I believe, left the platform pale and trembling, like generals who prove to be cowards when they have to face the enemy in battle-line. Indeed from all history it would be impossible to cite an achievement as great as yours when you acquired control of all those races by judicial pleading alone; and moreover you had to make out your case against a man not by any means to be despised, as many people think, but one who had won distinction in many campaigns, who was full of years, who had the reputation of experience gained in a long career, and had for a considerable period been in command of the legions there present. What overwhelming eloquence that must have been! How truly did "persuasion sit on your lips"¹ and had the power to "leave a sting" in the souls of that motley crowd of men, and to win you a victory that in importance rivals any that were ever achieved by force of arms, only that yours was stainless and unalloyed, and was more like the act of a priest going to the temple of his god than of an emperor going to war. It is true indeed that the Persians have a similar instance to quote, but it falls far short of what you did, I mean that on their father's death the sons of Darius quarrelled about the succession to the throne and appealed to justice rather than to arms to arbitrate their case. But between you and your brothers there never arose any dispute, either in word or deed, nay not one, for it was in fact more

¹ From the description of the oratory of Pericles, Eupolis *fr.* 94: *πειθὴ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν | οὕτως ἐκῆλαι καὶ μόνος τῶν ρητόρων | τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.* Cf. 426 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δὲ οἶμαι τῷ κοινῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἶναί σοι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μόνος ἀπάντων γενέσθαι κύριος· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν ἢ παράνομον οὐδὲν εἰργασμένον, ἄπιστον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ φανέντα ἐν¹ ἐλέγχους, οἱ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἐκείνου δείξουσι.

Ταύτην ἐκδέχεται στρατεία λαμπρὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν καὶ πόλεμος ἱερός, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, ὁποῖον τὸν Φωκικὸν ἀκούομεν συστήναι² κατὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς D πολιτείας καὶ φόνου πολιτῶν μυρίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνηρῇκει, τοὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεχείρησε συλλαβεῖν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι δεδιὼς μή τις αὐτὸν πολίτην μοχθηρόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βάρβαρον ὑπολάβῃ φύσει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν ἀδικήματα οὐδενὸς ὄντα τῶν κοινῇ τολμηθέντων αὐτῷ φαυλότερα καὶ ἐλάττονος ἀξιοῦν ᾧ δεῖν φροντίδος· οὕτω σοι τὰ κοινὰ πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἔδοξε καὶ δοκεῖ τίμια.

Πότερον οὖν χρὴ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀπάντων 34 μεμνήσθαι ὧν εἰς τε³ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἔδρασε, κτείνας μὲν τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δεσπότην· ἀνδράποδον γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων, τῆς ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν λείας λείψανον δυστυχὲς περισσώζομενον· ἄρχειν δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν, ᾧ μηδὲ ἐλευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἦν νομισθῆναι μὴ τοῦτο παρ'

¹ ἐν Reiske adds, ἐλέγχου σοι V.

² συστήναι Petavius, Cobet, ἐνστήναι Schaefer, Hertlein, στήναι MSS.

³ ὧν εἰς τε Schaefer, ὧν τε εἰς Hertlein, εἰς V, ἐς MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

agreeable to you to share the responsibility with them than to be the sole ruler of the world. But your quarrel was with one who, though his actions had not so far been impious or criminal, was shown to have a treasonable purpose, and you brought proofs to make that treason manifest.

After your harangue there followed a brilliant campaign and a war truly sacred, though it was not on behalf of sacred territory, like the Phocian war, which we are told was waged¹ in the days of our ancestors, but was to avenge the laws and the constitution and the slaughter of countless citizens, some of whom the usurper² had put to death, while others he was just about to kill or was trying to arrest. It was really as though he was afraid that otherwise he might be considered, for all his vices, a Roman citizen instead of a genuine barbarian. As for his crimes against your house, though they were quite as flagrant as his outrages against the state, you thought it became you to devote less attention to them. So true it is, that, then as now, you rated the common weal higher than your private interests.

I need not mention all the usurper's offences against the community and against individuals. He assassinated his own master. For he had actually been the slave of the murdered emperor's ancestors, a miserable remnant saved from the spoils of Germany. And then he aimed at ruling over us, he who had not even the right to call himself free, had you not granted him the

¹ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 230, a favourite common-place.

² Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὑμῶν λαβόντι· καὶ ὡς ¹ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 ξυνδῶν καὶ ἀποκτιννὺς καὶ δουλεύων αἰσχυρῶς τῷ
 πλήθει καὶ κολακεύων τὴν εὐταξίαν διέφθειρε·
 καὶ ὡς τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους ἐτίθει νόμους, τὴν B
 ἡμίσειαν εἰσφέρειν, θάνατον ἀπειλῶν τοῖς ἀπει-
 θοῦσι, μηνυτὰς δὲ εἶναι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν
 οἰκετῶν· καὶ ὅπως ἡνάγκαζε τοὺς οὐδὲν δεομένους
 τὰ βασιλικά κτήματα πρίασθαι; ἐπιλείψει με
 τὰ κείνου διηγούμενον ὁ χρόνος ἀδικήματα καὶ
 τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς καταλαβούσης τὸ μέγεθος.
 ἀλλὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἣν
 κατέβαλε μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχρήσατο δὲ C
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἰσχὺν τίς ἂν ² ἀξίως παραστήσει;
 Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται, ἔθνη καὶ τοῖς πάλαι φανέντα
 δυσανταγώνιστα, πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιρρεύσαντα
 καθάπερ χειμάρρους ἀνυπόστατος Ἰταλοῖς καὶ
 Ἰλλυριοῖς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀψάμενα τῷ
 κρατεῖν τοῖς ἐνόπλοις ἀγῶσιν, ἄκοντες ³ ἡμῖν
 ὑπήκουσαν, ἔς τε ⁴ τοὺς καταλόγους τῶν στρατευ-
 μάτων ἐγγράφονται καὶ τέλη παρέχονται λαμπρὰ
 παρὰ τῶν σὼν προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς κατειλεγμένα·
 εἰρήνης δὲ μακρᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐκ ταύτης ἀγαθῶν
 ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπιδούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς χώρας πρὸς D
 πλοῦτον καὶ εὐανδρίαν, καὶ ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς σοῖς
 στρατιώτας καταλέξαι πολλοὺς παρέσχοντο,
 τέλος δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ βία καὶ οὐ γνώμη πανδημεῖ
 συνεστρατεύοντο. ἠκολούθουν δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ
 ξυγγενές ξύμμαχοι προθυμότατοι Φράγγοι καὶ

¹ ὡς Hertlein adds.

² ἂν Schaefer adds.

³ ἄκοντες Reiske, Hertlein, ἀλόντες MSS.

⁴ τε Wytttenbach adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

privilege. Those in command of the legions he imprisoned and put to death, while to the common soldiers he behaved with such abject servility and deference that he ruined their discipline. Then he enacted those fine laws of his, a property tax of fifty per cent., and threatened the disobedient with death, while any slave who pleased might inform against his master. Then he compelled those who did not want it to purchase the imperial property. But time would fail me were I to tell of all his crimes and of the vast proportions that his tyranny had assumed. As for the armament which he had collected to use against the barbarians but actually employed against us, who could give you an adequate report of its strength? There were Celts and Galatians¹ who had seemed invincible even to our ancestors, and who had so often like a winter torrent that sweeps all before it,² poured down on the Italians and Illyrians, and, following up their repeated victories on the field of battle, had even invaded Asia, and then became our subjects because they had no choice. They had been enrolled in the ranks of our armies and furnished levies that won a brilliant reputation, being enlisted by your ancestors, and, later, by your father. Then, since they enjoyed the blessings of long-continued peace, and their country increased in wealth and population, they furnished your brothers with considerable levies, and finally, by compulsion, not choice, they all in a body took part in the usurper's campaign. The most enthusiastic of his followers were, in virtue of their ties of

¹ Gauls.

² Demosthenes, *De Corona* 153,

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Σάξονες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥήνον καὶ περὶ ¹ τὴν
 ἐσπερίαν θάλατταν ἐθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. καὶ
 πόλις πᾶσα καὶ φρούριον πρόσοικον Ῥήνῳ τῶν 35
 ἐνοικούντων φυλάκων ἐξερημωθέντα προδέδοτο
 μὲν ἀφύλακτα πάντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
 δὲ ἐξεπέμπετο παρεσκευασμένον λαμπρῶς τὸ
 στράτευμα· πᾶσα δὲ ἐφκει πόλις Γαλατικὴ
 στρατοπέδῳ παρασκευαζομένῳ πρὸς πόλεμον· καὶ
 πάντα ἦν ὄπλων καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱππέων καὶ
 πεζῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν πλήρη. συρ-
 ρέοντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπανταχόθεν τῶν B
 ἐκείνου ξυμμάχων καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα πάλοι κατει-
 λεγμένοις στρατιώταις ἐς ταῦτὸν ἐλθόντων, οὐδεὶς
 οὕτως ἐφάνη τολμηρὸς, ὃς οὐκ ἔδεισεν οὐδὲ
 ἐξεπλάγη τὸν ἐπίοντα χειμῶνα. σκηπτὸς ἐδόκει
 πᾶσιν ὁ φερόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων, σκηπτὸς
 ἀφόρητος ἔργῳ καὶ ἄρρητος λόγῳ. τοῦτον ἔδεισαν
 Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Παῖονες καὶ Θράκες καὶ Σκύθαι,
 τοῦτον οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντες ἄνθρωποι ἐφ'
 αὐτοὺς ὠρμήσθαι πάντως ὑπέλαβον, τούτῳ
 πολεμήσειν ἤδη περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ Πέρσαι C
 παρεσκευάζοντο. ὁ δὲ μικρὰ μὲν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι
 τὰ παρόντα καὶ πόνον οὐ πολλὸν τῆς σῆς συνέσεως
 καὶ ῥώμης κρατῆσαι, τοὺς Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐσκόπει
 πλούτους καὶ Περσῶν τὴν πολυτέλειαν· τοσοῦτον²
 αὐτῷ περιῆν ἀνοίας καὶ θράσους ἐκ μικροῦ παν-
 τελῶς περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους πλεονεκτήματος,
 οὓς ἀφυλάκτους ὅλη τῇ στρατιᾷ λοχήσας ἔκτεινεν.
 οὕτῳ τὸ πράττειν εὖ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀρχὴ
 πολλάκις γέγονε τοῖς ἀνοήτοις μειζόνων συμφορῶν.

¹ περὶ Hertlein suggests.

² [καὶ] τοσοῦτον Hertlein,

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

kinship, the Franks and Saxons, the most warlike of the tribes who live beyond the Rhine and on the shores of the western sea. And since every city and every fortified place on the banks of the Rhine was shorn of its garrison, that whole region was left with no defence against the barbarians, and all that splendidly organised army was despatched against us. Every town in Galatia¹ was like a camp preparing for war. Nothing was to be seen but weapons of war and forces of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men. When these allies of the usurper began to pour into Italy from all quarters and there joined the troops who had been enrolled long before, there was no one so bold as not to feel terror and dismay at the tempest that threatened.² It seemed to all as though a thunderbolt had fallen from the Alps, a bolt that no action could avert, no words describe. It struck terror into the Illyrians, the Paeonians, the Thracians, the Scythians; the dwellers in Asia believed it was directed entirely against themselves, and even the Persians began to get ready to oppose it in their country's defence. But the usurper thought his task was easy, and that he would have little difficulty in baffling your wisdom and energy, and already fixed his covetous gaze on the wealth of India and the magnificence of Persia. To such an excess of folly and rashness had he come, and after a success wholly insignificant, I mean the affair of the scouts whom, while they were unprotected by the main army, he ambushed and cut in pieces. So true it is that when fools meet with undeserved success³ they often find it is but the prelude to greater misfortunes. And so, elated by

¹ Gaul.

² 351 A.D.

³ Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* l. 23.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀρθεῖς γὰρ ὁ δαίλαιος ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ταύτης D
μετέωρος κατέλιπε μὲν τὰ προκείμενα τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐρμυνὰ χωρία, ἐς Νωρικοὺς δὲ καὶ Παίονας ἀφυ-
λάκτως ἦει, δεῖν αὐτῷ τάχους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπλων
οὐδὲ ἀνδρείας οἰόμενος.

“Ὁ δὲ καταμαθὼν ἐπανήγες ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν
τὸ στράτευμα, εἶπετο δὲ ἐκεῖνος, διώκειν, οὐχὶ
δὲ καταστρατηγεῖσθαι νομίσας, ἕως εἰς τὴν
εὐρυχωρίαν ἄμφω κατέστητε. τῶν πεδίων δὲ
τῶν πρὸ τῆς Μύρσης ὀφθέντων, ἐτάττοντο 36
μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως¹ ἵππεῖς ἑκατέρου πεζοὶ τε
τε ἐν μέσῳ· ἔχων δὲ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ, τῷ λαιῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερ-
βαλλόμενος ἐτρέψω μὲν εὐθέως καὶ διέλυσας
τὴν φάλαγγα οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκειμένην ὀρθῶς,
ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρου πολέμων καὶ στρατηγίας
αὐτὴν κοσμήσαντος. ὁ δὲ τέως διώκειν ὑπο-
λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἀφικόμενος, ἔφενγε B
καρτερῶς ἐκπλαγεῖς τὸν κτύπον τῶν ὅπλων, οὐδὲ
τὸν ἐνυάλιον παιᾶνα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπαλαλα-
ζόντων ἀδεῶς ἀκούων. διαλυθείσης δὲ οἱ στρα-
τιῶται τῆς τάξεως συνιστάμενοι κατὰ λόχους
πάλιν τὸν ἀγῶνα συνέβαλον, αἰσχυνόμενοι μὲν
ὀφθῆναι φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ τέως ἄπιστον ἅπασιν
ἀνθρώποις ἐφ' αὐτῶν δεῖξαι συμβαῖνον, στρατιώ-
την Κελτόν, στρατιώτην ἐκ Γαλατίας τὰ νῶτα
τοῖς πολεμίοις δείξαντα. οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τὴν C
ἐπάνοδον ἀπεγνωκότες, εἰ πταίσειαν, ἢ κρατεῖν
ἢ θνήσκειν δράσαντές τι δεινὸν τοὺς πολεμίους
ἠξίου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοσοῦτον πε-

¹ ἐπὶ κέρως Wytttenbach, Hertlein, ἐπικαλῶς MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

this stroke of luck, he left the fortified posts that protected the Italian frontier, and marched towards the Norici and the Paeonians, taking no precautions, because he thought that speed would serve him better than force of arms or courage.

The moment that you learned this, you led your army out of the narrow and dangerous passes, and he followed in pursuit, as he thought, unaware that he was being outgeneralled, until you both reached open country. When the plains before Myrsa¹ were in sight, the cavalry of both armies were drawn up on the wings, while the infantry formed the centre. Then your Majesty kept the river on your right, and, outflanking the enemy with your left, you at once turned and broke his phalanx, which indeed had from the first the wrong formation, since it had been drawn up by one who knew nothing of war or strategy. Then he who so far had thought he was the pursuer did not even join battle, but took to headlong flight, dismayed by the clash of weapons; he could not even listen without trembling when the legions shouted their battle-song. His ranks had been thrown into disorder, but the soldiers formed into companies and renewed the battle. For they disdained to be seen in flight, and to give an example in their own persons of what had hitherto been inconceivable to all men, I mean a Celtic or Galatian² soldier turning his back to the enemy. The barbarians too, who, if defeated, could not hope to make good their retreat, were resolved either to conquer, or not to perish till they had severely punished their opponents. Just see the extraordinary daring

¹ In Pannonia 353 A.D.

² Gallic.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ριὴν θράσους¹ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοῦ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πολλὴ προθυμία.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ὅλων κρατήσαντες, αἰδούμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, παροξυνόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι κατορθωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ τέως ἀπίστων ἔργων, τέλος ἄξιον τοῖς προὔπηργμένοις ἐπιθεῖναι φιλο- D
τιμούμενοι πάντα ὑπέμενον ἡδέως πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄρτι τῆς παρατάξεως ἀρχομένης, συνιόντες πάλιν ἔργα τόλμης ἀπεδείκνυντο καὶ θυμοῦ γενναῖα, οἱ μὲν ὠθούμενοι περὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ λαμβανόμενοι τῶν ἀσπίδων, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὁπόσους ἵπποι τρωθέντες ἀπεσεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο. ταῦτα ἔδρων οἱ ξὺν τῷ τυράννῳ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐπιβρίσαντες· καὶ ἦν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ ἴσης, ἕως οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος, 37
οἱ μὲν ἐκ τόξων βάλλοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπελαύνοντες τοὺς ἵππους, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινον, ἐδίωκον δὲ ἅπαντας καρτερῶς, τινὰς μὲν πρὸς τὸ πεδίου ὠρμηκότας φεύγειν, ὧν ἡ νύξ ὀλίγους ἀπέσωσε μόλις, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατηνέχθη, καθάπερ βοῶν ἢ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλη συνελανόμενοι. τοσαῦτα ἐκείνο τὸ στράτευμα τῆς τοῦ τυράννου δειλίας, οὐδὲν ἐκείνον ὀνήσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῆς αὐτοῦ, μάτην ἀπέλαυσε.

Τρόπαιον δὲ ἀνέστησας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τοῦ πατρῷου λαμπρότερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τέως ἀμάχους

¹ θράσους Wyttenbach, Cobet, θράσος MSS, Hertlein.
πρὸς . . . καὶ τοῦ Hertlein suggests, καὶ πρὸς . . . τοῦ MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of the usurper's troops in the face of dangers and their great eagerness to come to close quarters !

Our men, on the other hand, had so far carried all before them and were anxious to retain the good opinion of their comrades and of the Emperor, and were moreover stimulated by their successes in the past and by the almost incredible brilliance of their exploits in this very engagement, and, ambitious as they were to end the day as gloriously as they had begun it, cheerfully encountered toil and danger. So they charged again as though the battle had only just begun, and gave a wonderful display of daring and heroism. For some hurled themselves full on the enemy's swords, or seized the enemy's shields, others, when their horses were wounded and the riders thrown, at once transformed themselves into hoplites. The usurper's army meanwhile did the same and pressed our infantry hard. Neither side gained the advantage, till the cuirassiers by their archery, aided by the remaining force of cavalry, who spurred on their horses to the charge, had begun to inflict great loss on the enemy, and by main force to drive the whole army before them. Some directed their flight to the plain, and of these a few were saved just in time by the approach of night. The rest were flung into the river, crowded together like a herd of oxen or brute beasts. Thus did the usurper's army reap the fruits of his cowardice, while their valour availed him nothing.

The trophy that you set up for that victory was far more brilliant than your father's. He led an

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δοκοῦντας ἄγων ἐκράτει γέροντος δυστυχούς· σὺ δὲ ἡβώσαν καὶ ἀκμάζουσιν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς μόνον οἷς ἔδρα, τῇ νεότητι δὲ πλέον, τὴν τυραννίδα παρεστήσω, τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ παρασκευασθεῖσι στρατοπέδοις παραταξάμενος. τίς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχει τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων ἱππικὴν δύναμιν καὶ σκευὴν τῶν ὀπλων τοιαύτην ἐπινοήσαντα καὶ μιμησάμενον; C
ἢ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐγγυμνασάμενος διδάσκαλος ἐγένου τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀπλων χρήσεως ἀμάχου. ὑπὲρ ἧς εἰπεῖν τολμήσαντες πολλοὶ τῆς ἀξίας διήμαρτον, ὥσθ' ὅσοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσαντες ὕστερον ἰδεῖν ἠτύχησαν τὰς ἀκοὰς σαφῶς ἀπιστοτέρας ἔγνωσαν εἶναι τῶν ὁμμάτων. ἄπειρον γὰρ ἦγες¹ ἱππέων πλῆθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχουμένους, οἷς συνήρμοστο τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων D
καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ² τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ κνήμαι καὶ μηροὶ μηδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευῆς ταύτης ἔρημοι λείπονται. συναρμοζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διὰ τινων ἐκ κρίκου λεπτοῦ πεποιημένων οἰονεὶ ὑφασμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὀφθεῖν τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ 38
καμπτομένοις ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. ταῦτα

¹ ἦγες V, Hertlein, εἶχες MSS.

² ἐκ Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

army that had always proved itself invincible, and with it conquered a miserable old man.¹ But the tyranny that you suppressed was flourishing and had reached its height, partly through the crimes that had been committed, but still more because so many of the youth were on that side, and you took the field against it with legions that had been trained by yourself. What emperor can one cite in the past who first planned and then reproduced so admirable a type of cavalry, and such accoutrements? First you trained yourself to wear them, and then you taught others how to use such weapons so that none could withstand them. This is a subject on which many have ventured to speak, but they have failed to do it justice, so much so that those who heard their description, and later had the good fortune to see for themselves, decided that their eyes must accept what their ears had refused to credit. Your cavalry was almost unlimited in numbers and they all sat their horses like statues, while their limbs were fitted with armour that followed closely the outline of the human form. It covers the arms from wrist to elbow and thence to the shoulder, while a coat of mail protects the shoulders, back and breast. The head and face are covered by a metal mask which makes its wearer look like a glittering statue, for not even the thighs and legs and the very ends of the feet lack this armour. It is attached to the cuirass by fine chain-armour like a web, so that no part of the body is visible and uncovered, for this woven covering protects the hands as well, and is so flexible that the wearers can bend even their fingers.² All this I desire to represent in words as vividly as

¹ Licinius.

² cf. Oration 2. 57 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὁ λόγος παραστήσαι μὲν σαφῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ, ἀπολειπόμενος δὲ θεατὰς τῶν ὅπλων τοὺς μαθεῖν τι πλέον ἐθέλοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀκροατὰς τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηγήσεως ἀξιοῖ γενέσθαι.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον διεληλύθαμεν, ληγούσης ἤδη τῆς ὁπώρας, ἂρ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν B διήγησιν πάλιν ἀφήσομεν; ἢ πάντως τὸ τέλος ἀποδοῦναι τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ποθοῦσιν¹ ἄξιον; ἐπέλαβε μὲν ὁ χειμὼν καὶ παρέσχε διαφυγεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν τὸν τύραννον. κηρύγματα δὲ ἦν λαμπρὰ καὶ βασιλικῆς ἄξια μεγαλοψυχίας· ἄδεια δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδίδото τοῖς ταξαμένοις μετὰ τοῦ τυράννου, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀνοσίῳ ἐκείνῳ φόνων ἐκοινώνει· ἀπελάμβανον τὰς οἰκίας ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πατρίδας οἱ μὴδὲ ὄψεσθαι τι τῶν φιλτάτων αὐτοῖς ἐλπίζοντες. ὑπεδέχου τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς C Ἰταλίας ἐπανερχόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐκεῖθεν πολίτας κατὰγον φεύγοντας οἶμαι τὴν τῶν τυράννων ὁμότητα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει στρατεῦσθαι, πάλιν ἐφειστήκεις δεινὸς τῷ τυράννῳ. ὁ δὲ προβάλλετο τὰς Ἰταλῶν δυσχωρίας, καὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ἐκεῖ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐναποκρύψας τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτὸς οὐδὲ ὑπαίθριος ἐτόλμα στρατεῦειν. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πλησίον πόλιν D τρυφῶσαν καὶ πολυτελῆ, ἐν πανηγύρεσι καὶ τρυφαῖς ἔτριβε τὸν χρόνον, ἀρκέσειν μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τῶν ὁρῶν τὴν δυσχωρίαν μόνον οἰόμενος. ἀκόλαστος δὲ ὢν φύσει κερδαίνειν ᾤετο τὸ χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐν τοσούτοις κακοῖς,

¹ τοῖς ποθοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ποθοῦσιν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I can, but it is beyond my powers, and I can only ask those who wish to know more about this armour to see it with their own eyes, and not merely to listen to my description.

Now that I have told the story of this first campaign, which was fought at the end of the autumn, shall I here break off my narrative? Or is it altogether unfair to withhold the end and issue of your achievements from those who are eager to hear? Winter overtook us and gave the usurper a chance to escape punishment. Then followed a splendid proclamation worthy of your imperial generosity. An amnesty was granted to those who had taken sides with the usurper, except when they had shared the guilt of those infamous murders. Thus they who had never hoped even to see again anything that they held dear, recovered their houses, money, and native land. Then you welcomed the fleet which arrived from Italy bringing thence many citizens who, no doubt, had fled from the usurper's savage cruelty. Then when the occasion demanded that you should take the field, you again menaced the usurper. He however took cover in the fastnesses of Italy and hid his army away there in the mountains, wild-beast fashion, and never even dared to carry on the war beneath the open heavens. But he betook himself to the neighbouring town¹ which is devoted to pleasure and high living, and spent his time in public shows and sensual pleasures, believing that the impassable mountains alone would suffice for his safety. Moreover, intemperate as he was by nature, he thought it clear gain to be able to indulge his appetites at so dangerous a crisis, and

¹ Aquileia.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δῆλός τε ἦν λίαν πεπιστευκῶς ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ
 παρόντα ἔχειν, ἀποτεριχισμένης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς
 Ἰταλίας τοῖς ὄρεσι, πλὴν ὅσον ἐξ ἡμισείας ἢ 39
 θάλασσα τεναγώδης οὔσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίω
 ἔλεσιν ἐμφορῆς ἄβατον καὶ νηίτη στρατῷ πολεμίων
 ἀνδρῶν καθίστησιν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν οὐδὲ ἐν ἡ φύσις
 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφροσύνην τοῖς ἀκο-
 λίστοις καὶ δειλοῖς ἔρυμα μηχανήσασθαι, πάντα
 ὑποχωρεῖν φρονήσει μετὰ ἀνδρείας ἐπιούσῃ
 παρασκευάζουσα· πάλαι τε ἡμῖν ἐξηῦρε τὰς
 τέχνας, δι' ὧν εἰς εὐπορίαν τῶν τέως δοξάντων B
 ἀπόρων κατέστημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἔργων τὸ πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον εἶναι φαινόμενον¹
 ἐπιτελούμενον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς σῶφρονος. ὁ δὲ καὶ
 τότε τοῖς ἔργοις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δείξας εἰκότως ἂν
 ἀποδέχοιο τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγους.

Ἐστράτευες μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑπαίθριος, καὶ ταῦτα
 πλησίον παρούσης πόλεως οὐ φαύλης, τοῖς στρα-
 τενομένοις δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος τὸ πονεῖν καὶ
 κινδυνεύειν, ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτὸς ἔδρας παρεγγυῶν
 ἄτραπον μὲν ἐξηῦρες ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσι, πέμψας
 δὲ ἀξιόμαχον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ὀπλιτῶν C
 μοῖραν, εἶτα ἐπειδὴ σαφῶς ἔγνωσ αὐτοὺς τοῖς
 πολεμίοις ἐφεστῶτας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγες τὸ
 στράτευμα, καὶ κύκλῳ περιέχων πάντων ἐκράτη-
 σας. ταῦτα ἐδράτο πρὸ τῆς ἑω, ἡγγελτο δὲ πρὸ
 μεσημβρίας τῷ τυράννῳ ἀμίλλαις ἵππικαῖς καὶ

¹ After φαινόμενον Reiske thinks ἐπέδειξε has fallen out.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

he evidently placed too much confidence in the safety of his position, because the town is cut off from that part of Italy by a natural rampart of mountains, except the half that is bounded by a shoaling sea, which resembles the marshes of Egypt and makes that part of the country inaccessible even to an invading fleet. It seems however as though nature herself will not devise any safeguard for the sensual and cowardly against the temperate and brave, for when prudence and courage advance hand in hand she makes everything give way before them. Long since she revealed to us those arts through which we have attained an abundance of what was once thought to be unattainable, and in the field of individual effort we see that what seemed impossible for many working together to achieve can be accomplished by a prudent man. And since by your own actions you demonstrated this fact it is only fair, O my Emperor, that you should accept my words to that effect.

For you conducted the campaign under the open skies, and that though there was a city of some importance near at hand, and moreover you encouraged your men to work hard and to take risks, not merel by giving orders, but by your own personal example. You discovered a path hitherto unknown to all, and you sent forward a strong detachment of hoplites chosen from your whole army; then when you had ascertained that they had come up with the enemy, you led forward your army in person, surrounded them, and defeated his whole force. This happened before dawn, and before noon the news was brought to the usurper. He was attend-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

πανηγύρει προσκαθημένῳ καὶ τῶν παρόντων οὐδὲν
 ἐλπίζοντι. τίς μὲν οὖν γέγονεν ἐκ τίνος, καὶ D
 ποταπὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ
 ὅπως ἐκλιπὼν ἔφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 πᾶσαν, τοὺς φόβους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀδικίας
 ἐκκαθαίρομενος, οὐ τοῦ παρόντος ἂν εἶη λόγου
 διηγείσθαι. ἔμελλε δὲ βραχείας ἀνοκωχῆς τυχὼν
 οὐδέν τι μείον τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δράσειν. οὕτως
 οὐδὲν πρὸς πονηρίαν ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀνόσιος ¹
 ἐξηῦρε καθάρσιον διὰ τοῦ σώματος. ἀφικόμενος
 γὰρ εἰς Γαλατίαν ὁ χρηστὸς οὕτως καὶ νόμιμος
 ἄρχων τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ γέγονε χαλεπώτερος, 40
 ὥς, εἴ τις πρότερον αὐτὸν διαφυγὼν ἐλελήθει
 τιμωρίας τρόπος ὁμότατος, τοῦτον ἐξευρὼν
 θέαμα κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἀθλίων
 πολιτῶν παρεῖχε συμφοράς· ἄρματος ζῶντας
 ἐκδήσας καὶ μεθεῖς φέρεσθαι τοῖς ἡνιόχοις ἔλκειν
 ἂν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς ἐφεστηκῶς καὶ θεώμενος
 τὰ δρώμενα· καὶ τισι τοιούτοις ἐτέροις αὐτὸν
 ψυχαγωγῶν τὸν πάντα διετέλει χρόνον, ἕως
 αὐτὸν καθάπερ Ὀλυμπιονίκης περὶ τῷ τρίτῳ B
 παλαίσματι καταβαλὼν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι τῶν
 τετολμημένων ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασας ὥσαντα διὰ
 τῶν στέρνων τὸ αὐτὸ ξίφος, ὃ πολλῶν πολιτῶν
 ἐμίανε φόνῳ. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς νίκης ² ἀμείνω
 καὶ δικαιότεραν οὐποτε γενέσθαι φημι οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἧ
 μᾶλλον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑψιφράνθη γένος,
 τοσαύτης ὁμότητος καὶ πικρίας ἀφεθὲν ὄντως
 ἐλεύθερον, εὐνομία δὲ ἤδη γανύμενον, ἧς τέως

¹ ἀνόσιος Cobet, ἀλλ' οὐ θεὸς V, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς MSS.

² νίκης MSS, Cobet, δίκης M, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

ing a horse-race at a festival, and was expecting nothing of what took place. How his attitude changed, what was his decision about the crisis, how he abandoned the town and in fact all Italy, and fled, thus beginning to expiate his murders and all his earlier crimes, it is not for this speech to relate. Yet though the respite he gained was so brief, he proceeded to act no less wickedly than in the past. So true is it that by the sufferings of the body alone it is impossible for the wicked to cleanse their souls of evil. For when he reached Galatia,¹ this ruler who was so righteous and law-abiding, so far surpassed his own former cruelty that he now bethought himself of all the ruthless and brutal modes of punishment that he had then overlooked, and derived the most exquisite pleasure from the spectacle of the sufferings of the wretched citizens. He would bind them alive to chariots and, letting the teams gallop, would order the drivers to drag them along while he stood by and gazed at their sufferings. In fact he spent his whole time in amusements of this sort, until, like an Olympic victor, you threw him in the third encounter² and forced him to pay a fitting penalty for his infamous career, namely to thrust into his own breast that very sword which he had stained with the slaughter of so many citizens.³ Never, in my opinion, was there a punishment more suitable or more just than this, nor one that gave greater satisfaction to the whole human race, which was now really liberated from such cruelty and harshness, and at once began to exult in the good government that we enjoy to this day.

¹ Gaul.

² In wrestling, the third fall secured the victory. Cf. *Or.* 2. 74 C.

³ 355 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ἀπολαύομεν καὶ ἀπολαύσαιμέν γε ἐπὶ πλέον, ὦ C
πάντα ἀγαθὴ πρόνοια.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ποθοῦντι μὲν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἅπασιν τοῖς
σοι πραχθεῖσιν, ἀπολειπομένῳ δὲ συγγνώμῃ
εἰκότως, ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, παρέξεις, εἰ μήτε
τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα μνημονε-
ύοιμι ἀπὸ τε Αἰγύπτου παρασκευασθέντων καὶ
ἐξ¹ Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλευσάντων, μήτε
ὥς τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὁρῶν ἐκράτησας ναυσὶν
ἐκπέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὰ στράτευμα, μήτε τῶν
ἐναγχὸς σοι πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους D
πραχθέντων, μήτ' εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τῶν πάσαι
γεγονὸς λέληθε τοὺς πολλούς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν
Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σοῦ² ἐπώνυμον ἐπονομά-
ζουσιν ἀκούω πολλάκις. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν
κτίσαντα, πλουτεῖ δὲ ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν
εὐπορίαν ἐπιδέδωκε διὰ σὲ λιμένας εὐόρμους τοῖς
καταίρουσι παρασχόντα· τέως δὲ οὐδὲ παραπλεῖν
ἀσφαλὲς οὐδὲ ἀκίνδυνον ἐδόκει· οὕτως ἦν πάντα 41
σκοπέλων τινῶν καὶ πετρῶν ὑφάλων ἀνάπλεα τῆς
θαλάσσης τῆσδε πρὸς ταῖς ἡόσι. στοὰς δὲ καὶ
κρήνας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων διὰ
σὲ γέγονεν οὐδὲ ὀνομάζειν ἄξιον. ὅποσα δὲ τῇ
πατρίδι πόλει προστέθεικας, τεῖχος μὲν αὐτῇ
κύκλῳ περιβαλὼν ἀρξάμενον τότε, τὰ δοκοῦντα
δὲ οὐκ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν³ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων εἰς
ἀθάνατον ἀσφάλειαν κατατιθείς, τίς ἂν ἀπαριθ-
μήσαιτο; ἐπιλείψει με τούτων ἕκαστον ὁ χρόνος B
διηγούμενον.

¹ ἐξ Reiske, τῶν ἐξ MSS.

² πόλιν ἑαυτὴν σοῦ Wyttenbach, ἐπώνυμόν σοι ἑαυτὴν Reiske,
πόλιν ἐπώνυμον MSS, Hertlein.

³ ἔχειν Hertlein suggests.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

Long may we continue to enjoy it, O all-merciful Providence !

I would fain recite every single one of your achievements, but you will with reason pardon me, most mighty Emperor, if I fall short of that ambition and omit to mention the naval armament against Carthage which was equipped in Egypt and set sail from Italy to attack her, and also your conquest of the Pyrenees, against which you sent an army by sea, and your successes against the barbarians, which of late have been so frequent, and all such successes in the past as have not become a matter of common knowledge. For example, I often hear that even Antioch now calls herself by your name. Her existence she does indeed owe to her founder,¹ but her present wealth and increase in every sort of abundance she owes to you, since you provided her with harbours that offer good anchorage for those who put in there. For till then it was considered a dangerous risk even to sail past Antioch ; so full were all the waters of that coast, up to the very shores, of rocks and sunken reefs. I need not stop to mention the porticoes, fountains, and other things of the kind that you caused to be bestowed on Antioch by her governors. As to your benefactions to the city of your ancestors,² you built round it a wall that was then only begun, and all buildings that seemed to be unsound you restored and made safe for all time. But how could one reckon up all these things ? Time will fail me if I try to tell everything separately.

¹ Seleucus son of Antiochus.

² Constantinople.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Σκοπεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἄξιον ἤδη τῶν ῥη-
 θέντων, εἰ μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς βελτίστης ἕξεως
 ἅπαντα γέγονε· τούτῳ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τῶν λόγων
 ἀρχόμενος μάλιστα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἤξiouν.
 οὐκοῦν τῷ πατρὶ μὲν εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως
 ὅπως προσηνέχθης, ὁμονοῶν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
 διετέλεσας τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἀρχόμενος μὲν
 προθύμως, συνάρχων δὲ ἐκείνοις σωφρόνως, πάλαι C
 τε εἴρηται καὶ νῦν ἀξιούσθω μνήμης. τοῦτο δὲ
 ὅστις μικρὰς ἀρετῆς ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν Ἀλέξανδρον
 τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσου σκοπῶν
 ἐπαινείτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μεράκιον ἔτι κομιδῇ νέον
 δῆλος ἦν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνεξόμενος ἄρχοντος, ὁ
 δὲ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν πάππον. καὶ ταῦτα
 οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως¹ ἡλίθιος, ὅστις οὐκ οἶεται σε,²
 μηδὲν ἐκείνων μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ
 φιλοτιμία λειπόμενον, οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σω-
 φρόνως τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς προσενηνέχθαι. D
 παρασχούσης γὰρ τῆς τύχης τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς
 ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας ἐχρῆν μεταποιηθῆναι, πρῶτος
 ὠρμήθης, πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ πρὸς τὰναν-
 τία ξυμπείθειν ἐπιχειρούντων· ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς
 ἀσφάλειαν τὸν ἐν χερσὶ πόλεμον διοικησάμενος
 ἐλευθεροῦν ἔγνωσ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ κατειλημμένα,
 δικαιοτάτην μὲν καὶ οἶαν οὕπω πρόσθεν ἔλαβε 42
 πρόφασιν πόλεμος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔχθρας

¹ οὕτως Reiske adds.

² σε Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

The time has now come when it is proper to consider whether your career, so far as I have described it, is at every point in harmony with virtue and the promptings of a noble disposition. For to this, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I think it right to pay special attention. Let me therefore mention once more what I said some time ago, that to your father you were dutiful and affectionate, and that you constantly maintained friendly relations with your brothers, for your father you were ever willing to obey, and as the colleague of your brothers in the empire you always displayed moderation. And if anyone thinks this a trifling proof of merit, let him consider the case of Alexander the son of Philip, and Cyrus the son of Cambyses, and then let him applaud your conduct. For Alexander, while still a mere boy, showed clearly that he would no longer brook his father's control, while Cyrus dethroned his grandfather. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that, since you displayed such modesty and self-control towards your father and brothers, you were not fully equal to Alexander and Cyrus in greatness of soul and ambition for glory. For when fortune offered you the opportunity to claim as your right the empire of the world, you were the first to make the essay, though there were many who advised otherwise and tried to persuade you to the contrary course. Accordingly, when you had carried through the war that you had in hand, and that with the utmost ease and so as to ensure safety for the future, you resolved to liberate that part of the empire which had been occupied by the enemy, and the reason that you assigned for going to war was most

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τιθέμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφύλιον ἄξιον προσαγορεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ βάρβαρος ἦν ἡγεμὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσας βασιλέα καὶ χειροτονήσας στρατηγόν. τῶν ἀδικημάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ ὧν ἔδρασεν εἰς οἰκίαν τὴν σὴν οὐχ ἡδύ μοι πολλάκις μεμνήσθαι. ἀνδρειότεραν δὲ τῆσδε τῆς πράξεως τίς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι; ἐφ' ἧς δῆλος μὲν ἦν ἀποτυχόντι τῶν ἔργων ὁ¹ κίνδυνος· ὑπέμενες B
δὲ οὐδὲν κέρδους χάριν οὐδὲ κλέος ἀείμνηστον ἀντωνούμενος, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πολλάκις τολμῶσιν, οἷον πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν δόξαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποδιδόμενοι, οὐδὲ μὴν δι' ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρχῆς μείζονος καὶ λαμπροτέρας, ὅτι μὴδὲ νέφ σοι τούτων ἐπιθυμῆσαι συνέβη, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν στέργων τῆς πράξεως πάντα ὑπομένειν ὧν δεῖν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ῥωμαίων βάρβαρον βασιλεύοντα καὶ νόμων κύριον καὶ πολιτείας καθεστῶτα καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν C
εὐχὰς ποιούμενον τὸν τοσούτοις ἀσεβήμασιν ἔνοχον καὶ φόνοις. τῆς παρασκευῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἢ λαμπρότης καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος τίνα οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἐκπληῆξαι; καίτοι Ξέρξην μὲν ἀκούω τὸν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξαναστήσαντα χρόνον ἐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δέκα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, εἴτα ἐπαγαγεῖν πρὸς ταῖς χιλιάσι τριήρεσι διακοσίας ἐκ τούτων αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν χωρίων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν D
οὐδὲ ὅλοις μῆσι δέκα ναυπηγησάμενος ἡγεiras τὸν στόλον, πλήθει νεῶν ἐκείνον ὑπερβαλλόμενος· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ οὐδὲ ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις.

¹ Hertlein suggests δ.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

just and such as had never before arisen, namely your detestation of those infamous men. Civil war one could not call it, for its leader was a barbarian who had proclaimed himself emperor and elected himself general. I dislike to speak too often of his evil deeds and the crimes that he committed against your house. But could anything be more heroic than your line of action? For should you fail in your undertaking the risk involved was obvious. But you faced it, and you were not bidding for gain, nay nor for undying renown, for whose sake brave men so often dare even to die, selling their lives for glory as though it were gold, nor was it from desire of wider or more brilliant empire, for not even in your youth were you ambitious of that, but it was because you were in love with the abstract beauty of such an achievement, and thought it your duty to endure anything rather than see a barbarian ruling over Roman citizens, making himself master of the laws and constitution and offering public prayers for the common weal, guilty as he was of so many impious crimes and murders. Who could fail to be dazzled by the splendour of your armament and the vast scale of your expenditure? And yet I am told that Xerxes, when he mustered all Asia against the Greeks, spent no less than ten years in preparing for that war. Then he set out with twelve hundred triremes, from the very spot, as I understand, where you gathered your fleet together, having built it in rather less than ten months, and yet you had more ships than Xerxes. But neither his fortune nor his achievements can properly be compared with yours.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

Τὴν δὲ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ δαπανήματα μεγαλοπρέ-
 πειαν μὴ πολὺν λίαν ἔργον ἢ φράζειν, οὐδὲ ὅποσα
 ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαι στερομέναις ἀπεδίδους ἀπαριθ- 43
 μούμενος ἐνοχλήσω τὰ νῦν. πλουτοῦσι μὲν γὰρ
 ἅπασαι διὰ σὲ ἐπὶ τῶν¹ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνδεεῖς οὔσαι
 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων
 ἕκαστος οἴκων διὰ τὰς κοινὰς τῶν πόλεων
 εὐετηρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἄξιον
 δωρεῶν μεμνήσθαι, ἐλευθέριόν σε καὶ μεγαλόδωρον
 βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντα, ὃς πολλοῖς μὲν στε-
 ρομένοις πάσαι τῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων, τοῦ
 πατρώου κλήρου συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκότος ἐν δίκῃ
 καὶ παρὰ δίκην, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐγένου κύριος,
 τοῖς μὲν καθάπερ δικαστῆς ἀγαθὸς τὰ τῶν B
 ἔμπροσθεν ἀμαρτήματα διορθωσάμενος κυρίου
 εἶναι τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας παρέσχες, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιεικῆς
 κριτῆς γενόμενος ταῦτα μὲν ὧν ἀφήρηντο πάλιν
 ἐχαρίσω, ἀρκεῖν οἰόμενος τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου
 πρὸς τιμωρίαν τοῖς παθοῦσιν· ὅσα δὲ αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν
 χαριζόμενος πλουσιωτέρους ἀπέφηνας πολλοὺς
 τῶν πάσαι δοξάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων C
 εὐπορίᾳ σεμνύνεσθαι, τί χρὴ νῦν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα
 περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν δοκεῖν; ἄλλως τε καὶ πᾶσιν
 ὄντος καταφανούς, ὅτι μηδεὶς πώποτε πλὴν
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου τοσαῦτα βασιλεὺς
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις διανέμων ὥφθη. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν
 ὁ τῶν φίλων πλούτος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμης
 ὑποπτος ἐφάνη μᾶλλον καὶ φοβερώτερος, ἄλλοι

¹ ἐπὶ τῶν Cobet, διὰ τῶν Wyttenbach, Hertlein, τῶν V, τὸν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

I fear that it is beyond my powers to describe the magnificence of your outlay for other purposes, nor will I risk being tedious by staying now to count up the sums you bestowed on cities that had long been destitute. For whereas, in the time of your predecessors, they lacked the necessities of life, they have all become rich through you, and the general prosperity of each city increases the welfare of every private household in it. But it is proper that I should mention your gifts to private persons, and give you the title of a generous and open-handed Emperor; for since there were many who long ago had lost their property, because, in some cases justly, in others unjustly, their ancestral estates had suffered loss, you had no sooner come into power, than like a just judge you set right in the latter cases the errors committed by men in the past, and restored them to the control of their property, while in the former cases you were a kindly arbiter, and granted that they should recover what they had lost, thinking that to have suffered so long was punishment enough. Then you lavished large sums from your privy purse, and increased the reputation for wealth of many who even in the past had prided themselves on their large incomes. But why should I remind you of all this and seem to waste time over trifles? Especially as it must be obvious to all that no king except Alexander the son of Philip was ever known to bestow such splendid presents on his friends. Indeed some kings have thought that the wealth of their friends gave more grounds for suspicion and alarm

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐγένειαν ὑπιδόμενοι
 πάντα τρόπον τοὺς εὖ γεγονότας προπηλακίζοντες
 ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῦντες ἄρδην τὰς οἰκίας κοινῇ μὲν ταῖς D
 πόλεσι συμφορῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνοσίων ἔργων
 αἰτιώτατοι κατέστησαν. οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο δὲ ἤδη
 τινὲς τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀγαθοῖς, ὑγιείᾳ φημὶ καὶ
 κάλλει καὶ εὐεξίᾳ, βασκαίνοντες· ψυχῆς τε ἀρετὴν
 ἔν τινι τῶν πολιτῶν γενομένην οὐδὲ ἀκούειν ὑπέ-
 μενον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδίκημα τοῦτο, καθάπερ ἀνδροφονία
 καὶ κλοπὴ καὶ προδοσία, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀρετῆς μετα-
 ποιηθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα τυχὸν ἀληθῶς οὐ βασιλέων 44
 φήσκει τις, πονηρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνελευθέρων τυράννων
 ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. ἐκείνο δὲ ἤδη τὸ πάθος
 οὐ τῶν ἀνοήτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ τινων ἐπιεικῶν
 καὶ πράων ἀνδρῶν ἀψάμενον, τὸ τοῖς φίλοις
 ἄχθεσθαι πλέον ἔχουσι¹ καὶ πολλάκις ἐλαττοῦν
 ἐθέλειν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι,
 τίς ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐτόλμησε; τοῦτο καὶ Κῦρόν
 φασὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν γάμβρον ὄντα βασιλέως παρὰ
 τοῦ κηδεστοῦ παθεῖν ἀχθομένου τῇ παρὰ τοῦ
 πλήθους εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῇ, καὶ Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
 δῆλος ἦν ἀχθόμενος τιμωμένῳ παρὰ τοῖς Ἴωσι B
 Λυσάνδρῳ.

Τούτους οὖν² πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἀρετῇ,
 τοῖς πλουτοῦσι μὲν τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀσφαλέστερον
 ἢ πατήρ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ κατέστησας, εὐγε-

¹ πλέον ἔχουσι Reiske, πλέον MSS, Hertlein.

² οὖν ὅτι MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

than did the resources of their enemies, while others were jealous of the aristocrats among their subjects, and therefore persecuted the well-born in every possible way, or even exterminated their houses, and thus were responsible for the public disasters of their cities and, in private life, for the most infamous crimes. There were some who went so far as to envy mere physical advantages, such as health or good looks, or good condition. And as for a virtuous character among their subjects, they could not bear even to hear of it, but counted it a crime like murder or theft or treason to appear to lay claim to virtue. But perhaps someone will say, and with truth, that these were the actions and practices not of genuine kings but of base and contemptible tyrants. Nay, but that other malady which has been known to attack not only those who were irrational, but some even who were just and mild, I mean the tendency to quarrel with friends who were too prosperous and to wish to humble them and deprive them of their rightful possessions, who I ask has ever dared so much as to mention such conduct in your case? Yet such, they say, was the treatment that Cyrus the Persian, the king's son-in-law, received from his kinsman,¹ who could not brook the honour in which Cyrus was held by the common people, and Agesilaus also is well known to have resented the honours paid to Lysander by the Ionians.

All these, then, you have surpassed in merit, for you have made their wealth more secure for the rich than a father would for his own children,

¹ Cyaxares.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

νείας δὲ τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων προνοεῖς καθάπερ
 ἀπάσης πόλεως οἰκιστῆς καὶ νομοθέτης· καὶ τοῖς
 ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθοῖς πολλὰ μὲν προστιθείς,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς χαριζόμενος, δῆλος
 εἶ τῷ μεγέθει μὲν τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων C
 δωρεὰς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, τῇ βεβαιότητι δὲ τῶν
 ἅπαξ δοθέντων τὰς παρὰ τῶν δῆμων χάριτας
 ἀποκρυπτόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι καὶ μάλα
 εἰκότως συμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς συνίσασιν
 αὐτοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς, τοῖς κεκτημένοις
 βασκαίνουσιν, ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ
 λαμπρὰ καὶ οἶα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 προαιρέσεως τῶν ἐκ τῆς τύχης μακρῷ σεμνότερα,
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτου δεόμενος τῷ κεκτημένῳ φθονήσειεν. D
 ὃ δὲ καὶ σαυτῷ μάλιστα πάντων ὑπάρχειν ἐγ-
 νωκῶς χαίρεις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθοῖς,
 εὐφραίνει δέ σε τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων κατορθώματα·
 καὶ τιμὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν ἐχαρίσω, τὰς δὲ
 ἤδη μέλλεις, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐνίων βουλευῆ· καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπόχρη σοι πόλεως μιᾶς οὐδὲ ἔθνους ἑνὸς οὐδὲ
 πολλῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπ'
 αὐταῖς τιμὰς διανέμειν· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ βασιλείας
 ἔλοιο κοινωνόν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοσοῦτον ὑπομείνας 45
 πόνον τὸ τῶν τυράννων γένος ἀνῆρηκας, οὐδὲν
 ἄξιον τῶν σαυτοῦ κατορθωμάτων ἔργον ὑπέλαβες.
 καὶ ὅτι μὴ χρεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ χαίρειν πάντα

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

and you take thought that your subjects shall be well-born, as though you were the founder and law-giver of every single city. Those to whom fortune has been generous you still further enrich, and in many cases men owe all their wealth to your generosity, so that in amount your gifts clearly surpass those of other princes, while, in security of ownership of what has once been given, you cast into the shade any favours bestowed by democracies.¹ And this is, I think, very natural. For when men are conscious that they lack certain advantages, they envy those who do possess them, but when a man is more brilliantly endowed by fortune than any of his fellows, and by his own initiative has won even higher dignities than fate had assigned him, he lacks nothing, and there is none whom he need envy. And since you realise that in your case this is especially true, you rejoice at the good fortune of others and take pleasure in the successes of your subjects. You have already bestowed on them certain honours, and other honours you are on the point of bestowing, and you are making plans for the benefit of yet other persons. Nor are you content to award to your friends the government of a single city or nation, or even of many such, with the honours attaching thereto. But unless you chose a colleague² to share that empire on whose behalf you had spared no pains to exterminate the brood of usurpers, you thought that no act of yours could be worthy of your former achievements. That you reached this decision not so much because it was necessary as because you

¹ An echo of Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 15.

² Gallus 351 A.D.: then Julian 355 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δωρούμενος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμησας τὴν γνώμην,
 ἅπασιν οἶμαι γνώριμον γέγονε. τῶν μὲν γὰρ
 πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀγώνων κοινωνὸν οὐχ εἵλου,
 τῆς τιμῆς δὲ τὸν οὐ μετασχόντα τῶν πόνων
 ἠξίωσας μεταλαβεῖν μόνον, ὅτε μηδὲν ἔτι φοβερὸν
 ἐδόκει. καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀφελὼν δῆλος B
 εἶ, τῶν πόνων δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν κοινωνεῖν
 ἀξιοῖς. πλὴν εἴ που δέοι πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπόμενόν
 σοι στρατεύεσθαι. πότερον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων
 μαρτύρων τινῶν καὶ τεκμηρίων τῷ λόγῳ προσδεῖ;
 ἢ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὅτι μὴ ψευδεῖς ἐπείσάγει
 λόγους; ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον
 ἄξιον ἐνδιατρίβειν.

Σωφροσύνης δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς καὶ φρονήσεως
 καὶ ὄσπην εὖνοϊαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνεργάσω, C
 βραχέα διελθεῖν ἴσως οὐκ ἄτοπον. τίς γάρ σ'¹
 ἀγνοεῖ τῶν ἀπάντων τοσαύτην ἐκ παίδων τῆς
 ἀρετῆς ταύτης ἐπιμέλειαν ἐσχηκότα, ὅσπην οὐδεὶς
 ἄλλος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν; καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐν παισι
 σωφροσύνης μάρτυς ὁ πατὴρ γέγονεν ἀξιό-
 χρεως, σοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀδελφούς διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας μόνῳ, ὅντι γε οὐδὲ
 πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων. τῆς δὲ ἐν
 ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντες αἰσθανόμεθα, καθάπερ πολί- D
 του τοῖς νόμοις ὑπακούοντος, ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλέως
 τῶν νόμων ἄρχοντος, αἰεὶ σου προσφερομένου τῷ
 πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει. τίς γάρ σ'² ἔγνω μείζον
 ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας φρονήσαντα; τίς δὲ ἐπαρθέντα

¹ σ' Hertlein suggests.

² σ' Hertlein suggests.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

take pleasure in giving all that you have to give, is, I suppose, well known to all. For you chose no colleague to aid you in your contests with the usurpers, but you thought it right that one who had not shared in the toil should share in the honour and glory, and that only when all danger seemed to be over. And it is well known that from that honour you subtract not even a trifling part, though you do not demand that he should share the danger even in some small degree, except indeed when it was necessary for a short time that he should accompany you on your campaign. Does my account of this call for any further witnesses or proofs? Surely it is obvious that he who tells the tale would not be the one to introduce a fictitious account. But on this part of my subject I must not spend any more time.

A few words about your temperance, your wisdom, and the affection that you inspired in your subjects, will not, I think, be out of place. For who is there among them all who does not know that from boyhood you cultivated the virtue of temperance as no one had ever done before you? That in your youth you possessed that virtue your father is a trustworthy witness, for he entrusted to you alone the management of affairs of state and all that related to your brothers, although you were not even the eldest of his sons. And that you still display it, now that you are a man, we are all well aware, since you ever behave towards the people and the magistrates like a citizen who obeys the laws, not like a king who is above the laws. For who ever saw you made arrogant by prosperity? Who ever saw you up-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

τοῖς κατορθώμασι τοσούτοις¹ καὶ τηλικούτοις ἐν
 βραχεὶ χρόνῳ γενομένοις; ἀλλὰ τὸν Φιλίππου
 φασὶν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Περσῶν καθεῖλε
 δύναμιν, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν πρὸς ὄγκον
 μείζονα καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθῇ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπεροψίαν
 μεταβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τοῦ φύσαντος ὑπερορᾶν 46
 καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπάσης φύσεως. ἡξίου γὰρ
 υἱὸς Ἀμμωνος, ἀλλ' οὐ Φιλίππου νομίζεσθαι, καὶ
 τῶν συστρατευσαμένων ὅσοι μὴ κολακεύειν μηδὲ
 δουλεύειν ἠπίσταντο τῶν ἐαλωκότων πικρότερον
 ἐκολάζοντο. ἀλλὰ σοῦ γε τῆς εἰς τὸν πατέρα
 τιμῆς ἄρα ἄξιον ἐνταῦθα μεμνήσθαι; ὃν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ
 μόνον σεβόμενος, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις
 διετέλεις ἀνακηρύττων καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν ἥρωα.
 τῶν φίλων δέ, ἀξιοῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄχρῃς B
 ὀνόματος μόνον τῆς τιμῆς, πολὺ δὲ πλεόν διὰ τῶν
 πραγμάτων βεβαιοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦνομα· ἔστιν
 οὖν ἄρα τις ὁ μεμφόμενος ἀτιμίαν ἢ ζημίαν ἢ
 βλάβην ἢ τινα μικρὰν ὑπεροψίαν ἢ μείζονα; ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τού-
 των γὰρ οἱ μὲν γηραιοὶ σφόδρα, ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς
 τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου παραμείναντες,
 τὰς ἐπιμελείας τῶν κοινῶν συναπέθεντο τοῖς
 σώμασι, παισὶν ἢ φίλοις ἢ τισι πρὸς γένους τοὺς C
 κλήρους παραπέμποντες· ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 πόρους καὶ τὰς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύοντες, ἀφέσεως
 ἐντίμου τυχόντες, ζῶσιν ὀλβιοι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ
 μετήλλαξαν, εὐδαίμονες παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι

¹ τοσούτοις τῷ πλήθει V, τοσούτοις τὸ πλήθος MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

lifted by those successes, so numerous and so splendid, and so quickly achieved? They say that Alexander, Philip's son, when he had broken the power of Persia, not only adopted a more ostentatious mode of life and an insolence of manner obnoxious to all, but went so far as to despise the father that begat him, and indeed the whole human race. For he claimed to be regarded as the son of Ammon instead of the son of Philip, and when some of those who had taken part in his campaigns could not learn to flatter him or to be servile, he punished them more harshly than the prisoners of war. But the honour that you paid to your father need I speak of in this place? Not only did you revere him in private life, but constantly, where men were gathered together in public, you sang his praises as though he were a beneficent hero-god. And as for your friends, you grant them that honour not merely in name, but by your actions you make their title sure. Can any one of them, I ask, lay to your charge the loss of any right, or any penalty or injury suffered, or any overbearing act either serious or trifling? Nay there is not one who could bring any such accusation. For your friends who were far advanced in years remained in office till the appointed end of their lives, and only laid down with life itself their control of public business, and then they handed on their possessions to their children or friends or some member of their family. Others again, when their strength failed for work or military service, received an honourable discharge, and are now spending their last days in prosperity; yet others have departed this life, and the people call them blessed.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

κρινόμενοι. ὅλως δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ εἷς, ὃς ἐπειδὴ ταύτης ἡξιώθη τῆς τιμῆς, εἰ καὶ μοχθηρὸς ὕστερον ἐφάνη, τιμωρίας ἔτυχε μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος· ἥρκεσε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπηλλάχθαι μόνον καὶ μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔτι.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὧν καὶ γεγονὼς τοιοῦτος D
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπάσης, ἣ πρόσσεστιν ὄνειδος καὶ
μικρὸν, καθαρὰν τὴν ψυχὴν διεφύλαξας. μόνον δὲ
οἶμαι σὲ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων, σχεδὸν δὲ
πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἀνδράσι μόνον παράδειγμα πρὸς σωφροσύνην παρα-
σχεῖν κάλλιστον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀν- 47
δρας κοινωνίας. ὅσα γὰρ ἐκείναις ἀπαγορεύουσιν οἱ
νόμοι τοῦ γνησίου¹ φύεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιμελό-
μενοι, ταῦτα ὁ λόγος ἀπαγορεύει ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
παρὰ σοί. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἔχων ἔτι πλείονα
λέγειν ἀφίημι.

Τῆς φρονήσεως δὲ ἄξιον μὲν ἔπαινον διελθεῖν
οὐδαμῶς εὐχερές, μικρὰ δὲ ὅμως καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης
ῥητέον. ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔργα τῶν λόγων οἶμαι
πιστότερα. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν εἰκὸς τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν
καὶ δύναμιν μὴ παρὰ τῆς ἴσης διοικουμένην καὶ B
κρατουμένην φρονήσεως πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ κάλλος πράξεων· ἀγαπητὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ
τῇ τύχῃ μόνον δίχα φρονήσεως ἐπιτρεπομένη² ἐπὶ
πολὺ μένει.³ ἀνθῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ προσσχόντα
πρὸς βραχὺ ῥάδιον, διαφυλάξαι δὲ τὰ δοθέντα
ἀγαθὰ δίχα φρονήσεως οὐ λίαν εὐκόλον, μᾶλλον

¹ γνησίους MSS, Cobet, γνησίως V, Hertlein.

² M and Petavius omit πρὸς . . . ἐπιτρεπομένη.

³ μένει Wyttenbach, μένειν MSS, Hertlein, ἐπὶ πολὺ μένειν V and Spanheim omit.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

In short there is no man who having once been held worthy of the honour of your friendship, ever suffered any punishment great or small, even though later he proved to be vicious. For them all that he had to do was to depart and give no further trouble.

While this has been your character from first to last in all these relations, you always kept your soul pure of every indulgence to which the least reproach is attached. In fact I should say that you alone, of all the emperors that ever were, nay of all mankind almost, with very few exceptions, are the fairest example of modesty, not to men only but to women also in their association with men. For all that is forbidden to women by the laws that safeguard the legitimacy of offspring, your reason ever denies to your passions. But though I could say still more on this subject, I refrain.

Your wisdom it is by no means easy to praise as it deserves, but I must say a few words about it. Your actions, however, are more convincing, I think, than my words. For it is not likely that this great and mighty empire would have attained such dimensions or achieved such splendid results, had it not been directed and governed by an intelligence to match. Indeed, when it is entrusted to luck alone, unaided by wisdom, we may be thankful if it last for any length of time. It is easy by depending on luck to flourish for a brief space, but without the aid of wisdom it is very hard, or rather I might say impossible, to preserve the blessings that have been

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

δὲ ἀδύνατον ἴσως. ὅλως δὲ εἰ χρή καὶ περὶ
 τούτων ἐναργὲς φράζειν τεκμήριον, πολλῶν καὶ
 γνωρίμων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. τὴν γὰρ εὐβουλίαν C
 ὑπολαμβάνομεν τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ
 συμφερόντων ἐξευρίσκειν τὰ κράτιστα. σκοπεῖν
 οὖν ἄξιον ἐφ' ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' ἔν ἐστι
 τῶν σοι πραχθέντων. οὐκοῦν ὅπου μὲν ἦν
 ὁμονοίας χρεῖα, ἔχαιρες ἐλαττούμενος, ὅπου δὲ
 τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐχρὴν βοηθεῖν, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνείλου¹
 προθυμότητα. καὶ Περσῶν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν
 καταστρατηγήσας οὐδένα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀποβάλων
 διέφθειας, τὸν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους δὲ πόλεμον
 διελὼν τοῦ μὲν ἐκράτησας ταῖς δημηγορίαις, καὶ D
 τὴν μετ' ἐκείνου δύναμιν ἀκέραιον καὶ κακῶν
 ἀπαθῇ προσλαβὼν κατεπολέμησας μᾶλλον διὰ
 τῆς συνέσεως ἢ διὰ τῆς ῥώμης τὸν τοσούτων τοῖς
 κοινοῖς αἴτιον συμφορῶν. βούλομαι δὲ σαφέ-
 στερον περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν ἅπασι δεῖξαι, τίνι
 μάλιστα πιστεύσας² τοσούτοις σαυτὸν ἐπιδούς
 πράγμασιν οὐδενὸς ὅλως διήμαρτες. εὖ νοιαν οἶει 48
 δεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεύοντι
 ἐρυμάτων ἀσφαλέστατον. ταύτην δὲ ἐπιτάττοντα
 μὲν καὶ κελεύοντα καθάπερ εἰσφορὰς καὶ φόρους
 κτήσασθαι παντελῶς ἄλογον. λείπεται δὲ λοιπόν,
 καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὥρμηκας, τὸ πάντας εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ
 μιμῆσθαι τὴν θεῖαν ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύσιν· πρῶτος

¹ ἀνείλου Hertlein suggests, Cobet, cf. 94 D 95 A, εἴλω V, εἴλου MSS.

² πιστεύσας καὶ MSS,

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

bestowed. And, in short, if we need cite a convincing proof of this, we do not lack many notable instances. For by wise counsel we mean the ability to discover most successfully the measures that will be good and expedient when put into practice. It is therefore proper to consider in every case whether this wise counsel may not be counted as one of the things you have achieved. Certainly when there was need of harmony you gladly gave way, and when it was your duty to aid the community as a whole you declared for war with the utmost readiness. And when you had defeated the forces of Persia without losing a single hoplite, you made two separate campaigns against the usurpers, and after overcoming one of them¹ by your public harangue, you added to your army his forces, which were fresh and had suffered no losses, and finally, by intelligence rather than by brute force, you completely subdued the other usurper who had inflicted so many sufferings on the community. I now desire to speak more clearly on this subject and to demonstrate to all what it was that you chiefly relied on and that secured you from failure in every one of those great enterprises to which you devoted yourself. It is your conviction that the affection of his subjects is the surest defence of an emperor. Now it is the height of absurdity to try to win that affection by giving orders, and levying it as though it were a tax or tribute. The only alternative is the policy that you have yourself pursued, I mean of doing good to all men and imitating the divine nature on earth. To show mercy even in anger, to take away their

¹ Vetricano.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ὀργήν, τῶν τιμωριῶν δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ- B
σθαι τὰς χαλεπότητας, παίσασι δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως προσφέρεσθαι.
ταῦτα πράττων, ταῦτα θαυμάζων, ταῦτα τοῖς
ἄλλοις προστάττων μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην μὲν,
ἔτι τοῦ τυράννου κρατοῦντος τῆς Ἰταλίας, διὰ τῆς
γερουσίας εἰς Παιονίαν μετέστησας, προθύμους δὲ
εἶχες τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας.

Τῶν στρατευμάτων δὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν τίς ἂν ἀξίως
διηγῆσαιτο; τάξεις μὲν ἱππέων πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Μύρσῃ
παρατάξεως μεθειστήκει, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκρά- C
τησας, πεζῶν κατάλογοι καὶ τέλη λαμπρά. ἀλλὰ
τὸ μικρὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου δυστυχῇ τελευ-
τὴν ἐν Γαλατία γενόμενον κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἔδειξε
στρατοπέδων τὴν εὐνοίαν, τὸν θρασυνόμενον
καθάπερ ἐπ' ἔρημίας καὶ τὴν γυναικείαν ἀλουργίδα
περιβαλλόμενον ὥσπερ τινὰ λύκον¹ ἐξαίφνης δια-
σπασαμένων. ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γέγονας τῇ
πράξει, καὶ ὅπως πρῶτος ἅπασι καὶ φιλανθρώπως
τοῖς ἐκείνου γνωρίμοις προσηνέχθης, ὅσοι μηδὲν
ἠλέγχοντο ἐκείνῳ συμπράξαντες, πολλῶν ἐφε-
στηκότων τῇ κατηγορίᾳ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ τὴν D
πρὸς ἐκείνον φιλίαν ὑποπτεύειν μόνον κελευόντων,
ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς τίθεμαι τοῦτο² κεφάλαιον.
καὶ γὰρ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δικαίως φημὶ καὶ πολὺ πλεον
ἐμφρόνως πεπράχθαι. ὅστις δὲ ἄλλως ἡγεῖται
καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀληθοῦς ὑπολήψεως
καὶ τῆς ὁμῆς γνώμης διήμαρτε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ
ἐλεγχθέντας δίκαιον ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, σῶζεσθαι, 49

¹ τινὰ λύκον MSS, τινῶν λύκων Hertlein suggests.

² τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

harshness from acts of vengeance, to display kindness and toleration to your fallen enemies, this was your practice, this you always commended and enjoined on others to imitate, and thus, even while the usurper still controlled Italy, you transferred Rome to Paeonia by means of the Senate and inspired the cities with zeal for undertaking public services.

As for the affection of your armies, what description could do it justice? Even before the battle at Myrsa, a division of cavalry came over to your side,¹ and when you had conquered Italy bodies of infantry and distinguished legions did the same. But what happened in Galatia² shortly after the usurper's miserable end demonstrated the universal loyalty of the garrisons to you; for when, emboldened by his isolated position, another³ dared to assume the effeminate purple, they suddenly set on him as though he were a wolf and tore him limb from limb.⁴ Your behaviour after that deed, your merciful and humane treatment of all those of his friends who were not convicted of having shared his crimes, and that in spite of all the sycophants who came forward with accusations and warned you to show only suspicion against friends of his, this I count as the culmination of all virtue. What is more, I maintain that your conduct was not only humane and just, but prudent in a still higher degree. He who thinks otherwise falls short of a true understanding of both the circumstances and your policy. For that those who had not been proved guilty should be protected was

¹ Under Silvanus.

³ Silvanus.

² Gaul.

⁴ 355 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, I

ὑπόπτους δὲ τὰς φιλίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φευκτὰς
οὐδαμῶς ᾧου δεῖν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν
ὑπηκόων εὐνοίας ἐς τοῦτο μεγέθους ἀρθεῖς καὶ
πράξεων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ τετολμηκότος
νήπιον κομιδῇ τῆς πατρῶας οὐδὲν εἵσας μετα-
σχεῖν ζημίας. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ἡ πρᾶξις
ρέπουσα τελείας ἀρετῆς ὑπάρχει γνῶρισμα. * * *

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF CONSTANTIUS

of course just, and you thought you ought by no means to make friendship a reason for suspicion and so cause it to be shunned, seeing that it was due to the loyal affection of your own subjects that you had attained to such power and accomplished so much. But the son of that rash usurper, who was a mere child, you did not allow to share his father's punishment. To such a degree does every act of yours incline towards clemency and is stamped with the mint-mark of perfect virtue * * * * *.¹

¹ The peroration is lost. -

ORATION II

VOL. I.

K

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION II

THE Second Oration is a panegyric of the Emperor Constantius, written while Julian, after his elevation to the rank of Caesar, was campaigning in Gaul.¹ It closely resembles and often echoes the First, and was probably never delivered. In his detailed and forced analogies of the achievements of Constantius with those of the Homeric heroes, always to the advantage of the former, Julian follows a sophistic practice that he himself condemns,² and though he more than once contrasts himself with the "ingenious rhetoricians" he is careful to observe all their rules, even in his historical descriptions of the Emperor's campaigns. The long Platonic digression on Virtue and the ideal ruler is a regular feature of a panegyric of this type, though Julian neglects to make the direct application to Constantius. In the First Oration he quoted Homer only once, but while the Second contains the usual comparisons with the Persian monarchs and Alexander, its main object is to prove, by direct references to the Iliad, that Constantius surpassed Nestor in strategy, Odysseus in eloquence, and in courage Hector, Sarpedon and Achilles.

¹ 56 B and 101 D.

² 74 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ
ἢ ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

Τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φησὶν ἡ ποίησις, ὁπότε ἐμήνισε καὶ διηνέχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μεθεῖναι μὲν ταῖν χεροῖν τὴν αἶχμην καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα, ψαλτήριον δὲ ἁρμυσαμένον καὶ κιθάραν ᾄδειν καὶ ὑμνεῖν τῶν ἡμιθέων τὰς πράξεις, καὶ ταύτην διαγωγὴν τῆς ἡσυχίας ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ μάλα ἐμφρόνως τοῦτο διανοηθέντα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ παροξύνειν τὸν βασιλέα λίαν αὐθαδὲς καὶ ἄγριον· D
τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ἀπολύεται τῆς μέμψεως ὁ τῆς Θέτιδος, ὅτι τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἔργων εἰς ᾧδὰς καταχρήται καὶ κρούματα, ἔξδὸν τότε μὲν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ μὴ μεθιέναι, αὐθις δὲ ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ὑμνεῖν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ᾄδειν τὰ κατορθώματα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονά φησιν ὁ πατὴρ 50
ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων μετρίως καὶ πολιτικῶς προσ-
ενεχθῆναι τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπειλῇ τε χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔργοις ὑβρίζειν, τοῦ γέρωσ ἀφαιρούμενον. συνάγων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτὸν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταμελομένους, τὸν μὲν τῆς Θέτιδος ἐκβοῶντα

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, ἣ ἄρ τι τόδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
Ἐπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί,

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS,

OR, ON KINGSHIP

ACHILLES, as the poet tells us, when his wrath was kindled and he quarrelled with the king,¹ let fall from his hands his spear and shield ; then he strung his harp and lyre and sang and chanted the deeds of the demi-gods, making this the pastime of his idle hours, and in this at least he chose wisely. For to fall out with the king and affront him was excessively rash and violent. But perhaps the son of Thetis is not free from this criticism either, that he spent in song and music the hours that called for deeds, though at such a time he might have retained his arms and not laid them aside, but later, at his leisure, he could have sung the praises of the king and chanted his victories. Though indeed the author of that tale tells us that Agamemnon also did not behave to his general either temperately or with tact, but first used threats and proceeded to insolent acts, when he robbed Achilles of his prize of valour. Then Homer brings them, penitent now, face to face in the assembly, and makes the son of Thetis exclaim

“ Son of Atreus, verily it had been better on this wise for both thee and me ! ”²

¹ Agamemnon.

² *Iliad* 19. 56.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

εἶτα ἐπαρώμενον τῇ προφάσει τῆς ἀπεχθείας καὶ B
ἀπαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐκ τῆς μήνιδος ξυμφοράς, τὸν
βασιλέα δὲ αἰτιώμενον Δία καὶ Μοῖραν¹ καὶ
Ἑρινύν, δοκεῖ μοι διδάσκειν, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι
τοῖς προκειμένοις ἀνδράσιν οἶον εἰκόσι χρώμενος,
ὅτι χρή τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττειν
μηδὲ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἅπαν χρήσθαι μηδὲ ἐφίεναι
τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ ἵππῳ θρασεῖ χήτει χαλινού
καὶ ἡνιόχου φερομένῳ, παραινεῖν δὲ αὖ τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς ὑπεροψίαν βασιλικὴν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, C
φέρειν δὲ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πρῶως τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις,
ἵνα μὴ μεταμελείας αὐτοῖς ὁ βίος μεστὸς ᾖ.

Ταῦτα κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐννοῶν, ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ, καὶ
σὲ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν παιδείαν
ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ ἐθέλοντα πάντως κοινῇ μὲν²
ἅπαντας ἀγαθὸν τι δρᾶν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἰδίᾳ τιμὰς καὶ
γέρα ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις παρασκευάζοντα, τοσούτῳ δὲ
οἶμαι κρείττονα τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως εἶναι
ἐθέλοντα, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἡτίμαζε τοὺς ἀρίστους, σὺ
δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν φαύλων πολλοῖς τὴν συγγνώμην
νέμεις, τὸν Πιττακὸν ἐπαινῶν τοῦ λόγου, ὃς τὴν
συγγνώμην τῆς τιμωρίας προντίθει, αἰσχυνοίμην D
ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Πηλέως φαίνοίμην εὐγνωμονέστερος
μηδὲ³ ἐπαινοίην εἰς δύναμιν τὰ προσόντα σοί, οὔτι
φημὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀλουργῇ χλαῖναν, οὐδὲ μὰ Δία
πέπλους παμποικίλους, γυναικῶν ἔργα Σιδωνίων,
οὐδὲ ἵππων Νισαίων κάλλη καὶ χρυσοκολλήτων
ἀρμάτων ἀστράπτουσιν αἴγλην, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν 51

¹ Μοῖραν Hertlein suggests, Μοῖρας MSS.

² κοινῇ μὲν Hertlein suggests, κοινῇ τε MSS, cf. 43 D, 51 D.

³ μηδὲ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

Later on he makes him curse the cause of their quarrel, and recount the disasters due to his own wrath, and we see the king blaming Zeus and Fate and Erinyes. And here, I think, he is pointing a moral, using those heroes whom he sets before us, like types in a tragedy, and the moral is that kings ought never to behave insolently, nor use their power without reserve, nor be carried away by their anger like a spirited horse that runs away for lack of the bit and the driver; and then again he is warning generals not to resent the insolence of kings but to endure their censure with self-control and serenely, so that their whole life may not be filled with remorse.¹

When I reflect on this, my beloved Emperor, and behold you displaying in all that you do the result of your study of Homer, and see you so eager to benefit every citizen in the community in every way, and devising for me individually such honours and privileges one after another, then I think that you desire to be nobler than the king of the Greeks, to such a degree, that, whereas he insulted his bravest men, you, I believe, grant forgiveness to many even of the undeserving, since you approve the maxim of Pittacus which set mercy before vengeance. And so I should be ashamed not to appear more reasonable than the son of Peleus, or to fail to praise, as far as in me lies, what appertains to you, I do not mean gold, or a robe of purple, nay by Zeus, nor raiment embroidered all over, the work of Sidonian women,² nor beautiful Nisaeon horses,³ nor the gleam and glitter of gold-mounted chariots,

¹ *Republic* 577 E.

² *Iliad* 6. 289.

³ Herodotus 7. 40; horses from the plain of Nisaea drew the chariot of Xerxes when he invaded Greece.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

λίθον εὐανθῇ καὶ χαρίεσσαν. καίτοι γε εἴ τις
 ἐθέλοι τούτοις τὸν νοῦν προσέχων ἕκαστον ἀξιούν
 λόγου, μικροῦ πᾶσαν οἶμαι τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν
 ἀποχετεύσας ἔτι δεήσεται λόγων, καὶ οὐκ ἀπο-
 χρήσει σοὶ μόνῳ τὰ ξύμπασι ποιηθέντα τοῖς
 ἡμιθέοις ἐγκώμια. ἀρξώμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκῆπ-
 τρου πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς·
 τί γὰρ δὴ φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλων τῆς B
 τῶν Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας τὴν ἀρχαιότητα καὶ τὸ
 μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνδείξασθαι;

ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
 Ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε
 τεύχων,

καὶ ἔδωκε Δίῃ, ὁ δὲ τῷ τῆς Μαίας καὶ ἑαυτοῦ
 παιδί, Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκε Πέλοπι,¹ Πέλοψ δὲ

δῶκ' Ἀτρεὶ ποιμένι λαῶν·
 Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπε πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ·
 Αὐτὰρ ὄγ' αὐτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δῶκε φορῆναι, C
 Πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν·

Αὕτη σοι τῆς Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίας ἡ γενεαλογία,
 εἰς τρεῖς οὐδὲ ὅλας μέινασα γενεάς· τά γε μὴν
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυγγενείας ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ Κλαυδίου,
 μικρὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διαλιπούσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῷ
 πάππῳ τῷ σὼ διαδέχεσθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς μητρὸς
 πατὴρ τὴν Ῥώμην διώκει καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ D
 τὴν Λιβύην τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν,
 οὗτι φαυλοτέραν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Μυκηναίας

¹ [, ὁ δὲ] Πέλοπι Reiske, Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

nor the precious stone of India, so beautiful and lovely to look upon. And yet if one should choose to devote his attention to these and think fit to describe every one of them, he would have to draw on almost the whole stream of Homer's poetry and still he would be short of words, and the panegyrics that have been composed for all the demi-gods would be inadequate for your sole praise. First, then, let me begin, if you please, with your sceptre and your sovereignty itself. For what does the poet say when he wishes to praise the antiquity of the house of the Pelopids and to exhibit the greatness of their sovereignty?

"Then uprose their lord Agamemnon and in his hand was the sceptre that Hephaistos made and fashioned."¹

and gave to Zeus; then Zeus gave it to his own and Maia's son, and Hermes the prince gave it to Pelops, and Pelops

"Gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host, and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks; and he in turn gave it into the hands of Agamemnon, so that he should rule over many islands and all Argos."

Here then you have the genealogy of the house of Pelops, which endured for barely three generations. But the story of our family began with Claudius; then its supremacy ceased for a short time, till your two grandfathers succeeded to the throne. And your mother's father² governed Rome and Italy and Libya besides, and Sardinia and Sicily, an empire not inferior certainly to Argos and Mycenae. Your

¹ *Iliad* 2. 101.

² Maximianus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

δυναστείαν, ὃ γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεννήτωρ
 Γαλατίας ἔθνη τὰ μαχιμώτατα καὶ τοὺς Ἑσπε-
 ρίους Ἰβήρας καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ὀκεανοῦ νήσους, αἱ
 τοσούτῳ μείζους τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς
 ὀρωμένων εἰσὶν, ὅσῳ καὶ τῆς εἰσω θαλάττης ἢ τῶν
 Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν ὑπερχεομένη. ταύτας δὲ
 ὅλας τὰς χώρας καθαρὰς ἀπέφηναν πολεμίων,
 κοινῇ μὲν ἐπιστρατεύοντες, εἴ ποτε τούτου 52
 δεήσειεν, ἐπιφοιτῶντες δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν
 ἕκαστος τῶν ὁμόρων βαρβάρων ὕβριν τε καὶ
 ἀδικίαν ἐξέκοπτον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐκοσ-
 μοῦντο. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ τὴν μὲν προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ
 μοῖραν μάλα εὖσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐκτήσατο, περι-
 μέINAS τὴν εἰμαρμένην τελευτὴν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος,
 τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδας
 ὑπενεχθέντα δουλείας ἔπαυσε χαλεπῆς, καὶ ἥρξε B
 συμπάντων τρεῖς ὑμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσ-
 ελόμενος ξυνάρχοντας. ἄρ' οὖν ἄξιον μέγεθος
 δυνάμεως παραβαλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ
 χρόνον καὶ πλῆθος βασιλευσάντων;¹ ἢ τοῦτο μὲν
 ἔστιν ἀληθῶς ἀρχαῖον, μετιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πλοῦτον
 καὶ θαυμαστόν σου τὴν χλαμύδα ξὺν τῇ πόρπῃ,
 ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ διατριβὴν παρέσχευεν ἡδεῖαν;
 λόγου τε ἀξιωτέον πολλοῦ τὰς Τρωὸς ἵππους, αἱ
 τρισχίλια οὔσαι

ἔλος. *κ*άτα βουκολέοντο,
 καὶ τὰ φώρια τὰ ἐντεῦθεν; ἢ τοὺς Θρακίους
 ἵππους εὐλαβησόμεθα λευκοτέρους μὲν τῆς χιόνης,
 θεῖν δὲ ὠκυτέρους τῶν χειμερίων πνευμάτων, καὶ
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρματα; καὶ ἔχομέν σε ἐν τούτοις

¹ [τῶν] βασιλευσάντων Hertlein,

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

father's father¹ ruled the most warlike of all the tribes of Galatia,² the Western Iberians³ and the islands that lie in the Ocean,⁴ which are as much larger than those that are to be seen in our seas as the sea that rolls beyond the pillars of Heracles is larger than the inner sea.⁵ These countries your grandfathers entirely cleared of our foes, now joining forces for a campaign, when occasion demanded, now making separate expeditions on their own account, and so they annihilated the insolent and lawless barbarians on their frontiers. These, then, are the distinctions that they won. Your father inherited his proper share of the Empire with all piety and due observance, waiting till his father reached his appointed end. Then he freed from intolerable slavery the remainder, which had sunk from empire to tyranny, and so governed the whole, appointing you and your brothers, his three sons, as his colleagues. Now can I fairly compare your house with the Pelopids in the extent of their power, the length of their dynasty, or the number of those who sat on the throne? Or is that really foolish, and must I instead go on to describe your wealth, and admire your cloak and the brooch that fastens it, the sort of thing on which even Homer loved to linger? Or must I describe at length the mares of Tros that numbered three thousand, and "pastured in the marsh-meadow"⁶ and the theft that followed?⁷ Or shall I pay my respects to your Thracian horses, whiter than snow and faster than the storm winds, and your Thracian chariots? For in your case also we can extol all

¹ Constantius Chlorus. ² Gaul.

³ Julian is in error; according to Bury, in Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 588, Spain was governed by Maximianus.

⁴ The Atlantic. ⁵ The Mediterranean.

⁶ *Iliad* 20. 221. ⁷ *Iliad* 5. 222.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπαινεῖν, οἰκίαν τε οἶμαι τὴν Ἀλκίνου καὶ τὰ τοῦ
Μενέλεω δώματα καταπληξάμενα καὶ τὸν τοῦ
πολύφρονος Ὀδυσσέως παῖδα καὶ τοιαῦτα ληρεῖν
ἀναπέισαντα τοῖς σοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἀξιόσομεν, μή D
ποτε ἄρα ἔλασσον ἔχειν ἐν τούτοις δοκῆς, καὶ οὐκ
ἀπωσόμεθα τὴν φλυαρίαν; ἀλλ' ὄρα μή τις ἡμᾶς
μικρολογίας καὶ ἀμαθίας τῶν ἀληθῶς καλῶν
γραφάμενος ἔλῃ. οὐκοῦν ἀφέντας χρὴ τοῖς
Ὅμηρίδαις τὰ τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ
τούτων ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς ἀρετὴν, καὶ ὧν μείζονα
ποιεῖ προμήθειαν, σώματος ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις ἐμπειρίας, θαρροῦντας¹ ἵεναι.

Τίνι δὴποτε οὖν τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ὕμνου-
μένων σειρῆνος εἵξομεν; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τοξότης παρ' 53
αὐτῷ Πάνδαρος, ἀνὴρ ἄπιστος καὶ χρημάτων ἥττων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὀπλίτης φαῦλος,
Τεῦκρός τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μηριόνης, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς
πελειάδος τῷ τόξῳ χρώμενος, ὁ δὲ ἡρίστευε μὲν ἐν
τῇ μάχῃ, ἐδεῖτο δὲ ὥσπερ ἐρύματος καὶ τειχίου.
ταῦτά τοι καὶ προβάλλεται τὴν ἀσπίδα, οὔτι τὴν
οἰκίαν, τὰδελφού δέ, καὶ στοχάζεται καθ'
ἡσυχίαν τῶν πολεμίων, γελοῖος ἀναφανείς στρα-
τιώτης, ὅς γε ἐδεῖτο μείζονος φύλακος καὶ οὐκ ἐν B
τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐποιεῖτο τῆς σωτηρίας τὰς ἐλπίδας.
σέ δῆτα ἐθεασάμην, ὦ φίλε βασιλεῦ, ἄρκτους καὶ
παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας συχνοὺς καταβάλλοντα

¹ θαρροῦντας Cobet, θαρρούντως MSS, Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

these, and as for the palace of Alcinous and those halls that dazzled even the son of prudent Odysseus and moved him to such foolish expressions of wonder,¹ shall I think it worth while to compare them with yours, for fear that men should one day think that you were worse off than he in these respects, or shall I not rather reject such trifling? Nay, I must be on my guard lest some-one accuse and convict me of using frivolous speech and ignoring what is really admirable. So I had better leave it to the Homerids to spend their energies on such themes, and proceed boldly to what is more closely allied to virtue, and things to which you yourself pay more attention, I mean bodily strength and experience in the use of arms.

And now which one of those heroes to whom Homer devotes his enchanting strains shall I admit to be superior to you? There is the archer Pandaros in Homer, but he is treacherous and yields to bribes²; moreover his arm was weak and he was an inferior hoplite: then there are besides, Teucer and Meriones. The latter employs his bow against a pigeon³ while Teucer, though he distinguished himself in battle, always needed a sort of bulwark or wall. Accordingly he keeps a shield in front of him,⁴ and that not his own but his brother's, and aims at the enemy at his ease, cutting an absurd figure as a soldier, seeing that he needed a protector taller than himself and that it was not in his weapons that he placed his hopes of safety. But I have seen you many a time, my beloved Emperor, bringing down bears and panthers and lions with the weapons

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 69 foll.

³ *Iliad* 23. 870.

² *Iliad* 4. 97.

⁴ *Iliad* 8. 266.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις βέλεσι, χρώμενον δὲ πρὸς θήραν καὶ παιδιὰν τόξῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀσπὶς ἐστὶ σοι καὶ θώραξ καὶ κράνος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν καταδεῖσαιμι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῖς Ἡφαιστείοις λαμπρυνόμενον καὶ ἀποπειρώμενον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀπλων,

Εἴ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυνὴ· C
ἀνακηρύττει γὰρ εἰς ἅπαντας τὴν σὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὰ κατορθώματα.

Τὴν γε μὴν ἵππικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις κουφότητα ἄρά σοι παραβαλεῖν ἄξιον τῶν πρόσθεν τοὺς ἀραμένους ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν μεῖζονα; ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡῦρητό πω; ἄρμασι γὰρ ἐχρῶντο καὶ οὐπω πῶλοις ἄζυξι· τάχει δὲ ὅστις διήνεγκε, τούτῳ πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν ἀμφήριστος κρίσις· τάξιν δὲ κοσμήσαι καὶ φάλαγγα D
διατάξαι καλῶς δοκεῖ Μενεσθεὺς κράτιστος, καὶ τούτῳ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ Πύλιος οὐχ ὑφίεται τῆς ἐμπειρίας. ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν οἱ πολέμοι πολλάκις τὰς τάξεις συνετάραξαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἴσχυον ἀντέχειν παραταττόμενοι· σοὶ δὲ μυρίαις μάχαις ξυμμίξαντι καὶ πολεμίοις πολλοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις, οὐκ ἐλάττωσι δὲ τούτων τοῖς οἰκοθεν ἀφес-
τῶσι καὶ συνεπιθεμένοις τῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν σφετερίσασθαι προελομένῳ ἀρραγῆς ἔμεινεν ἡ φάλαγξ καὶ ἀδιάλυτος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἐνδοῦσα. καὶ ὅτι 54
μὴ λήρος ταῦτα μηδὲ προσποιήσις λόγων τῆς

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

hurled by your hand, and using your bow both for hunting and for pastime, and on the field of battle you have your own shield and cuirass and helmet. And I should not be afraid to match you with Achilles when he was exulting in the armour that Hephaistos made, and testing himself and that armour to see

“Whether it fitted him and whether his glorious limbs ran free therein;”¹

for your successes proclaim to all men your proficiency.

As for your horsemanship and your agility in running, would it be fair to compare with you any of those heroes of old who won a name and great reputation? Is it not a fact that horsemanship had not yet been invented? For as yet they used only chariots and not riding-horses. And as for their fastest runner, it is an open question how he compares with you. But in drawing up troops and forming a phalanx skilfully Menestheus² seems to have excelled, and on account of his greater age the Pylion³ is his equal in proficiency. But the enemy often threw their line into disorder, and not even at the wall⁴ could they hold their ground when they encountered the foe. You, however, engaged in countless battles, not only with hostile barbarians in great numbers, but with just as many of your own subjects, who had revolted and were fighting on the side of one who was ambitious of grasping the imperial power; yet your phalanx remained unbroken and never wavered or yielded an inch. That this is not an idle boast and that I do not make a

¹ *Iliad* 19. 385. ² *Iliad* 2. 552. ³ Nestor: *Iliad* 2. 555.

⁴ The building of a wall with towers, to protect the ships, is described in *Iliad* 7. 436 foll.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀληθείας κρείττων, ἐθέλω τοῖς παροῦσι διεξιελθεῖν. γελοῖον γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς σέ περὶ τῶν σῶν ἔργων διηγείσθαι· καὶ ταῦτόν ἂν πάθοιμι φαύλῳ καὶ ἀκόμψῳ θεατῇ τῶν Φειδίου δημιουργημάτων πρὸς αὐτόν Φειδίαν ἐπιχειροῦντι διεξιέναι περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρθένου καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Πισαίοις Διός. εἰ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκφέροιμι τὰ σεμνότατα τῶν ἔργων, ἴσως ἂν B ἀποφύγοιμι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐκ ἔσομαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἔνοχος· ὥστε ἤδη θαρροῦντα χρὴ λέγειν.

Καὶ μοι μὴ τις δυσχεράνη πειρωμένῳ πράξεων ἄπτεσθαι μειζόνων, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου συνεκ-
 θεοὶ μῆκος, καὶ ταῦτα θέλοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ
 βιαζομένου, ὅπως μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἢ
 τῶν λόγων ἀσθένεια περιχεομένη διαλυμήνηται·
 καθάπερ δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν φασὶ τοῦ Θεσπιάσιν C
 Ἑρωτος τοῖς πτεροῖς ἐπιβληθέντα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
 ἀφελεῖν τῆς τέχνης. δείται γὰρ ἀληθῶς τῆς
 Ὀμηρικῆς σάλπιγγος τὰ κατορθώματα, καὶ πολὺ
 πλεόν ἢ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἔργα. δῆλον δὲ ἔσται
 χρωμένοις ἡμῖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων, ὅνπερ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς προυθέμεθα. ἐφαίνετο δὲ τῶν βασιλέως
 ἔργων πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων πολλὴ συγγένεια, καὶ
 αὐτὸν ἔφαμεν ἀπάντων προφέρειν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα
 τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος διήνεγκε, καὶ ὅπως ἐστὶ τοῦ
 μὲν δὴ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ βασιλικώτερος, εἴ που D
 μεμνήμεθα τῶν ἐν προοιμίῳ ῥηθέντων, ἐπεδείκ-
 νυμεν, ἔσται δὲ καὶ μάλα αὐθις καταφανές. νῦν
 δέ, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὰ περὶ τὰς μάχας καὶ τοὺς

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

pretension in words that goes beyond the actual facts, I will demonstrate to my hearers. For I think it would be absurd to relate to you your own achievements. I should be like a stupid and tasteless person who, on seeing the works of Pheidias should attempt to discuss with Pheidias himself the Maiden Goddess on the Acropolis, or the statue of Zeus at Pisa. But if I publish to the rest of the world your most distinguished achievements, I shall perhaps avoid that blunder and not lay myself open to criticism. So I will hesitate no more but proceed with my discourse.

I hope no one will object if, when I attempt to deal with exploits that are so important, my speech should become proportionately long, and that though I desire to limit and restrain it lest my feeble words overwhelm and mar the greatness of your deeds; like the gold which when it was laid over the wings of the Eros at Thespieae¹ took something, so they say, from the delicacy of its workmanship. For your triumphs really call for the trumpet of Homer himself, far more than did the achievements of the Macedonian.² This will be evident as I go on to use the same method of argument which I adopted when I began. It then became evident that there is a strong affinity between the Emperor's exploits and those of the heroes, and I claimed that while one hero excelled the others in one accomplishment only, the Emperor excels them all in all those accomplishments. That he is more kingly than the king himself³ I proved, if you remember, in what I said in my introduction, and again and again it will be evident. But now let us, if you please, consider

¹ By Praxiteles. ² Alexander. ³ Agamemnon.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

πολέμους ἀθρήσωμεν. τίνας οὖν Ὁμηρος δια-
 φερόντως ὕμνησεν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων;
 αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσομαι τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ καιριώτατα.

Τίς τ' ἂρ τῶν ὅχ' ἄριστος ἔην, σύ μοι ἔννεπε, 55

Μοῦσα,

Ἀνδρῶν ἡδ' ἵππων, οἳ ἂμ' Ἀτρεΐδαισιν ἔποντο.
 Ἀνδρῶν μὲν μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
 Ὅφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μῆνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν.
 καὶ αὐθις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τελαμωνίου φησὶν·

Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ' ἔργ' ἐτέτυκτο,
 Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. B

Ἑλλήνων μὲν δὴ τούτους ἀρίστους ἀφίχθαι φησι,
 τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἑκτορα καὶ Σαρπηδόνα.
 βούλεσθε οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ λαμπρότατα ἐπιλεξάμενοι
 περιθρῶμεν τὸ μέγεθος; καὶ γάρ πως ἐς ταῦτόν
 τισι τῶν βασιλέως¹ ξυμφέρεται ἢ τε ἐπὶ τῷ
 ποταμῷ τοῦ Πηλῆως μάχη καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ τεῖχος
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος· Αἴας τε ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος C
 τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῶν ἱκρίων ἴσως ἂν
 τυγχάνοι τινὸς ἀξίας εἰκόνας. ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν
 διηγείσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχην, ἣν ἡγωνί-
 σατο βασιλεὺς ἑναγχος. ἴστε δὲ ὅθεν ὁ πόλεμος
 ἐξερράγη, καὶ ὅτι ξὺν δίκῃ καὶ οὐ τοῦ πλείονος
 ἐπιθυμία διεπολεμήθη. κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπομνη-
 σθῆναι δι' ὀλίγων.

Ἀνὴρ ἄπιστος καὶ θρασὺς τῆς οὐ προσηκούσης
 ὀρεχθεὶς ἡγεμονίας κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλέως D

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

his battles and campaigns. What Greeks and barbarians did Homer praise above their fellows? I will read you those of his verses that are most to the point.

“Tell me, Muse, who was foremost of those warriors and horses that followed the sons of Atreus. Of warriors far the best was Ajax, son of Telamon, so long as the wrath of Achilles endured. For he was far the foremost.”¹ And again he says of the son of Telamon :

“Ajax who in beauty and in the deeds he wrought was of a mould above all the other Danaans, except only the blameless son of Peleus.”²

These two, he says, were the bravest of the Greeks who came to the war, and of the Trojan army Hector and Sarpedon. Do you wish, then, that I should choose out their most brilliant feats and consider what they amounted to? And, in fact, the fighting of Achilles at the river resembles in some respects certain of the Emperor's achievements, and so does the battle of the Achaeans about the wall. Or Ajax again, when, in his struggle to defend the ships, he goes up on to their decks, might be allowed some just resemblance to him. But now I wish to describe to you the battle by the river which the Emperor fought not long ago. You know the causes of the outbreak of the war, and that he carried it through, not from desire of gain, but with justice on his side. There is no reason why I should not briefly remind you of the facts.

A rash and traitorous man³ tried to grasp at power to which he had no right, and assassinated the

¹ *Iliad* 2. 761 foll.

² *Odyssey* 11. 550

³ Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινωνόν, καὶ ἤρετο λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα μιμησόμενος καὶ ἀποφανὼν οὐ μῦθον τὸν Ὀμήρου λόγον, παντὸς δὲ ἀληθῆ μάλλον, ὃς ἔφη περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ·

Τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰών, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἔκετο
τέκμωρ,

Αἰγας,

καὶ ὡς ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πανοπλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ὑποζεύξας τοὺς ἵππους διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἐφέρετο.

Γηθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα δίστατο· τοὶ δ' ἐπέτοντο 56
Ῥίμφα μάλ', οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο χάλκεος
ἄξων,

ἄτε οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, πάντων δὲ ἐξιστα-
μένων καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ἐν χαρμονῇ. οὐκ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πολέμιον οὐδὲ ἀντίπαλον ᾤετο
καταλιπέσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν κατείργειν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ
μῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος στήναι ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς.
εἶπετο δὲ αὐτῷ πολὺς μὲν ὀπλίτης,¹ ἱππεῖς δὲ οὐχ
ἦττους, ἀλλ' οἵπερ ἄλκιμοι, Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες B
Γερμανῶν τε οἱ πρόσοικοι Ῥήνω καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ
τῇ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ἣν εἴτε Ὠκεανὸν χρή καλεῖν
εἴτε Ἀτλαντικὴν θάλατταν εἴτε ἄλλητινὴ χρῆσθαι
προσωνυμία προσῆκον, οὐκ ἰσχυρίζομαι· πλὴν
ὅτι δὴ αὐτῇ πρόσοικεῖ δύσμαχα καὶ ῥώμῃ
διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν γένη βαρβάρων,
οὐκ ἀκοῇ μόνον, ἥπερ δὴ τυγχάνει πίστις οὐκ
ἀσφαλής, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ πείρᾳ τοῦτο ἐκμαθὼν οἶδα.
τούτων δὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξαναστήσας οὐκ ἔλαττον C

¹ ὀπλίτης Cobet, ὀπλίτης πεζός MSS., Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

Emperor's brother and partner in empire. Then he began to be uplifted and dazzled by his hopes, as though he was about to imitate Poseidon and to prove that Homer's story was not mere fiction but absolutely true, where he says about the god

"Three strides did he make, and with the fourth came to his goal, even to Aegae,"¹

and how he took thence all his armour and harnessed his horses and drove through the waves :

"And with gladness the sea parted before him, and the horses fared very swiftly, and the bronze axle was not wetted beneath,"

for nothing stood in his way, but all things stood aside and made a path for him in their joy. Even so the usurper thought that he had left behind him nothing hostile or opposed to him, and that there was nothing at all to hinder him from taking up a position at the mouth of the Tigris. And there followed him a large force of heavy infantry and as many cavalry, yes, and good fighters they were, Celts, Iberians and Germans from the banks of the Rhine and from the coasts of the western sea. Whether I ought to call that sea the Ocean or the Atlantic, or whether it is proper to use some other name for it, I am not sure. I only know that its coasts are peopled by tribes of barbarians who are not easy to subdue and are far more energetic than any other race, and I know it not merely from hearsay, on which it is never safe to rely, but I have learned it from personal experience. From these tribes, then, he mustered an army as large as that which

¹ *Iliad* 13. 20.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

πλήθος τῆς οἴκοθεν αὐτῷ ξυνεπισπομένης¹
 στρατιᾶς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μὲν ὡς οἰκείον εἶπετο
 πολὺν καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμφυλον, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον· οὕτω
 γὰρ καλεῖν ἄξιον· ὅπόσον Ῥωμαίων βία καὶ οὐ
 γνώμη ξυνηκολούθησεν, εἰκὸς ἐπικούροις καὶ
 μισθοφόροις, ἐν Καρὸς εἶπετο τάξει καὶ σχήματι,
 δύσνουν μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, βαρβάρῳ καὶ ξένῳ, μέθῃ
 καὶ κραιπάλῃ τὴν δυναστείαν περιφρονήσαντι καὶ D
 ἀνελομένῳ, ἄρχοντι δέ, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον τὸν ἐκ
 τοιούτων προσιμίων καὶ προνομίων ἀρξάμενον.
 ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτὸς οὐτι κατὰ τὸν Τυφῶνα, δν ἡ
 ποιητικὴ τερατεία φησὶ τῷ Διὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν
 τὴν Γῆν ὠδῖναι, οὐδὲ ὡς γιγάντων ὁ κράτιστος,
 ἀλλ' οἷαν ὁ σοφὸς ἐν μύθοις Πρόδικος τὴν Κακίαν
 δημιουργεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἀρετὴν² διαμιλλωμένην καὶ
 ἐθέλουσιν τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἀναπείθειν παῖδα, ὅτι
 ἄρα αὐτῷ μάλιστα πάντων τιμητέα εἴη. προάγων
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προυφέρειτο τὰ τοῦ Καπανέως, 57
 βαρβαρίζων³ καὶ ἀνοηταίνων, οὐτι μὴν κατ'
 ἐκείνον τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς πίσυνος οὐδὲ ἀλκῇ
 τοῦ σώματος, τῷ πλήθει δὲ τῶν ξυνεπομένων
 βαρβάρων, οἷς δὴ καὶ λείαν ἅπαντα προθήσειν
 ἡπεῖλει, ταξιάρχον ταξιάρχῳ καὶ λοχαγὸν λοχαγῷ
 καὶ στρατιώτῃν στρατιώτῃ τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐταῖς
 ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ κτήμασιν, οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα ἀφιεῖς
 ἐλεύθερον. αὖξει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ

¹ ξυνεπισπομένης Cobet, ξυνεπομένης V Hertlein ξυνεφεπο-
 μένης MSS. ² (τὴν) Ἀρετὴν Hertlein, ἀρετὴν MSS.

³ βαρβαρίζων MSS., Hertlein, βατταρίζων Cobet, cf. Plato,
Theaetetus 175 c.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

marched with him from home, or rather many followed him because they were his own people, allied to him by the ties of race, but our subjects—for so we must call them—I mean all his Roman troops followed from compulsion and not from choice, like mercenary allies, and their position and rôle was like that of the proverbial Carian,¹ since they were naturally ill-disposed to a barbarian and a stranger who had conceived the idea of ruling and embarked on the enterprise at the time of a drunken debauch, and was the sort of leader that one might expect from such a preface and prelude as that. He led them in person, not indeed like Typho, who, as the poet tells us,² in his wonder tale, was brought forth by the earth in her anger against Zeus, nor was he like the strongest of the Giants, but he was like that Vice incarnate which the wise Prodicus created in his fable,³ making her compete with Virtue and attempt to win over the son of Zeus,⁴ contending that he would do well to prize her above all else. And as he led them to battle he outdid the behaviour of Capaneus,⁵ like the barbarian that he was, in his insensate folly, though he did not, like Capaneus, trust to the energy of his soul or his physical strength, but to the numbers of his barbarian followers; and he boasted that he would lay everything at their feet to plunder, that every general and captain and common soldier of his should despoil an enemy of corresponding rank of his baggage and belongings, and that he would enslave the owners as well. He was confirmed in

¹ The Carians were proverbially worthless; cf. 320 D.

² Hesiod, *Theogony*.

³ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2.

⁴ Heracles.

⁵ Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 440; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1182.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

βασιλέως¹ δεινότης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν δυσχωριῶν εἰς τὰ B
 πεδία κατάγει γανύμενον καὶ οὐ ξυνιέντα, δρασμὸν
 δὲ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ οὐ στρατηγίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα
 κρίνοντα. ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἀλίσκεται, καθάπερ
 ὄρνιθες καὶ ἰχθύες δικτύοις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς τὴν
 εὐρυχωρίαν καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Παιόνων ἦλθε καὶ
 ἐδόκει λῶον ἐνταῦθα διαγωνίζεσθαι, τότε δὴ βασι-
 λεὺς τοὺς τε ἱππέας ἐπὶ κέρως τάττει χωρὶς
 ἑκατέρου.

Τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσιν αἰχμοφόροι, θώραξιν
 ἐλατοῖς καὶ κράνεσιν ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένοις C
 σκεπόμενοι· κνημίδες τε τοῖς σφυροῖς εὖ μάλα
 περιηρμοσμένοι καὶ περιγονατίδες καὶ περὶ τοῖς
 μηροῖς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐκ σιδήρου καλύμματα·
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἵππων φερόμενοι, οὐδὲν ἀσπίδος δεόμενοι. τούτοις
 εἶπετο τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέων πλῆθος ἀσπίδας
 φέροντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων τοξεύοντες. πεζῶν
 δὲ ὁ μὲν ὀπλίτης ἦν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ συνάπτων D
 ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν· ἐξόπισθεν δὲ οἱ σφεν-
 δονῆται καὶ τοξόται καὶ ὁπόσον ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλει
 γυμνὸν ἀσπίδος καὶ θώρακος. οὕτω κοσμηθείσης
 τῆς φάλαγγος, μικρὰ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως προελθόντος
 ἅπαν τὸ πολέμιον συνετετάρακτο καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαττε
 τὴν τάξιν.² ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ οὐκ
 ἀνιέντων φεύγει μὲν αἰσχρῶς ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν
 αἰσχίον ἀρπάσας, λείπει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππαρχον
 καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους πάννυ πολλοὺς καὶ

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein, cf. 55 B.

² τὴν τάξιν Hertlein suggests, τάξιν MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

this attitude by the Emperor's clever strategy, and led his army out from the narrow passes to the plains in high spirits and little knowing the truth, since he decided that the Emperor's march was merely flight and not a manoeuvre. Thus he was taken unawares, like a bird or fish in the net. For when he reached the open country and the plains of Paeonia, and it seemed advantageous to fight it out there, then and not before the Emperor drew up his cavalry separately on both wings.

Of these troops some carry lances and are protected by cuirasses and helmets of wrought iron mail. They wear greaves that fit the legs closely, and knee-caps, and on their thighs the same sort of iron covering. They ride their horses exactly like statues, and need no shield. In the rear of these was posted a large body of the rest of the cavalry, who carried shields, while others fought on horseback with bows and arrows. Of the infantry the hoplites occupied the centre and supported the cavalry on either wing. In their rear were the slingers and archers and all troops that shoot their missiles from the hand and have neither shield nor cuirass. This, then, was the disposition of our phalanx. The left wing slightly outflanked the enemy, whose whole force was thereby thrown into confusion, and their line broke. When our cavalry made a charge and maintained it stubbornly, he who had so shamefully usurped the imperial power disgraced himself by flight, and left there his cavalry commander and his numerous chiliarchs and taxiarchs, who continued to fight bravely, and in

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνιζομένους, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν ποιητὴν
τοῦ τερατώδους καὶ ἐξαγίστου δράματος, ὃς πρῶτος 58
ἐπὶ νουν ἐβάλετο μεταποιῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ
ἀφελέσθαι τοῦ γέρωσ ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ τέως μὲν¹ ἔχαιρε τῆς πρώτης πείρας
οὐκ ἀποσφάλλεις οὐδὲ ἀμαρτήσας, τότε δὲ ἐφε-
στώσας ξὺν δίκῃ ποινὰς ἀπαιτεῖται τῶν ἔργων
καὶ ἄπιστον τιμωρίαν εἰσπράττεται. πάντων
γὰρ ὅποσοι τοῦ πολέμου τῷ τυράννῳ συνεφή-
ψαντο ἐμφανῆς μὲν ὁ θάνατος, δῆλη δ' ἡ φυγὴ
καὶ ἄλλων μεταμέλεια· ἰκέτεον γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ B
ἔτυχον ἅπαντες συγγνώμης, βασιλέως τὸν τῆς
Θέτιδος ὑπερβαλλομένου μεγαλοφροσύνη. ὁ
μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ Πάτροκλος ἔπεσεν, οὐδὲ πιπρά-
κειν ἀλόντας ἔτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡξίου, ἀλλ'
ἰκετεύοντας περὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ
ἐκήρυττεν ἄδειαν τοῖς ἐξαρνουμένοις τὴν ξυνωμο-
σίαν, οὐ θανάτου μόνον ἢ φυγῆς ἢ τινος ἄλλης
τιμωρίας ἀφαιρῶν τὸν φόβον, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκ τινος
ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἄλλης δυστυχοῦς τῆς ξὺν τῷ C
τυράννῳ βιοτῆς κατάγειν σφᾶς ἐπ' ἀκεραίοις τοῖς
πρόσθεν ἡξίου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ αὖθις τεύξεται
λόγου.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἤδη ῥητέον, ὥς οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κει-
μένοις ἦν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παιδοτρίβης
τοῦ τυράννου. τὸ γὰρ μηδὲ ἐλπίσαι συγγνώμην
εὐλογον οὔτω μὲν ἄδικα διανοηθέντα, ἀσεβῆ δὲ
ἐργασάμενον, φόνων τε ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναι-
κῶν, πολλῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν, πάντων δὲ σχεδὸν D

¹ μὲν Reiske adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

command of all these the real author¹ of that monstrous and unholy drama, who had been the first to suggest to him that he should pretend to the imperial power and rob us of our royal privilege.

For a time indeed he enjoyed success, and at his first attempt met with no repulse or failure, but on that day he provoked the punishment that justice had in store for his misdeeds, and had to pay a penalty that is hardly credible. For all the others who abetted the usurper in that war met death openly or their flight was evident to all, as was the repentance of others. For many came as suppliants, and all obtained forgiveness, since the Emperor surpassed the son of Thetis in generosity. For Achilles, after Patroclus fell, refused any longer even to sell those whom he took captive, but slew them as they clasped his knees and begged for mercy. But the Emperor proclaimed an amnesty for those who should renounce the conspiracy, and so not only freed them from the fear of death or exile or some other punishment, but, as though their association with the usurper had been due to some misadventure or unhappy error, he deigned to reinstate them and completely cancel the past. I shall have occasion to refer to this again.

But what I must now state is that the man who had trained and tutored the usurper was neither among the fallen nor the fugitives. It was indeed natural that he should not even hope for pardon, since his schemes had been so wicked, his actions so infamous, and he had been responsible for the slaughter of so many innocent men and women, of whom many were private citizens, and of almost all who were connected

¹ Marcellinus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

δυστυχή, πολλοῖς δὲ ὠφέλιμον καὶ πρὸς ἐπα-
νόρθωσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν μηχανοποιὸν τῆς ὅλης
ὑποθέσεως πλείονος ἀξιωθέντα λόγου, μέσῃ τῇ C
πράξει¹ παρελόμενα τὸ ξυνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως,
ἐνταῦθά που πάλιν ἀφετέα. ἐπανιτέον δὲ
ὄθενπερ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἀποδοτέον τὸ τέλος τῆς
μάχης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ξὺν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν δειλίᾳ
καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πίπτει φρονήματα, ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῖς διεφθάρη, οὐ
κακία σφῶν, ἀπειρία δὲ καὶ ἀμαθία τοῦ τάττον-
τος, κατὰ λόχους συνιστάμενοι διηγωνίζοντο·
καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος μείζον, τῶν μὲν D
οὐχ ὑφιεμένων ἐς τὸ παντελὲς τοῖς κρατοῦσι,
τῶν δὲ ἐπεξελθεῖν τελέως τῇ νίκῃ φιλοτιμουμένων,
ξυμμιγῆς τε ἦρετο τάραχος καὶ βοή καὶ κτύπος
τῶν ὅπλων, ξιφῶν τε ἀγνυμένων ἀμφὶ τοῖς κράνεσι
καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων περὶ τοῖς δόρασιν. ἀνὴρ δὲ
ἀνδρὶ ξυνίστατο, καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τὰς ἀσπίδας
αὐτοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθοῦντο² μικρὰ τοῦ παθεῖν
φροντίζοντες, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τὸ δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν
τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν θυμὸν τρέποντες, τοῦ μὴ
καθαρὰν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἄδακρυν παρασχεῖν τὴν
νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἀνταλλαττόμενοι. καὶ 60
ταῦτα ἔδρων οὐ πεζοὶ μόνον πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοις τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὸ τῶν θραυμάτων
ἀχρεῖα παντελῶς ἐγεγόνει τὰ δόρατα.³ ξυστοὶ
δὲ εἰσιν εὐμήκεις, οὓς συγκαταγνύντες καὶ
ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας μετεσκευάζοντο.

¹ μέσῃ τῇ πράξει V, Hertlein, μισητῆς πράξεως Reiske,
μέσῃ τῆς πράξεως MSS. ² Naber suggests ὠθουν ὠθοῦντο.

³ After δόρατα Petavius, Hertlein omit σφῶν.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

fatal, but to many was beneficial and gave them a chance of recovery.

Now though it would be well worth while to devote more of my speech to this man who was the author of that whole enterprise, yet it breaks the thread of my narrative, which had reached the thick of the action. So I must leave that subject for the present, and going back to the point where I digressed, describe how the battle ended. For though their generals showed such cowardice, the courage of the soldiers was by no means abated. When their line was broken, which was due not to their cowardice but to the ignorance and inexperience of their leader, they formed into companies and kept up the fight. And what happened then was beyond all expectation; for the enemy refused altogether to yield to those who were defeating them, while our men did their utmost to achieve a signal victory, and so there arose the wildest confusion, loud shouts mingled with the din of weapons, as swords were shattered against helmets and shields against spears. It was a hand to hand fight, in which they discarded their shields and attacked with swords only, while, indifferent to their own fate, and devoting the utmost ardour to inflicting severe loss on the foe, they were ready to meet even death if only they could make our victory seem doubtful and dearly bought. It was not only the infantry who behaved thus to their pursuers, but even the cavalry, whose spears were broken and were now entirely useless. Their shafts are long and polished, and when they had broken them they

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ὁπόσοι τοῦ βασιλείου γένους μετείχον ἀψάμενον,
οὔτι ξὺν δείματι οὐδὲ ἂν τις ἐμφύλιον φόνον
διανοηθείη δρῶν, παλαμναίους τινὰς καὶ μιάστο-
ρας δεδιὼς καὶ ὑφορώμενος ἐκ τοῦ μιάσματος,
ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ τισὶ καθαρσίοις καινοῖς καὶ ἀτόποις
τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀπονιπτόμενος ἄνδρα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ
γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀποκτιννὺς εἰκότως
ἀπέγνω τὴν ἱκετηρίαν. ταῦτα εἰκὸς μὲν αὐτὸν
διανοηθῆναι, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ 59
ἴσμεν ὅ, τί ποτε παθὼν ἢ δράσας ὥχeto ἄιστος,
ἄφαντος. ἀλλ' εἴτε αὐτὸν δαίμων τιμωρὸς ξυναρ-
πάσας, καθάπερ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὰς τοῦ Πανδάρου¹
θυγατέρας, ἐπὶ γῆς ἄγει πέρατα ποινὰς ἀπαιτήσων
τῶν διανοημάτων, εἴτε αὐτὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὑποδεξά-
μενος ἐστιᾶν κελεύει τοὺς ἰχθῦς, οὔτι πω δῆλον.
ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ τῆς μάχης αὐτῆς καὶ ὀπηνίκα οἱ
λόχοι συνετάττοντο πρὸς φάλαγγα θρασὺς ἦν ἐν B
μέσοις ἀναστρεφόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπράχθη² τὰ τῆς
μάχης, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον, ἀφανῆς ὥχeto οὐκ οἶδα
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων κρυφθεὶς, πλὴν ὅτι γε
οὐκ ἐπ' ἀμείνοσι ταῖς τύχαις εὐδηλον. οὐ γὰρ
δὴ αὖθις ἔμελλε φανεὶς ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὑβρίζων
ἀδεῶς εὐδαιμονήσειν, ὡς ὥχeto, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ παν-
τελὲς ἀφανισθεὶς τιμωρίαν ὑφέξειν αὐτῷ μὲν

¹ Πανδάρου V, Naber, cf. *Odyssey* 20, 66, Τυνδάρου MSS., Hertlein. ² ἐπράχθη MSS., Hertlein, ἐταράχθη Naber.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

with the imperial family. And he had done this not with shrinking nor with the sentiments of one who sheds the blood of his own people, and because of that stain of guilt fears and is on the watch for the avenger and those who will exact a bloody reckoning, but, with a kind of purification that was new and unheard of, he would wash his hands of the blood of his first victims, and then go on to murder man after man, and then, after those whom they held dear, he slew the women as well. So he naturally abandoned the idea of appealing for mercy. But likely as it is that he should think thus, yet it may well be otherwise. For the fact is that we do not know what he did or suffered before he vanished out of sight, out of our ken. Whether some avenging deity snatched him away, as Homer says of the daughters of Pandareos,¹ and even now is carrying him to the very verge of the world to punish him for his evil designs, or whether the river² has received him and bids him feed the fishes, has not yet been revealed. For till the battle actually began, and while the troops were forming the phalanx, he was full of confidence and went to and fro in the centre of their line. But when the battle was ended as was fitting, he vanished completely, taken from our sight by I know not what god or supernatural agency, only it is quite certain that the fate in store for him was far from enviable. At any rate he was not destined to appear again, and, after insulting us with impunity, live prosperous and secure as he thought he should; but he was doomed to be completely blotted out and to suffer a punishment that for him indeed was

¹ *Odyssey* 20. 66.

² The Drave.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ἀντείχον·
ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε ἱππεῖς ἔβαλλον ἐκ τόξων πόρρωθεν
ἐφιππαζόμενοι¹ καὶ οἱ θωρακοφόροι πυκναῖς ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἐχρῶντο ταῖς ἐπελάσεσιν ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ B
καθαρῷ καὶ λείῳ νύξ τε ἐπέλαβεν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ
μὲν ἀπέφευγον ἄσμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐδίωκον καρτερῶς
ἄχρι τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ αὐτὸν αἰροῦσιν αὐταῖς
ἀποσκευαῖς καὶ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ κτήνεσιν. ἀρξα-
μένης δέ, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἄρτι τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ τῶν διωκόντων οὐκ ἀνιέντων, ἐπὶ τὸ
λαιὸν ὠθοῦνται, ἵνα περ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν τοῖς
κρατοῦσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ πολὺς ἐγένετο
φόνος, καὶ ἐπλήσθη νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων C
ἀναμίξ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Δράος ἐώκει Σκαμάνδρῳ,
οὐδὲ ἦν εὐμενὴς τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὥς τοὺς μὲν
νεκροὺς αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξωθεῖν καὶ ἀπορριπτεῖν
τῶν ρευμάτων, τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ ξυγκαλύπτειν καὶ
ἀποκρύπτειν ἀσφαλῶς ταῖς δίναις. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ
ποταμὸς ὁ Τρῶς τυχὸν μὲν ὑπὸ εὐνοίας ἔδρα, τυχὸν
δὲ οὕτως ἔχων μεγέθους, ὥς ῥάδιον παρέχειν βαδί-
ζειν τε ἐθέλονται καὶ νηχομένῳ τὸν πόρον· ἐπεὶ
καὶ γεφυροῦνται μιᾷς ἐμβληθείσης εἰς αὐτὸν D
πτελέας, ἅπας τε ἀναμορμύρων ἀφρῷ καὶ αἵματι
πλάζ' ὤμους Ἀχιλῆος, εἰ χρὴ καὶ τοῦτο πιστεῦ-
σαι, βιαιότερον δὲ οὐδὲν εἰργάζετο· καὶ ἐπιλα-
βόντος ὀλίγου καύματος ἀπαγορεύει τὸν πόλεμον
καὶ ἐξόμνυται τὴν ἐπικουρίαν. Ὀμήρου δὲ ἔοικεν
εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο παίγνιον, καινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον
μυνομαχίας τρόπον ἐπινοήσαντος. ἐπεὶ καὶ τᾶλλα

¹ ἐφιππαζόμενοι Hertlein suggests, ἀφιππαζόμενοι MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

dismounted and transformed themselves into hoplites. So for some time they held their own against the greatest odds. But since our cavalry kept shooting their arrows from a distance as they rode after them, while the cuirassiers made frequent charges, as was easy on that unobstructed and level plain, and moreover night overtook them, the enemy were glad at last to take to flight, while our men kept up a vigorous pursuit as far as the camp and took it by assault, together with the baggage and slaves and baggage animals. Directly the rout of the enemy had begun, as I have described, and while we kept up a hot pursuit, they were driven towards the left, where the river was on the right of the victors. And there the greatest slaughter took place, and the river was choked with the bodies of men and horses, indiscriminately. For the Drave was not like the Scamander, nor so kind to the fugitives; it did not put ashore and cast forth from its waters the dead in their armour, nor cover up and hide securely in its eddies those who escaped alive. For that is what the Trojan river did¹, perhaps out of kindness, perhaps it was only that it was so small that it offered an easy crossing to one who tried to swim or walk. In fact, when a single poplar was thrown into it, it formed a bridge,² and the whole river roared with foam and blood and beat upon the shoulders of Achilles,³ if indeed we may believe even this, but it never did anything more violent. When a slight fire scorched it, it gave up fighting at once and swore not to play the part of ally. However this, too, was probably a jest on Homer's part, when he invented that strange and unnatural sort of duel. For in the

¹ *Iliad* 21. 325 foll. ² *Iliad* 21. 242. ³ *Iliad* 21. 269.

δηλός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεῖ χαριζόμενος, καὶ ὥσπερ
 θεατὰς ἄγων τὸ στρατεύμα μόνον ἄμαχον καὶ 61
 ἀνυπόστατον ἐπάγει τοῖς πολεμίοις, κτείνοντα
 μὲν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, τρεπόμενον δὲ ἀπαξ-
 απλῶς πάντας φωνῇ καὶ σχήματι καὶ τῶν
 ὀμμάτων ταῖς προσβολαῖς, ἀρχομένης τε οἶμαι
 τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ¹ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ταῖς
 ῥόσιν, ἕως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἄσμενοι ξυνελέγησαν οἱ
 διαφυγόντες. ταῦτα ἐκείνος πολλοῖς ἔπεσι διη-
 γούμενος καὶ θεῶν ἀναπλάττων μάχας καὶ ἐπι-
 κοσμῶν μύθοις τὴν ποίησιν δεκάζει τοὺς κριτὰς
 καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει δικαίαν φέρειν καὶ ἀψευδῇ
 ψῆφον. ὅστις δὲ ἐθέλει μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους B
 ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπι-
 φερομένων πλασμάτων, † ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ
 ἀρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρωμάτων,†² Ἀρεοπαγίτης
 ἔστω κριτής, καὶ οὐκ εὐλαβησόμεθα τὴν κρίσιν.
 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν στρατιώτην ὁμολογοῦμεν
 τὸν Πηλέως, ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀναπειθόμενοι.
 κτείνει μὲν ἄνδρας εἴκοσι,

Ζωοὺς δ' ἐκ ποταμοῖο δυνώδεκα λέξατο κούρους,
 Τοὺς ἐξῆγε θύραζε τεθηπότας ἤυτε νεβρούς,
 Ποινὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος.

τοσαύτην μέντοι ἤνεγκεν εἰς τὰ πράγματα τῶν
 Ἀχαιῶν ἡ νίκη τὴν ῥοπὴν, ὥστε οὐδὲ μείζονα C
 φόβον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέβαλεν οὐδὲ ἀπογνῶναι ἐς
 τὸ παντελὲς ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐποίει. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων

¹ προσβολαῖς—καὶ Wright προσβολαῖς.—[καὶ] Hertlein προσβολαῖς.—καὶ MSS.

² ὥσπερ—χρωμάτων Hertlein suggests ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ ὑπ' ἀργυρωμάτων τινῶν καὶ χρυσομάτων “as though by gold or silver work in a picture.”

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

rest of the poem also he evidently favours Achilles, and he sets the army there as mere spectators while he brings Achilles on to the field as the only invincible and resistless warrior, and makes him slay all whom he encounters and put every one of the foe to flight, simply by his voice and bearing and the glance of his eyes, both when the battle begins and on the banks of the Scamander, till the fugitives were glad to gather within the wall of the city. Many verses he devotes to relating this, and then he invents the battles of the gods, and by embellishing his poem with such tales he corrupts his critics and prevents us from giving a fair and honest vote. But if there be any one who refuses to be beguiled by the beauty of the words and the fictions that are imported into the poem . . . ¹), then, though he is as strict as a member of the Areopagus, I shall not dread his decision. For we are convinced by the poem that the son of Peleus is a brave soldier. He slays twenty men; then

“He chose twelve youths alive out of the river and led them forth amazed like fawns to atone for the death of Patroclus, son of Menœtius.” ²

But his victory, though it had some influence on the fortunes of the Achaeans, was not enough to inspire any great fear in the enemy, nor did it make them wholly despair of their cause. On this point

¹ For eight words the text is hopelessly corrupt.

² *Iliad* 21. 27.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἀρ' ἑτέρου τινὸς μάρτυρος δεησόμεθα τὸν Ὅμηρον
 παραλιπόντες; καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τῶν ἐπῶν μνη- D
 σθῆναι, ἃ πεποιήκεν ἐκεῖνος, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὰς
 ναῦς ἦλθεν ὁ Πρίαμος φέρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ
 λύτρα; ἐρομένου γὰρ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑπὲρ ¹
 ὧν ἀφίκτο, τοῦ τῆς Θέτιδος υἱός

Ποσσῆμαρ μέμονας κτερεῖζέμεν Ἐκτορα δῖον,
 τά τε ἄλλα διέξεισι καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου φησί·

Τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ πολεμίζομεν, ² εἴπερ ἀνάγκη.
 οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐπαγγέλλειν ὀκνεῖ μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ⁶²
 τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ ἀγεννὴς καὶ δειλὸς τύραννος
 ὄρη τε ὑψηλὰ προυτείνεται τῆς αὐτοῦ φυγῆς καὶ
 ἐξοικοδομήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρούρια οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν
 τόπων ὀχυρότητι πιστεύει, ἀλλὰ ἰκετεύει συγγνώ-
 μης τυγχάνειν. καὶ ἔτυχεν ἄν, ³ εἴπερ ἦν ἄξιος
 καὶ μὴ ἐφωράθη πολλάκις ἄπιστος καὶ θρασύς,
 ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις προστιθεὶς ἀδικήματα.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰ μὴ δόξη τις τῶν
 διηγουμένων προσέχειν ἐθέλοι μηδὲ ἔπεισιν εὖ B
 πεποιημένοις, ἐς αὐτὰ δὲ ὁρᾶν τὰ ἔργα, κρινέτω.
 ἐξῆς δ', εἰ βούλεσθε τὴν Αἴαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀντιθεῖναι
 μάχην τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἔργοις· ἢ δὴ
 Μυγδόνιος ποταμῶν κάλλιστος τὴν αὐτοῦ προσ-

¹ [τὰς] ὑπὲρ Reiske, Hertlein.

² πολεμίζομεν Cobet, MSS., πολεμίζομεν V, Hertlein,
 πτολεμίζομεν M.

³ ἄν Reiske adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

shall we set Homer aside and demand some other witness? Or is it not enough to recall the verses in which he describes how Priam came to the ships bringing his son's ransom? For after he had made the truce for which he had come, and the son of Thetis asked :

“ For how many days dost thou desire to make a funeral for noble Hector ? ”

He told him not only that, but concerning the war he said :

“ And on the twelfth day we will fight again, if fight we must.”¹

You see he does not hesitate to announce that war will be resumed after the armistice. But the unmanly and cowardly usurper sheltered his flight behind lofty mountains and built forts on them ; nor did he trust even to the strength of the position, but begged for forgiveness. And he would have obtained it had he deserved it, and not proved himself on many occasions both treacherous and insolent, by heaping one crime on another.

And now with regard to the battle, if there be anyone who declines to heed either the opinion expressed in my narrative or those admirably written verses, but prefers to consider the actual facts, let him judge from those. Accordingly we will next, if you please, compare the fighting of Ajax in defence of the ships and of the Achaeans at the wall with the Emperor's achievements at that famous city. I mean the city to which the Mygdonius, fairest of rivers, gives its name, though it has also been named after

¹ *Iliad* 24. 657. .

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τίθησι φήμην, οὔση δὲ καὶ Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτῷ· γέγονε δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα Βάρβαρον, σύνηθες τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐπιμιξίας· ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν στρατὸς ἀμήχανος πλήθει Παρθυαίων ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς C περιέσχεν, ὁπηνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον βαδίζειν προύκειτο· καὶ ὅπερ Ἡρακλεῖ φασιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λερναῖον ἰόντι θηρίον συνενεχθῆναι, τὸν θαλάττιον καρκίνον, τοῦτο ἦν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου Τίγρητα διαβὰς καὶ περιτειχίζων¹ τὴν πόλιν χώμασιν· εἶτα εἰς ταῦτα δεχόμενος τὸν Μυγδόνιον λίμνην ἀπέφηνε τὸ περὶ τῷ ἄστει χωρίον καὶ ὥσπερ νῆσον ἐν αὐτῇ συνείχε τὴν πόλιν, μικρὸν ὑπερεχουσῶν καὶ ὑπερφαινομένων D τῶν ἐπάλλξεων. ἐπολιόρκει δὲ ναῦς τε ἐπάγων καὶ ἐπὶ νεῶν μηχανάς· καὶ ἦν οὐχ ἡμέρας ἔργον, μηνῶν δὲ οἶμαι σχεδόν τι τεττάρων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχει συνεχῶς ἀπεκρούοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπιμπράντες τὰς μηχανὰς τοῖς πυρφόροις· ναῦς δὲ ἀνεῖλκον πολλὰς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους, ἄλλαι δὲ κατεάγνυντο ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν ἀφιεμένων ὀργάνων καὶ βάρους τῶν βελῶν. ἐφέροντο γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς 63 λίθοι ταλάντων ὀλκῆς Ἀττικῶν ἐπτά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ συχναῖς ἡμέραις ταῦτ' ἐδράτο, ῥήγνυνται μέρος τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσρεῖ² πλήμμυρα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ τείχους μέρος οὐκ ἔλασσον πήχεων ἑκατὸν συγκατηνέχθη.

Ἐνταῦθα κοσμεῖ τὴν στρατιὰν τὸν Περσικὸν

¹ περιτειχίζων Hertlein suggests, cf. 27 B, ἐπετειχίζων MSS,

² εἰσρεῖ Cobet, ἐκρεῖ MSS., Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

King Antiochus. Then, too, it has another, a barbarian name¹ which is familiar to many of you from your intercourse with the barbarians of those parts. This city was besieged by an overwhelming number of Parthians with their Indian allies, at the very time when the Emperor was prepared to march against the usurper. And like the sea crab which they say engaged Heracles in battle when he sallied forth to attack the Lernaean monster,² the King of the Parthians, crossing the Tigris from the mainland, encircled the city with dykes. Then he let the Mygdonius flow into these, and transformed all the space about the city into a lake, and completely hemmed it in as though it were an island, so that only the ramparts stood out and showed a little above the water. Then he besieged it by bringing up ships with siege-engines on board. This was not the work of a day, but I believe of almost four months. But the defenders within the wall continually repulsed the barbarians by burning the siege-engines with their fire-darts. And from the wall they hauled up many of the ships, while others were shattered by the force of the engines when discharged and the weight of the missiles. For some of the stones that were hurled on to them weighed as much as seven Attic talents.³ When this had been going on for many days in succession, part of the dyke gave way and the water flowed in in full tide, carrying with it a portion of the wall as much as a hundred cubits long.⁴

Thereupon he arrayed the besieging army in the

¹ Nisibis.

² Sapor becomes the ally of Magnentius as the crab was the ally of the Hydra in the conflict with Heracles.

³ 400 lbs. in all.

⁴ 150 feet.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τρόπον. διασώζουσι γὰρ καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ
 Περσικὰ οὐκ ἀξιούντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Παρθυαῖοι
 νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι. B
 ταῦτά τοι καὶ στολῇ Μηδικῇ χαίρουσι. καὶ ἐς
 μάχας ἔρχονται ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις ὅπλοις τε ἀγαλ-
 λόμενοι τοιούτοις καὶ ἐσθήμασιν ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ
 ἀλουργέσι. σοφίζονται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀφεστάναι Μακεδόνων, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐξ
 ἀρχαίου βασιλείαν προσήκουσαν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὁ
 βασιλεὺς Ξέρξην μιμούμενος ἐπὶ τινος χειροποιή-
 του καθήστο γηλόφου, προῆγε¹ δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ ξὺν
 τοῖς θηρίοις. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν εἶπετο, καὶ ἔφερεν
 ἐκ σιδήρου πύργους τοξοτῶν πλήρεις. ἡγούντο δὲ
 αὐτῶν ἰππεῖς οἱ θωρακοφόροι καὶ οἱ τοξόται, ἕτερον C
 ἰππέων πλήθος ἀμήχανον. τὸ πεζὸν γὰρ σφιν
 ἀχρεῖον ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ καθέστηκεν οὔτε ἐντίμου
 μετέχον τάξεως οὔτε ὃν σφιν ἐν χρεῖα, πεδιάδος
 οὔσης καὶ ψιλῆς τῆς χώρας ὀπόσῃν νέμονται.
 ἔοικε γὰρ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
 χρεῖας τιμῆς καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀξιούσθαι. ὥς οὖν
 ἀχρεῖον τῇ φύσει οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πολυωρίας
 ἀξιούται. συνέβη δὲ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τὴν Κρήτην
 καὶ Καρίαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ μυρίοις ἔθνεσι τὰ D
 περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευασθῆναι. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ
 Θετταλῶν οὔσα πεδιάς ἰππεύσιν ἐναγωνίζεσθαι
 καὶ ἐμμελετᾶν ἐπιτήδειος ἐφάνη. τὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς
 ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ἅτε ἐς ἀντιπάλους παντοδαπούς
 καταστάντα, εὐβουλία καὶ τύχη περιγενόμενα,

¹ προῆγε Hertlein suggests, προσῆγε MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

Persian fashion. For they keep up and imitate Persian customs, I suppose, because they do not wish to be considered Parthians, and so pretend to be Persians. That is surely the reason why they prefer the Persian manner of dress. And when they march to battle they look like them, and take pride in wearing the same armour, and raiment adorned with gold and purple. By this means they try to evade the truth and to make it appear that they have not revolted from Macedon, but are merely resuming the empire that was theirs of old. Their king, therefore, imitating Xerxes, sat on a sort of hill that had been artificially made, and his army advanced accompanied by their beasts.¹ These came from India and carried iron towers full of archers. First came the cavalry who wore cuirasses, and the archers, and then the rest of the cavalry in huge numbers. For infantry they find useless for their sort of fighting and it is not highly regarded by them. Nor, in fact, is it necessary to them, since the whole of the country that they inhabit is flat and bare. For a military force is naturally valued or slighted in proportion to its actual usefulness in war. Accordingly, since infantry is, from the nature of the country, of little use to them, it is granted no great consideration in their laws. This happened in the case of Crete and Caria as well, and countless nations have a military equipment like theirs. For instance the plains of Thessaly have proved suitable for cavalry engagements and drill. Our state, on the other hand, since it has had to encounter adversaries of all sorts, and has won its pre-eminence by good judgment combined with good luck, has naturally

¹ Elephants.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

εικότως ἐς ἅπαν εἶδος ὄπλων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς
ἄλλης¹ ἡρμόσθη.

Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον,
ὥς ἂν εἴποιεν οἱ ταῖς τῶν ἐπαίνων τέχναις
καθάπερ νόμοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τί
σοι προσήκει καὶ τούτων, ἐν καιρῷ σκέψομαι, τά 64
γε μὴν ὀνειδίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ χαλεπῶς
ἀπολύομαι. φημὶ γὰρ ὥς οὔτε ἐγὼ τῶν τεχνῶν
μεταποιούμαι οὔτε ὅστις μή τιςιν ὁμολόγησεν
ἐμμενεῖν ἀδικεῖ μὴ φυλάττων ταῦτα· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ
ἄλλων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν εὐπρεπῶν παραιτήσεων.
ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον μακρότερον εἰς οὐδὲν δέον
ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον καὶ ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τῆς ὑπο-
θέσεως. ἐπαναβῶμεν οὖν αὖθις εἰς ἵχνος καὶ ὅθεν
ἐξέβην.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ Παρθυαῖοι κοσμηθέντες ὄπλοις B
αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἵπποι ξύν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς θηρίοις προσ-
ῆγον τῷ τείχει, λαμπροὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὥς αὐτίκα
μάλα ἀναρπασόμενοι,² καὶ ἐδέδοτό σφιν τοῦ
πρόσω χωρεῖν τὸ σημεῖον, ὠθοῦντο ξύμπαντες,
αὐτός τις ἐθέλων πρῶτος ἐσαλέσθαι τὸ τείχος καὶ
οἴχεσθαι φέρων τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κλέος· εἶναί τε οὐδὲν
ἐτόπαζον δέος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομενεῖν σφῶν τὴν
ὀρμὴν τοὺς ἔνδον. Παρθυαίοις μὲν τοσοῦτον C
περιὴν ἐλπίδος. οἱ δὲ πυκνήν τε εἶχον τὴν
φάλαγγα κατὰ τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, καὶ
ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνεστῶτος ὁπόσον ἦν ἀχρεῖον πλήθος

¹ παρασκευῆς ἄλλης Cobet, MSS., παρασκευῆς (ἄλλοτε) ἄλλης Reiske, Hertlein.

² ἀναρπασόμενοι Hertlein suggests, διαρπασάμενοι V, διαρπασόμενοι MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

adapted itself to every kind of armour, and to a varying equipment.

But perhaps those who watch over the rules for writing panegyric as though they were laws, may say that all this is irrelevant to my speech. Now whether what I have been saying partly concerns you I shall consider at the proper time. But at any rate I can easily clear myself from the accusation of such persons. For I declare that I make no claim to be an expert in their art, and one who has not agreed to abide by certain rules has the right to neglect them. And it may be that I shall prove to have other convincing excuses besides. But it is not worth while to interrupt my speech and digress from my theme any longer when there is no need. Let me, then, retrace my steps to the point at which I digressed.

Now when the Parthians advanced to attack the wall in their splendid accoutrements, men and horses, supported by the Indian elephants, it was with the utmost confidence that they would at once take it by assault. And at the signal to charge they all pressed forward, since every man of them was eager to be the first to scale the wall¹ and win the glory of that exploit. They did not imagine that there was anything to fear, nor did they believe that the besieged would resist their assault. Such was the exaggerated confidence of the Parthians. The besieged, however, kept their phalanx unbroken at the gap in the wall, and on the portion of the wall that was still intact they posted all the non-

¹ *Iliad* 12, 438; cf. 71 B

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐν τῇ πόλει κατέστησαν ἀναμίξαντες τῶν στρα-
 τιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι
 προσήλυνον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους
 ἀφίετο βέλος, βεβαιότεραν εἶχον τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ
 κατ' ἄκρας αἰρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
 ἔπαιον μάστιξι καὶ ἤμασσον τὰς πλευρὰς τοῖς κέν-
 τροις, ἕως ἐποιήσαντο σφῶν κατὰ νώτου τὰ D
 χρώματα· ἐπεποίητο δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα πρότερον
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπέχειν τοῦ Μυγδονίου τὰς ἐκροάς, ἰλὺς
 τε ἦν περὶ τὸ χωρίον εὖ μάλα βαθεῖα τοῦδὲ
 αὐτοῦ παντελῶς ὄντος ὑπὸ τῆς ὕλης¹ καὶ
 διὰ τὸ πίειραν εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ στέγειν
 δύνασθαι φύσει τὰς λιβάδας. ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ παλαιὸν ἔρυμα τῇ πόλει τάφρος εὐρεῖα, καὶ ἐν
 αὐτῇ βαθύτερον συνειστήκει τέλμα. ἀπτομένων 65
 δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ταύτης καὶ διαβαίνειν
 πειρωμένων, ἐπεξῆσαν² πολλοὶ μὲν ἔνδοθεν,
 πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔβαλλον τοῖς λίθοις·
 καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος, φυγῇ δὲ
 ἔτρεπον τοὺς ἵππους ξύμπαντες, τῷ μόνον ἐθέλειν
 καὶ δηλοῦν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τοῦ σχήματος. ἐπι-
 στρεφόντων γὰρ ἔπιπτον εὐθέως καὶ κατέφερον
 τοὺς ἱππέας· βαρεῖς δὲ ὄντες τοῖς ὅπλοις μᾶλλον
 ἐνεύχοντο τῷ τέλματι. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα γίνεται B
 φόνος, ὅσος οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐν πολιορκίᾳ τοιαύτῃ³
 γέγονεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἱππέων ὧδε ἐπεπράγει, τῶν
 ἐλεφάντων πειρῶνται, καταπλήξεσθαι μᾶλλον

¹ οὐδὲ—ὕλης corrupt. Reiske suggests οὐδὲ αὐτὸ παντελῶς ὄν-
 τηρὸν ὑπὸ τε ὕλης. ἔλης V, ὕλης MSS.

² ἐπεξῆσαν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεξήεσαν MSS., V omits.

³ τοιαύτη Reiske suggests, τοσαύτη MSS., Hertlein,

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

combatants in the city, and distributed among them an equal number of soldiers. But when the enemy rode up and not a single missile was hurled at them from the wall, their confidence that they would completely reduce the city was strengthened, and they whipped and spurred on their horses so that their flanks were covered with blood, until they had left the dykes behind them. These dykes they had made earlier to dam the mouth of the Mygdonius, and the mud thereabouts was very deep. †In fact there was hardly any ground at all because of the wood,^{1†} and because the soil was so rich, and of the sort that conceals springs under its surface. Moreover there was in that place a wide moat that had been made long ago to protect the town, and had become filled up with a bog of considerable depth. Now when the enemy had already reached this moat and were trying to cross it, a large force of the besieged made a sally, while many others hurled stones from the walls. Then many of the besiegers were slain, and all with one accord turned their horses in flight, though only from their gestures could it be seen that flight was what they desired and intended. For, as they were in the act of wheeling them about, their horses fell and bore down the riders with them. Weighed down as they were by their armour, they floundered still deeper in the bog, and the carnage that ensued has never yet been paralleled in any siege of the same kind.

Since this fate had overtaken the cavalry, they tried the elephants, thinking that they would be more

¹ The text here is corrupt.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

οἰόμενοι τῷ ξένῳ τῆς μάχης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον
 αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ὁμμάτων διέφθαρτο, ὥς μὴ καθορᾶν
 βαρύτερον μὲν ὃν ἵππου τὸ θηρίον, φέρον δὲ ἄχθος
 οὐχ ἵππων δυοῖν ἢ πλειόνων, ἀμαξῶν δὲ οἶμαι
 συχνῶν, τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς καὶ σιδηροῦν C
 πύργον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὸ χωρίον
 χειροποίητον γεγονὸς τέλμα κωλύματα, καὶ ἦν
 αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ φανερά· ὅθεν οὐκ εἰκὸς εἰς μάχην
 ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἔνδον παρασκευά-
 ζεσθαι. προσήγον δὲ ἐν τάξει μέτρον διεστῶτες
 ἀλλήλων ἴσον, καὶ ἐφίκει τείχει τῶν Παρθυαίων ἡ
 φάλαγξ· τὰ μὲν θηρία¹ τοὺς πύργους φέροντα,
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δὲ ἀναπληροῦντων τὰ ἐν μέσῳ.
 ταχθέντες δὲ οὕτως οὐ μέγα ὄφελος ἦσαν τῷ
 βαρβάρῳ· παρείχον γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς D
 ἐκ τοῦ τείχους θεωμένοις. ὥς δὲ ἐγένοντο διακορεῖς
 οἶονεῖ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῦς πομπῆς πεμπο-
 μένης, λίθους ἐκ μηχανῶν ἀφίεντες καὶ τόξοις
 βάλλοντες ἐς τὴν τειχομαχίαν προυκαλοῦντο
 τοὺς βαρβάρους. φύσει δὲ ὄντες εἰς ὀργὴν ὀξύρ-
 ροποι καὶ δεινὸν ποιούμενοι τὸ γέλωτα ὀφλήσαι
 καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν ὀπίσω τὴν παρασκευὴν ἄπρακτον,
 ἐγκελευομένου σφίσι τοῦ βασιλέως, προσήγον τῷ
 τείχει καὶ ἐβάλλοντο πυκνοῖς² τοῖς λίθοις καὶ
 τοῖς τοξεύμασι· καὶ ἐτρώθη τῶν θηρίων τινὰ καὶ 66
 ἀπέθανεν κατενεχθέντα³ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰλυσος. δέισαντες
 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπήγον ὀπίσω πάλιν εἰς
 τὸ στρατόπεδον.

¹ τὰ μὲν θηρία corrupt, Hertlein.

² πυκνοῖς Cobet, πυκνῶς MSS., Hertlein.

³ κατενεχθέντα Reiske, εἰσενεχθέντα MSS., Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

likely to overawe us by that novel sort of fighting. For surely they had not been stricken so blind as not to see that an elephant is heavier than a horse, since it carries the load, not of two horses or several, but what would, I suppose, require many waggons, I mean archers and javelin men and the iron tower besides. All this was a serious hindrance, considering that the ground was artificially made and had been converted into a bog. And this the event made plain. Hence it is probable that they were not advancing to give battle, but rather were arrayed to overawe the besieged. They came on in battle line at equal distances from one another, in fact the phalanx of the Parthians resembled a wall, with the elephants carrying the towers, and hoplites filling up the spaces between. But drawn up as these were they were of no great use to the barbarian. It was, however, a spectacle which gave the defenders on the wall great pleasure and entertainment, and when they had gazed their fill at what resembled a splendid and costly pageant in procession, they hurled stones from their engines, and, shooting their arrows, challenged the barbarians to fight for the wall. Now the Parthians are naturally quick-tempered, and they could not endure to incur ridicule and lead back this imposing force without striking a blow; so by the king's express command they charged at the wall and received a continuous fire of stones and arrows, while some of the elephants were wounded, and perished by sinking into the mud. Thereupon, in fear for the others also, they led them back to the camp.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης ὁ Παρθυαῖος ἤμαρτε τῆς
 πείρας, τοὺς τοξότας διελὼν εἰς μοῖρας διαδέ-
 χεσθαί τε ἀλλήλους κελεύει καὶ συνεχῶς βάλλειν
 πρὸς τὸ διερρηγμένον τοῦ τείχους, ὡς μὴ δυνηθεῖεν
 ἀποικοδομῆσαι καὶ ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πόλιν·
 οὕτω γὰρ αἰρήσειν λαθὼν ἢ βιασάμενος τῷ
 πλήθει τοὺς ἔνδον ἥλπιζε. ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ¹ B
 ἀπέφηνεν ἢ βασιλέως παρασκευὴ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 τὸ διανόημα. κατὰ νότου γὰρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕτερον
 τεῖχος εἰργάζετο· ὁ δὲ ᾤετο τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔχνεσιν
 εἰς τὰ θεμέλια χρωμένους μέλλειν ἔτι. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ
 ὅλῃ καὶ νυκτὶ συνεχῶς ἐργασαμένων ἔστε ἐπὶ
 τέτταρας πῆχεις ὕψους ἡγείρετο, καὶ ἔωθεν ὥφθη
 λαμπρὸν καὶ νεουργές, ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἀκαρῇ χρόνον
 ἐνδιδόντων, διαδεχομένων δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκοντι-
 ζόντων εἰς τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας τῷ κειμένῳ τείχει,
 τοῦτο ἐξέπληξε δεινῶς τὸν βάρβαρον. οὐ μὲν C
 ἀπῆγεν εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιάν, ἀλλ' αὐθις τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς χρήται παλαίσμασι. δράσας δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
 παθὼν παραπλήσια ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιάν ὀπίσω,
 πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δῆμους ἀπολέσας,
 πολλὰ δὲ ἀναλώσας περὶ τοῖς χώμασι καὶ τῇ
 πολιορκίᾳ σώματα, σατράπας δὲ ἀνελὼν συχνούς, D
 ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπαιτιώμενος, τὸν μὲν ὅτι μὴ καρτε-
 ρῶς ἐπεποίητο τὰ χώματα, εἶξε δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλύσθη
 παρὰ τῶν ποταμίων ῥευμάτων, τὸν δὲ ὡς φαύλως

¹ ἀλλὰ μάταιον γὰρ Hertlein suggests, μάταιον δ' ἄρα Reiske, μάταιον γὰρ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

Having failed in this second attempt as well, the Parthian king divided his archers into companies and ordered them to relieve one another and to keep shooting at the breach in the wall, so that the besieged could not rebuild it and thus ensure the safety of the town. For he hoped by this means either to take it by surprise, or by mere numbers to overwhelm the garrison. But the preparations that had been made by the Emperor made it clear that the barbarian's plan was futile. For in the rear of the hoplites a second wall was being built, and while he thought they were using the old line of the wall for the foundations and that the work was not yet in hand, they had laboured continuously for a whole day and night till the wall had risen to a height of four cubits. And at daybreak it became visible, a new and conspicuous piece of work. Moreover the besieged did not for a moment yield their ground, but kept relieving one another and shooting their javelins at those who were attacking the fallen wall, and all this terribly dismayed the barbarian. Nevertheless he did not at once lead off his army but employed the same efforts over again. But when he had done as before, and as before suffered repulse, he did lead his army back, having lost many whole tribes through famine, and squandered many lives over the dykes and in the siege. He had also put to death many satraps one after another, on various charges, blaming one of them because the dykes had not been made strong enough, but gave way and were flooded by the waters of the river, another because when

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἀγωνισάμενον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλας ἐπάγων αἰτίας ἔκτεινεν. ἔστι γὰρ εὖ μάλα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν βαρβάροις σύνηθες ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τὰς αἰτίας τῆς δυσπραγίας ἀποσκευάζεσθαι, ὃ δὴ καὶ τότε δράσας ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ἄγει πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ἐκ τούτου, καὶ οὔτε ὅρκων οὔτε συνθηκῶν ἐδέησεν, ἀγαπᾷ δὲ οἴκοι μένων, εἰ 67 μὴ στρατεύοιτο βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ δίκην ἀπαιτοίη τοῦ θράσους καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.

Ἄρά γε ἄξιον ταύτην παραβαλεῖν τὴν μάχην ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τοῦ τείχους; ἀθρεῖτε δὲ ὧδε τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ τὸ διάφορον λογίζεσθε. Ἑλλήνων μὲν Αἴαντε καὶ οἱ Λαπίθαι καὶ Μενεσθεὺς τοῦ τείχους εἶξαν καὶ περιεῖδον τὰς πύλας συντριβομένας ὑφ' Ἑκτορος καὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἐπιβεβηκότα τὸν Σαρπηδόνα. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ δια- B ραγέντος αὐτομάτως τοῦ τείχους ἐνέδοσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο Παρθυαίους ξὺν Ἰνδοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσαντας. εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων ὥσπερ ἐρύματος πεζὸς διαγωνίζεται, οἱ δὲ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐναυμάχουν, τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐπάλξεων εἶξαν καὶ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐνίκων ναυσί τε ἐπιόντας καὶ πεζῇ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, ὑπηνέχθη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτό γέ φασι τῶν ἔργων C

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

fighting under the walls he had not distinguished himself; and others he executed for one offence or another. This is in fact the regular custom among the barbarians in Asia, to shift the blame of their ill-success on to their subjects. Thus then the king acted on that occasion, and afterwards took himself off. And from that time he has kept the peace with us and has never asked for any covenant or treaty, but he stays at home and is thankful if only the Emperor does not march against him and exact vengeance for his audacity and folly.

And now am I justified in comparing this battle with those that were fought in defence of the Greek ships and the wall? Observe the following points of similarity, and note also the difference. Of the Greeks the two Ajaxes, the Lapithae and Menestheus fell back from the wall and looked on helplessly while the gates were battered down by Hector, and Sarpedon scaled the battlements. But our garrison did not give way even when the wall fell in of itself, but they fought and won, and repulsed the Parthians, aided though these were by their Indian allies. Then again Hector went up on to the ships and fought from their decks on foot, and as though from behind a rampart, whereas our garrison first had to fight a naval battle from the walls, and finally, while Hector and Sarpedon had to retreat from the battlements and the ships, the garrison routed not only the forces that brought ships to the attack but the land force as well. Now it is appropriate that by some happy chance my speech should have alluded to Hector and Sarpedon, and to what I may call the very crown of their achievements, I mean the de-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὴν καθαίρεσιν τοῦ τείχους, δ¹ μᾶλλον
πρότερον ἡμέρα τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φησι, τοῦ Πυλίου
δημαγωγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ξυμπείθοντος, ἄρρηκτον
νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν εἶλαρ κατασκευάσασθαι.

Σχεδὸν γάρ μοι τοῦτο φαίνεται τὸ γενναιότατον
τῶν ἔργων Ἑκτορος, καὶ οὐχὶ Γλαύκου τέχνης²
συνεῖναι οὐδὲ σοφωτέρας ἐπινοίας δέεται, Ὀμήρου
σαφῶς διδάσκοντος, ὡς Ἀχιλλέως μὲν φανέντος

ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.

Ἀγαμέμνωνος δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐπικειμένου καὶ ἐς τὸ D
τεῖχος καταδιώξαντος Ἑκτορα ὕπαγε Ζεὺς, ἵνα
ἀποσώζοιτο καθ' ἡσυχίαν. προσπαίζων δὲ αὐτὸν
ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ καταγελῶν τῆς δειλίας ὑπὸ τῇ
φηγῶ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἤδη καθημένῳ τὴν
Ἴριν ἤκειν ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς φράζουσιν

Ὅφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν ὀρᾷς Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν
Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀν- 68
δρῶν,

Τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μάχης.

πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς οὕτως ἀγεννῇ καὶ δειλὰ παραινεῖν
τὸν Δία, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ μαχομένῳ, ξὺν πολλῇ δὲ
ἐστῶτι ῥαστώνῃ; καὶ ὁπηνίκα δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τυδέως,
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράνους ἀναπτύξεως
φλόγα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινε, φεύγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζε
τοὺς ὑπομένοντας, πόρρω τε ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέ- B
μου, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπομένων ὀνειδὴ ἀπέγνω μὲν
κρατοῦσι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀντιστῆναι, εὐπρεπῇ δὲ
ποιεῖται τὴν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ πορείαν, ὡς τῇ μητρὶ

¹ δ Reiske adds.

² τέχνης Reiske, τέχνη cant. Hertlein, τέχνη MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

struction of that wall which Homer tells us the Achaeans built only the day before, on the advice of the princely orator¹ of Pylos "to be an impregnable bulwark for the ships and the army."²

For that I think was almost the proudest of Hector's achievements, and he did not need the craft of Glaucus to help him, or any wiser plan, for Homer says plainly that the moment Achilles appeared

"He shrank back into the crowd of men."³

Again, when Agamemnon attacked the Trojans and pursued them to the wall, Zeus stole away⁴ Hector so that he might escape at his leisure. And the poet is mocking him and ridiculing his cowardice when he says that as he was sitting under the oak-tree, being already near the gate, Iris came to him with this message from Zeus :

"So long as thou seest Agamemnon, shepherd of the host, raging among the foremost fighters and cutting down the ranks of men, so long do thou keep back from the fight."⁵

For is it likely that Zeus would give such base and cowardly advice, especially to one who was not even fighting, but was standing there very much at his ease? And while the son of Tydeus, on whose head Athene kindled a mighty flame, was slaying many and forcing to flight all who stayed to encounter him, Hector stood far away from the battle. Though he had to endure many taunts, he despaired of making a stand against the Achaeans, but made a specious excuse for going to the city to advise his

¹ Nestor.

² *Iliad* 14. 56.

³ *Iliad* 20. 379.

⁴ *Iliad* 11. 163.

⁵ *Iliad* 11. 202.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

παραινέσων ἐξιλεοῦσθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν μετὰ τῶν Τρωάδων. καίτοι εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἰκέτευε πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ ξὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, πολὺν ἂν¹ εἶχε λόγον· προσήκει γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἢ βασιλέα καθάπερ ἱερέα καὶ προφήτην θεραπεύειν ἀεὶ ξὺν κόσμῳ τὸν θεὸν καὶ μηδὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν μηδὲ ἐτέρῳ C μᾶλλον προσήκειν ἡγείσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀνάξιον αὐτοῦ νομίζοντα τὸ διακόνημα.

Οἶμαι γὰρ τὴν Πλάτωνος μικρὰ παρατρέψας λέξιν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, ὥς ὅτῳ ἀνδρί, μᾶλλον δὲ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζεται αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πράγματα, D τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκευάσται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν. εἰ δὲ ἐπιτρέποι μηδεὶς μεταγράφειν² μηδὲ ἐκτρέπειν μηδὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦνομα, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον κελεύει μένειν ἑὰν ἀκίνητον, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἄλλο τι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν σοφὸν ἐροῦμεν. τὸ γὰρ εἰς ἑαυτὸν³ οὐ δήπου τὸ σῶμά φησιν οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα οὐδὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ δόξαν πατέρων· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτοῦ μὲν τινος οἰκεῖα κτήματα, οὐ μὴν ἐστί ταῦτα αὐτός· ἀλλὰ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν,⁴ φησί, καὶ τὸ ὅλον τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν θεόν·⁵ ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέρωθι 69

¹ ἂν Hertlein adds.

² μεταγράφειν Cobet, παραγράφειν MSS., Hertlein.

³ εἰς ἑαυτὸν Cobet, cf. *Menexenus* 247 E σεαυτοῦ Hertlein, suggests ἑαυτὸν, σεαυτὸ V, σεαυτοῦ MSS.

⁴ νοῦν—φρόνησιν Hertlein suggests, νῶ—φρονήσει MSS.

⁵ τὸν—θεόν Hertlein suggests, τῶ—θεῶ MSS. Hertlein suspects corruption.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

mother to propitiate Athene in company with the Trojan women. And yet if in person he had besought the goddess before the temple, with the elders, he would have had good reason for that, for it is only proper, in my opinion, that a general or king should always serve the god with the appointed ritual, like a priest or prophet, and not neglect this duty nor think it more fitting for another, and depute it as though he thought such a service beneath his own dignity.

For here I think I may without offence adapt slightly Plato's language where he says that the man, and especially the king, best equipped for this life is he who depends on God for all that relates to happiness, and does not hang in suspense on other men, whose actions, whether good or bad, are liable to force him and his affairs out of the straight path.¹ And though no one should allow me to paraphrase or change that passage or alter that word,² and though I should be told that I must leave it undisturbed like something holy and consecrated by time, even in that case I shall maintain that this is what that wise man meant. For when he says "depends on himself," assuredly he does not refer to a man's body or his property, or long descent, or distinguished ancestors. For these are indeed his belongings, but they are not the man himself; his real self is his mind, his intelligence, and, in a

¹ *Menexenus* 247 E.

² Plato says εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτηται "who depends on *himself*."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

κυριώτατον ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς εἶδος ἔφη, καὶ ὡς ἄρα αὐτὸν δαίμονα θεὸς ἐκάστῳ δέδωκε, τοῦτο δὲ δὴ φάμεν οἰκεῖν μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἅκρῳ τῷ σώματι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγένειαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἡμᾶς αἶρειν. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ ἔοικεν ἐπιτάττειν ἀνηρτῆσθαι χρῆναι ἐκάστῳ ἀνδρί, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα βλάπτειν καὶ κωλύειν ἐθέλοντες πολλακίς ἐδυνήθησαν· ἤδη δὲ τινες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰ παρέρχοντο. τοῦτο δὲ B ἀκώλυτον μόνον καὶ ἀπαθές ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ θεμιτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρεῖττον βλάπτεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐκεῖθεν ὁ λόγος. ἀλλ' ἔοικα γὰρ καταφορτίζειν ὑμᾶς τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος λόγοις μικρὰ ἐπιπάττων τῶν ῥημάτων ὥσπερ ἁλῶν ἢ χρυσοῦ ψήγματος. τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν¹ ἡδίω τὴν τροφήν, ὁ δὲ εὐπρεπῇ μᾶλλον παρέχει τὴν θέαν. ἀμφότερα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις· C καὶ γὰρ αἰσθῆσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἡδίους τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ θρέψαι ψυχὴν ξὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ καθῆραι θαυμαστοί· ὥστε οὐκ ἀποκνητέον οὐδὲ εὐλαβητέον τὸν ψόγον, εἴ τις ἄρα καταμέμφοιτο τὴν ἀπληστίαν, καὶ ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμεθα ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οἱ λίχνοι τῶν ἐδωδίμων ἀπάντων, οὐχ ὑπομένοντες τὸ μὴ τῶν προκειμένων ἄψασθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔοικε συμβαίνειν, ἐπαίνους ἅμα καὶ δόγματα ἄδειν καὶ πρὶν ἢ μετρίως ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ προτέρου λόγου D μέσον ὑποτεμομένοις φιλοσόφων ἐξηγεῖσθαι ῥή-

¹ [ὡς] ἡδίω Hertlein, μᾶλλον V adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

word, the god that is in us. As to which, Plato elsewhere calls it "the supreme form of the soul that is within us," and says that "God has given it to each one of us as a guiding genius, even that which we say dwells in the summit of our body and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity."¹ It is on this that he plainly says every man ought to depend, and not on other men, who have so often succeeded when they wish to harm and hinder us in other respects. Indeed it has happened before now that even without such a desire men have deprived us of certain of our possessions. But this alone cannot be hindered or harmed, since "Heaven does not permit the bad to injure what is better than itself."² This saying also is from Plato. But it may be that I am wearying you with these doctrines of his with which I sprinkle my own utterances in small quantities, as with salt or gold dust. For salt makes our food more agreeable, and gold enhances an effect to the eye. But Plato's doctrines produce both effects. For as we listen to them they give more pleasure than salt to the sense, and they have a wonderful power of sweetly nourishing and cleansing the soul. So that I must not hesitate or be cautious of criticism if someone reproaches me with being insatiable and grasping at everything, like persons at a banquet who, in their greed to taste every dish, cannot keep their hands from what is set before them.³ For something of this sort seems to happen in my case when, in the same breath, I utter panegyric and philosophic theories, and, before I have done justice to my original theme, break off in the middle to expound the sayings of

¹ *Timæus* 90 A.

² *Apology* 30 D.

³ *Republic* 354 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

σεις. πρὸς δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα καταμεμφομένους εἴρηται μὲν ἤδη καὶ πρότερον καὶ αὖθις δὲ ἴσως λελέγεται.

Νῦν δὲ τὸ συνεχὲς ἀποδόντες τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπανάγωμεν ὥσπερ οἱ προεκθέοντες ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις. ἐλέγετο δ' οὖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν τινά φησι Πλάτων τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν 70 κτήσιν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς θαυμασίοις διώρισται νόμοις. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν λέγοι. “Ὅτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐς νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ἀνῆρ-
 τηται πάντα τὰ ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα καὶ μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐκτός, ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων ἢ καὶ πασχόντων πλανᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζεται, τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ ζῆν,” οὐ παρα-
 τρέπει τὴν λέξιν οὐδὲ παραποιεῖ, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐρμηνεύει· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἀντὶ B
 τῆς αὐτοῦ λέξεως τὸν θεὸν παραλαμβάνει οὐκ ἀδικοῖ. εἰ γὰρ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν daίμονα, ὄντα μὲν ἀπαθῆ τῇ φύσει καὶ θεῷ ξυγγενῇ, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνατλάντα καὶ ὑπομείναντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα κοινωνίαν καὶ τοῦ πάσχειν τε καὶ φθείρ-
 εσθαι φαντασίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς¹ παρασχόντα, τοῦ παντὸς ἐκεῖνος προϊσταται βίου τῷ γε εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμιγροῦς γηίνῳ σώματι δια-
 νοηθῆναι νοῦ, ὃν δὴ καὶ θεὸν εἶναί φαμεν καὶ C
 αὐτῷ τὰς ἡνίας ἐπιτρέπειν τοῦ βίου χρῆναι παραινοῦμεν πάντα ἰδιώτην τε² καὶ βασιλέα,

¹ τοῖς πολλοῖς Hertlein suggests, πολλοῖς MSS.

² ἰδιώτην τε Hertlein suggests, τε ἰδιώτην MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

philosophers. I have had occasion before now to reply to those who make such criticisms as these, and perhaps I shall have to do so again.

I will now, however, resume the thread of my discourse and go back to my starting-point, like those who, when a race is being started, run ahead out of the line. Well, I was saying, a moment ago, that Plato declares that a man's real self is his mind and soul, whereas his body and his estate are but his possessions. This is the distinction made in that marvellous work, the *Laws*. And so if one were to go back to the beginning and say "That man is best equipped for life who makes everything that relates to happiness depend on his mind and intelligence and not on those outside himself who, by doing or faring well or ill force him out of the straight path," he is not changing or perverting the sense of the words, but expounds and interprets them correctly. And if for Plato's word "genius"¹ he substitutes the word "God" he has a perfect right to do so. For if Plato gives the control of our whole life to the presiding "genius" within us which is by nature unaffected by sensation and akin to God, but must endure and suffer much because of its association with the body, and therefore gives the impression to the crowd that it also is subject to sensation and death; and if he says that this is true of every man who wishes to be happy, what must we suppose is his opinion about pure intelligence unmixed with earthly substance, which is indeed synonymous with God? To this I say every man, whether he be a private citizen or a king, ought to entrust the reins of his life, and by a king I mean

¹ δαίμων, cf. 69 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τόν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ οὐ νόθον οὐδὲ ψευδώνυμον, συνιέντα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰσθανόμενον διὰ συγγένειαν, ὑφίεμενον δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα τῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἔμφρονα; ἀνόητον γὰρ καὶ μάλα αὔθαδες τὸ μὴ καθάπαξ ἐς δύναμιν πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀρετῆς D ἐπιμελομένους· τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα χαίρειν ὑποληπτέον τὸν θεόν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐννόμου θεραπείας ἀποστατέον οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τιμὴν ὑπεροπτέον τοῦ κρείττονος, θετέον δὲ ἐν ἀρετῆς μοίρᾳ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν κρατίστην. ἔστι γὰρ ὁσιότης τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔκγονος· αὕτη δὲ ὅτι τοῦ θειοτέρου ψυχῆς εἶδους ἐστίν, οὐδένα λέληθε τῶν ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρίζονται.

Ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἐπαινούμεν τὸν Ἐκτορα σπένδειν μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν λύθρον· 71 ἡξιούμεν δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἄστὺ ἵεναι μηδὲ ἀπολείπειν τὴν μάχην μέλλοντά γε οὐ στρατηγοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιτελεῖν ἔργον, διακόνου δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτου, Ἰδαίου τινὸς ἢ Ταλθυβίου τάξιν ἀναληψόμενον. ἀλλ' ἔοικε γάρ, ὅπερ ἔφαμεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς¹ εἶναι φυγῆς τοῦτο. καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε τῷ Τελαμωνίῳ ξυνίστατο πεισθεὶς τῇ φήμῃ τοῦ μάντεως, ἀσπασίως διελύθη καὶ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὸν θάνατον ἐκφυγῶν ἄσμενος.² καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, φεύγουσιν ἔπεται B

¹ εὐπρεπῆς Cobet, εὐπρεποῦς MSS., Hertlein suggests εὐπρεπῆς ἀπρεποῦς cf. 19 D.

² ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

one who is really worthy of the name, and not counterfeit or falsely so called, but one who is aware of God and discerns his nature because of his affinity with him, and being truly wise bows to the divine authority and yields the supremacy to God. For it is senseless and arrogant indeed for those who cultivate virtue not to submit to God once and for all, as far as possible. For we must believe that this above all else is what God approves. Again, no man must neglect the traditional form of worship or lightly regard this method of paying honour to the higher power, but rather consider that to be virtuous is to be scrupulously devout. For Piety is the child of Justice, and that justice is a characteristic of the more divine type of soul is obvious to all who discuss such matters.

For this reason, then, while I applaud Hector for refusing to make a libation because of the blood-stains on his hands, he had, as I said, no right to go back to the city or forsake the battle, seeing that the task he was about to perform was not that of a general or of a king, but of a messenger and underling, and that he was ready to take on himself the office of an Idæus or Talthybius. However, as I said at first, this seems to have been simply a specious excuse for flight. And indeed when he obeyed the bidding of the seer and fought a duel with the son of Telamon,¹ he was very ready to make terms and to give presents, and rejoiced to have escaped death. In short, as a rule, he is brave when in pursuit of the retreating foe, but in no case

¹ Ajax.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

θρασέως, αἴτιος δέ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ νίκης καὶ τροπῆς, πλὴν ὅτε

πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τείχος Ἀχαιῶν

ξὺν τῷ Σαρπηδόνι. πότερον οὖν ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντες
 τηλικούτον ἔργον βασιλέως εὐλαβησόμεθα τὸν
 ἀγῶνα, μή ποτε ἄρα μικρὰ μεγάλους καὶ φαῦλα
 σπουδῆς ἀξίοις μείζονος παρατιθέναι δόξωμεν, ἢ C
 τολμήσομεν καὶ πρὸς τηλικούτον ἔργον ἀμιλλᾶ-
 σθαι; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἦν τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἡόνος, ἐν οὐδὲ ὄλῳ τῷ πρὸ μεσημβρίας χρόνῳ
 συντελεσθέν, ὁποίους ἡμῖν τοὺς χάρακας ἔννομον
 κατασκευάζεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλπεων τεῖχος
 παλαιόν τε ἦν φρούριον, καὶ αὐτῷ χρῆται μετὰ
 τὴν φυγὴν ὁ τύραννος, ὥσπερ ἔρυμά τι νεουργές
 ἀποφήνας καὶ ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἀπολιπὼν
 ἐρρωμένων ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὥς πορρωτάτῳ D
 πορεύεται, ἔμενε δὲ ἐν τῇ πλησίον πόλει. ἔστι δὲ
 Ἰταλῶν ἐμπόριον πρὸς θαλάττῃ μάλα εὐδαιμον
 καὶ πλούτῳ βρύον. φέρουσι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν φορτία
 Μυσοὶ καὶ Παίονες καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὅποσοι τὴν
 μεσόγαιαν κατοικοῦσιν, Ἐνετοὶ δὲ οἶμαι τὸ πρόσ-
 θεν ὠνομάζοντο. νῦν δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαίων τὰς πόλεις
 ἔχόντων τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄνομα σώζουσι βραχείᾳ
 προσθήκῃ γράμματος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας·
 ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ σύμβολον χαρακτήρ εἰς, ὠνομάζουσι 72
 δὲ αὐτὸν οὖ, καὶ χρώνται ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆτα πολλάκις
 προσπνεύσεως οἶμαι τινὸς ἕνεκα καὶ ιδιότητος τῆς

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

has he the credit of a victory or of turning the tide of battle, except when

“He was the first to leap within the wall of the Achaeans”¹

together with Sarpedon. Shall I therefore shrink from competition as though I could not cite on behalf of the Emperor any such exploit, and must therefore avoid seeming to compare the trivial with the important and things of little account with what deserves more serious consideration, or shall I venture to enter the lists even against an achievement so famous? Now that wall was to protect the beach, and was a palisade such as we are wont to construct, and was completed in less than a morning. But the wall that was on the Alps was an ancient fort, and the usurper used it after his flight, converting it into a defence as strong as though it had been newly built, and he left there an ample garrison of seasoned troops. But he did not himself march all the way there, but remained in the neighbouring city.² This is a trading centre of the Italians on the coast, very prosperous and teeming with wealth, since the Mysians and Paeonians and all the Italian inhabitants of the interior procure their merchandise thence. These last used, I think, to be called Heneti in the past, but now that the Romans are in possession of these cities they preserve the original name, but make the trifling addition of one letter at the beginning of the word. Its sign is a single character³ and they call it “oo,” and they often use it instead of “b,” to serve, I suppose, as a sort of breathing,

¹ *Iliad* 12. 438.

² Aquileia.

³ “v”.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

γλώττης. τὸ μὲν δὴ ξύμπαν ἔθνος ὧδε ἐπονο-
 μάζεται· τῇ πόλει δὲ αἰτός, ὥς φασιν, οἰκίζομένη
 δεξιὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἱπτάμενος τὴν αὐτοῦ φήμην
 χαρίζεται. οἰκεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων·
 ὄρη δέ ἐστι ταῦτα παμμεγέθη¹ καὶ ἀπορρώγες ἐν
 αὐτοῖς πέτραι, μόλις ἀμάξῃ μιᾷ καὶ ὀρικῶ ζεύγει·
 τὴν ὑπέρβασιν βιαζομένοις ξυγχωροῦντα, ἀρχό- B
 μενα μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἣν δὴ τὸν Ἴόνιον εἶναί
 φαμεν, ἀποτειχίζοντα δὲ τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τε
 Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ Τυρρηνὸν
 πέλαγος ἀναπανόμενα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τῆς
 χώρας ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τό τε
 τῶν Ἑνετῶν ἔθνος καὶ Λίγνές τινες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 Γαλατῶν οὐ φαύλη μοῖρα· τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα σφῶν
 ὀνόματα σώζειν οὐ διεκώλυσαν, τῷ κοινῷ δὲ τῶν
 Ἰταλῶν ξυγχωρεῖν κατηνάγκασαν. καὶ νῦν ὅποσα C
 μὲν εἴσω τῶν Ἀλπεων κατοικεῖται, ἔστε ἐπὶ
 τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ τὸν Τυρρηνὸν καθήκοντα, ταύτη
 κοσμεῖται τῇ προσωνυμίᾳ· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 Ἀλπεων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν Γαλάται νέμονται, καὶ
 Ῥαιτοὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον, ἵνα Ῥήνου τέ εἰσιν
 αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἰστρου πλησίον παρὰ τοῖς
 γείτοσι βαρβάροις· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἑω ταῦτα δὴ
 τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ὀχυροῦν ἔφαμεν, ἵνα περ ὁ τύραν-
 νος τὴν φρουρὰν κατεσκευάσατο. οὕτω δὲ τῆς
 Ἰταλίας ἀπανταχόθεν ὄρεσί τε συνεχομένης D
 λίαν δυσβάτοις καὶ θαλάσση τεναγώδει, ἅτε
 ἐσρέοντων ποταμῶν μυρίων, οἳ ποιοῦσιν ἔλος
 προσεικὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἔλεσι, τὸ ξύμπαν

¹ παμμεγέθη Hertlein suggests, παμμιγῇ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

and to represent some peculiarity of their pronunciation. The nation as a whole is called by this name, but at the time of the founding of the city an eagle from Zeus flew past on the right, and so bestowed on the place the omen derived from the bird.¹ It is situated at the foot of the Alps, which are very high mountains with precipices in them, and they hardly allow room for those who are trying to force their way over the passes to use even a single waggon and a pair of mules. They begin at the sea which we call Ionian, and form a barrier between what is now Italy and the Illyrians and Galatians, and extend as far as the Etruscan sea. For when the Romans conquered the whole of this country, which includes the tribe of the Heneti and some of the Ligurians and a considerable number of Galatians besides, they did not hinder them from retaining their ancient names, but compelled them to acknowledge the dominion of the Italian republic. And, in our day, all the territory that lies within the Alps and is bounded by the Ionian and the Etruscan seas has the honour of being called Italy. On the other side of the Alps, on the west, dwell the Galatians, and the Rhaetians to the north where the Rhine and the Danube have their sources hard by in the neighbouring country of the barbarians. And on the east, as I said, the Alps fortify the district where the usurper stationed his garrison. In this way, then, Italy is contained on all sides, partly by mountains that are very hard to cross, partly by a shallow sea into which countless streams empty and form a morass like the marshlands of Egypt. But the Emperor by his skill

¹ Because of this favourable omen the city was called Aquileia, "the city of the Eagle."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τῆς ἐκείνῃ θαλάττης πέρας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ σοφίας
ἔλαβε καὶ ἐβιάσατο τὴν ἄνοδον.

Καὶ ἵνα μὴ διατρίβειν δοκῶ αὐθίς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν
δυσχωριῶν διαλεγόμενος, καὶ ὡς οὔτε στρατόπεδον
ἦν οὐδὲ χάρακα πλησίον καταβαλέσθαι, οὔτε ἐπά-
γειν μηχανὰς καὶ ἐλεπόλεις, ἀνύδρου δεινῶς ὄντος 73
καὶ οὐδὲ μικρὰς λιβάδας ἔχοντος τοῦ περίξ χωρίου,
ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἶμι τὴν αἵρεσιν. καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε τὸ
κεφάλαιον ἀθρόως ἐλεῖν τοῦ λόγου, ὑπομνήσθητε
τῆς τοῦ Μακεδόνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πορείας, οἷ
τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην κατώκουν, ἐφ' ἣν οὐδὲ τῶν
ὀρνίθων ἦν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις ἀναπτῆναι, ὅπως
ἔάλω, καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμήσετε·
πλὴν τοσοῦτον μόνον, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέ-
βαλε πολλοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐξελὼν τὴν πέτραν,
ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος ἄρχων καὶ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲ χιλί-
αρχον ἀποβαλὼν ἢ λοχαγόν τινα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ B
ὀπλίτην τῶν ἐκ καταλόγου, καθαρὰν καὶ ἄδακρυν
περιεποιήσατο τὴν νίκην. Ἐκτὼρ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
Σαρπηδὼν πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος κατέβαλον,¹
ἐντυχόντες δὲ ἀριστεύοντι Πατρόκλῳ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν νεῶν κτείνεται, ὁ δὲ ἔφηνγεν αἰσχυρῶς οὐδὲ
ἀνελόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φίλου. οὕτως οὐδενὶ
ξὺν νῶ, ῥώμῃ δὲ μᾶλλον σωμάτων θρασυνόμενοι
τὴν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος πάροδον ἐτόλμων. βασιλεὺς δὲ
οὐ μὲν ἀλκῆς ἔργον ἐστὶ καὶ θυμοῦ χρήται τοῖς
ὅπλοις καὶ κρατεῖ ξὺν εὐβουλίᾳ,² οὐ δὲ μόνον C

¹ κατέβαλον Reiske, ἔβαλον MSS., Hertlein.

² ξὺν εὐβουλίᾳ Hertlein suggests, εὐβουλία Wytttenbach, ξυμβουλία MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

gained control of the whole of that boundary of the sea, and forced his way inland.

I will now relate how the city was actually taken, lest you should think I am wasting time by describing once more the difficulties of the ground, and how it was impossible to plant a camp or even a palisade near the city or to bring up siege-engines or devices for storming it, because the country all about was terribly short of water, and there were not even small pools. And if you wish to grasp the main point of my narrative in a few words, remember the Macedonian's¹ expedition against those Indians who lived on the famous rock² up to which not even the lightest birds could wing their flight, and how he took it by storm, and you will be content to hear no more from me. However I will add this merely, that Alexander in storming the rock lost many of his Macedonians, whereas our ruler and general lost not a single chiliarch or a captain, nay not even a legionary from the muster-roll, but achieved an unsullied and "tearless"³ victory. Now Hector and Sarpedon, no doubt, hurled down many men from the wall, but when they encountered Patroclus in all his glory Sarpedon was slain near the ships, while Hector, to his shame, fled without even recovering the body of his friend. Thus without intelligence and emboldened by mere physical strength they ventured to attack the wall. But the Emperor, when strength and daring are required, employs force of arms and good counsel together, and so wins the day, but where good judgment alone is necessary it is by this

¹ Alexander.

² A hill fort in Sogdiana where the Bactrian chief Oxyartes made his last stand against Alexander, 327 B.C.

³ cf. 77 B., Plutarch, *de Fort. Rom.* c. 4.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἔδεδῆσε γνώμης, ταύτῃ κυβερνᾷ καὶ κατεργάζεται
πράγματα τοσαῦτα, ὅποσα οὐδ' ἂν ὁ σίδηρος
ἐξελεῖν ἰσχύσειεν.¹

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθ' αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος φερόμενος
ἤκει πάλαι ποθῶν τὴν ξύνεσιν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τὴν
εὐβουλίαν, ἀποδοτέον. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀλίγα
πάλαι² διεληλύθαμεν· ὅποσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο
πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐκείνων ἔχειν ξυγγένειαν, D
μεγάλα μικροῖς εἰκάζοντες, δι' ὁμοιότητα διήλ-
θομεν.³ δῆλον δὲ ἀποβλέψαντι πρὸς τὸ τῆς παρα-
σκευῆς μέγεθος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν περιουσίαν.
τότε γὰρ ἢ τε Ἑλλὰς ἐκεκίνητο ξύμπασα καὶ
Θρακῶν μοῖρα καὶ Παιόνων τό τε τοῦ Πριάμου
ξύμπαν ὑπήκουον,

Ὅσον Λέσβος ἔσω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἔεργει
Καὶ Φρυγίῃ καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων.
τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔθνη συνιόντα βασιλεῖ καὶ συμπολε- 74
μοῦντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους
καταριθμεῖν μὴ λῆρος ἢ καὶ φλυαρία περιττὴ καὶ
λίαν ἀρχαῖον.⁴ ὅσῳ δὲ μείζους αἱ συνιούσαι
δυνάμεις, τοσοῦτα τὰ ἔργα προφέρειν εἰκός· ὥστε
ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ὑπεραίρειν. πλῆθει
γε μὴν ποῦ ποτε ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ

¹ Hertlein suggests ἐκτελεῖν, but cf. *Phoenissae* 516, ἐξελεῖν MSS. οὐδ' ἂν—ἰσχύσειεν Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—ἰσχύσει MSS.

² πάλαι Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντα MSS.

³ διήλθομεν Reiske, δηλοῦμεν MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ ἀρχαῖον Reiske, ἀρχαῖος Hertlein, ὕθλος λίαν ἀρχαῖος Cobet, ἀρχαῖος MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

that he steers his course, and thus achieves triumphs such as not even iron could ever avail to erase.¹

But since my speech has of its own accord reached this point in its course and has long been eager to praise the Emperor's wisdom and wise counsel, I allow it to do so. And in fact I spoke briefly on this subject some time ago, and all the cases where there seemed to me to be any affinity between the heroes of Homer and the Emperor, I described because of that resemblance, comparing great things with small. And indeed if one considers the size of their armaments, the superiority of his forces also becomes evident. For in those days all Greece was set in motion,² and part of Thrace and Paeonia, and all the subject allies of Priam,

"All that Lesbos, the seat of Makar, contains within, and Phrygia on the north and the boundless Hellespont."³

But to try to count up the nations who lately marched with the Emperor and fought on his side in the war, would be idle talk, superfluous verbiage, and absurd simplicity. And it is natural that, in proportion as the armies are larger, their achievements are more important. So it follows of necessity that, in this respect as well, the Emperor's army surpassed Homer's heroes. In mere numbers, at any rate, at what point, I ask, could one justly compare them? For the Greeks fought all along for a single

¹ Julian refers to the triumph of Constantius over Vetrano, described in *Or.* 1. 31 foll. and echoes Euripides, *Phoenissae* 516, πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος | ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν. Themistius, *Or.* 2, 37 B quotes these verses to illustrate the same incident.

² Isocrates, *Evagoras* 65, *Panegyricus* 83. ³ *Iliad* 24. 544.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

μιᾶς ἐμάχοντο πόλεως ξυνεχῶς, καὶ οὔτε Τρῶες¹
 ἀπελάσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπικρατοῦντες ἠδύναντο,
 οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι νικῶντες ἐξελεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τῶν
 Πριαμίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἴσχυον,
 δεκαέτης δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναλώθη χρόνος. βασιλεῖ δὲ B
 πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἀγῶνες· καὶ γὰρ² ἀνεγράφη
 Γερμανοῖς τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν, τά τε
 ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ζεύγματα καὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων
 δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος ἔλεγχος οὐ φαῦλος,
 ὅτε οὐχ ὑπέμενον ἀμῦναι τῇ χώρᾳ πορθουμένη,
 ἀλλὰ περιεῖδον ἅπασαν τμηθεῖσαν τὴν εἴσω
 Τίγρητος καὶ Λύκου, τῶν γε μὴν πρὸς τὸν τύραννον C
 πραχθέντων ὃ τε ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἔκπλους καὶ ἐς
 Καρχηδόνα, Ἡριδανοῦ τε αἱ προκαταλήψεις τῶν
 ἐκβολῶν ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις
 ἀφελόμεναι, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τρίτον πάλ-
 λισμα περὶ ταῖς Κοττίαις Ἀλπεσιν, ὃ δὲ βασιλεῖ
 μὲν παρέσχεν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδεᾶ
 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἡδονήν, τὸν δὲ ἡττηθέντα δίκην
 ἐπιθεῖναι δικαίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐξειργασμένων
 πάννυ ἀξίαν κατηνάγκασε.

Τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως ἔργων ἐν βραχεῖ
 διεληλύθαμεν, οὔτε κολακείᾳ προστιθέντες καὶ
 αὔξειν ἐπιχειροῦντες τυχὸν οὐδενὸς διαφέροντα
 τῶν ἄλλων, οὔτε πόρρωθεν ἔλκοντες καὶ βιαζό-
 μενοι τῶν ἔργων τὰς ὁμοιότητας, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς

¹ Τρῶες Hertlein adds.

² καὶ γὰρ Horkel, lacuna Hertlein; the inappropriate verb ἀναγράφω = "register, record," indicates corruption.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

city, and the Trojans when they prevailed were not able to drive away the Greeks, nor were the Greeks strong enough, when they won a victory, to destroy and overthrow the power and the royal sway of the house of Priam, and yet the time they spent over it was ten years long. But the Emperor's wars and undertakings have been numerous. He has been described as waging war against the Germans across the Rhine, and then there was his bridge of boats over the Tigris, and his exposure of the power and arrogance of the Parthians¹ was no trivial thing, on that occasion when they did not venture to defend their country while he was laying it waste, but had to look on while the whole of it was devastated between the Tigris and the Lycus. Then, when the war against the usurper was concluded, there followed the expeditions to Sicily and Carthage, and that stratagem of occupying beforehand the mouth of the Po, which deprived the usurper of all his forces in Italy, and finally that third and last fall² at the Cottian Alps, which secured for the Emperor the pleasure of a victory that was sure, and carried with it no fears for the future, while it compelled the defeated man to inflict on himself a just penalty wholly worthy of his misdeeds.

I have given this brief account of the Emperor's achievements, not adding anything in flattery and trying to exaggerate things that are perhaps of no special importance, nor dragging in what is far-fetched and unduly pressing points of resemblance with those achievements, like those who interpret

¹ cf. *Oration* 1. 22. 28.

² In wrestling the third fall was final: the phrase became proverbial, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 256 B, Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 592, Julian, *Or.* 1. 40 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

μύθους ἐξηγούμενοι τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀναλύοντες
 ἐς λόγους πιθανοὺς καὶ ἐνδεχομένους τὰ πλάσματα
 ἐκ μικρᾶς πάνυ τῆς ὑπονοίας ὀρμώμενοι καὶ 75
 ἀμυδρὰς λῖαν παραλαβόντες τὰς ἀρχὰς πειρῶνται
 ξυμπείθειν, ὥς δὴ ταῦτά γε αὐτὰ ἐκείνων ἐθελόντων
 λέγειν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τῶν Ὀμήρου
 μόνον τὰ τῶν ἡρώων ὀνόματα, ἐνθείη δὲ τὸ
 βασιλέως καὶ ἐναρμόσειεν, οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐκείνους
 ἢ τοῦτον πεποιῆσθαι δόξει τὰ¹ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἔπη.

Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων μόνον ἀκού-
 οντες τὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων τῶν² ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
 ἔλαττον ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνητε βασιλέα περὶ τὰ B
 σεμνότερα καὶ ὧν ἄξιον μείζονα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον,
 δημηγοριῶν φημι καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν, καὶ ὅποσα
 γνώμη μετὰ νοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως κατευθύνει,
 ἀθρεῖτε ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Νέστορι τοῖς ἐπαινου-
 μένοις κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, καὶ ἦν τι μείον ἐν
 βασιλεῖ καταμανθάνητε, τοῖς ἐπαινέταις τοῦτο
 λογίζεσθε, πλέον δὲ ἔχοντα δικαίως ἂν³ αὐτὸν
 μᾶλλον ἀποδεχοίμεθα. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν, ὅπηνίκα
 χαλεπαίνειν καὶ στασιάζειν ἤρχοντο περὶ τῆς
 αἰχμαλώτου κόρης, λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶν οὕτω δὴ τι
 πείθει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῆς Θέτιδος, ὥστε C
 ὁ μὲν ἀκόσμως διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ
 περιμείνας ἀφοσιώσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἔτι
 δὲ αὐτὰ δρῶν καὶ ἀφορῶν ἐς τὴν θεωρίδα, στέλλει
 τοὺς κήρυκας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως σκηνήν, ὥσπερ
 οἶμαι δεδιὼς μὴ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιλαθόμενος καὶ

¹ Before τῆς Hertlein, Reiske omit ὑπὲρ.

² τῶν Hertlein adds. ³ ἂν Hertlein adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

the myths of the poets and analyse them into plausible versions which allow them to introduce fictions of their own, though they start out from very slight analogies, and having recourse to a very shadowy basis, try to convince us that this is the very thing that the poets intended to say. But in this case if anyone should take out of Homer's poems merely the names of the heroes, and insert and fit in the Emperor's, the epic of the *Iliad* would be seen to have been composed quite as much in his honour as in theirs.

But that you may not think, if you hear only about his achievements and successes in war, that the Emperor is less well endowed for pursuits that are loftier and rightly considered of more importance, I mean public speaking and deliberations and all those affairs in which judgment combined with intelligence and prudence take the helm, consider the case of Odysseus and Nestor, who are so highly praised in the poem; and if you find that the Emperor is inferior to them in any respect, put that down to his panegyrists, but we should rather in fairness concede that he is far superior. Nestor, for instance, when they began to disagree and quarrel about the captive damsel,¹ tried to address them, and he did persuade the king and the son of Thetis, but only to this extent that Achilles broke up the assembly in disorder, while Agamemnon did not even wait to complete his expiation to the god, but while he was still performing the rite and the sacred ship was in view, he sent heralds to the tent of Achilles, just as though, it seems to me, he were afraid that

¹ Briseis, *Iliad* 1. 247.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ πάθους μεταγνοίῃ καὶ ἀποφύγοι
 τὴν ἀμαρτάδα· ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰθάκης ῥήτωρ
 πολύτροπος πείθειν ἐπιχειρῶν πρὸς διαλλαγὰς
 Ἀχιλλέα καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ διδούς, μυρία δὲ D
 ἐπαγγελλόμενος, οὕτω τὸν νεανίσκον παρώξυνεν,
 ὥστε πρότερον οὐ¹ βουλευσάμενον τὸν ἀπό-
 πλουν νῦν² παρασκευάζεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ
 θαυμαστὰ τῆς συνέσεως δείγματα αἷ τε ἐπὶ τὸν
 πόλεμον παρακλήσεις καὶ ἡ τειχοποιία τοῦ Νέσ-
 τορος, πρεσβυτικὸν λῖαν καὶ ἄτολμον ἐπινόημα.
 οὐκουν οὐδὲ ὄφελος ἦν πολὺ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τοῦ
 μηχανήματος· ἀλλὰ ἡττῶντο τῶν Τρώων τὸ τεῖχος 76
 ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. τότε μὲν γὰρ
 αὐτοὶ τῶν νεῶν ᾤοντο προβεβλησθαι καθάπερ
 ἔρυμα γενναῖον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο σφῶν³ προκει-
 μενον καὶ ἀποικοδομούμενον⁴ τεῖχος τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ
 καὶ πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διηλούμενον,⁵ κατερραθύμουν
 καὶ ὑφίεντο τῆς ἀλκῆς τῷ τειχίσματι πεποιθότες.
 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνοις μέμφοιτο καὶ ἐπι-
 δεικνύοι διαμαρτάνοντας, οὗτός ἐστι βασιλέως
 ἀξιοχρεὼς ἐπαινέτης· ὅστις δὲ οἶμαι τῶν ἔργων B
 ἀξίως μνησθεῖν, οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως οὐδὲ
 ἀλόγῳ φορᾷ γενομένων, προβουλευθέντων δὲ ὀρθῶς
 καὶ διοικηθέντων, οὗτος ἀρκούντως ἐπαινεῖ τὴν
 βασιλέως ἀγχίνοιαν.

Τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστη συνόδῳ τὰς δημηγορίας
 ἐκλέγειν τὰς⁶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ δήμους καὶ

¹ πρότερον οὐ Hertlein suggests, οὐ πρότερον MSS.

² νῦν Cobet adds.

³ ᾔσθοντο σφῶν Cobet, ᾔσθοντο τὸ MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ ἀποικοδομημένον Hertlein suggests, ἀποικοδομούμενον MSS.

⁵ διειλημμένον Hertlein suggests, διηλούμενον MSS.

⁶ τὰς Reiske adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

he would forget his anger, and, once free from that passion, would repent and avoid his error. Again, the far-travelled orator from Ithaca, when he tried to persuade Achilles to make peace, and offered him many gifts and promised him countless others, so provoked the young warrior that, though he had not before planned to sail home, he now began to make preparations.¹ Then there are those wonderful proofs of their intelligence, their exhortations to battle and Nestor's building of the wall, a cowardly notion and worthy indeed of an old man. Nor in truth did the Achaeans benefit much from that device. For it was after they had finished the wall that they were worsted by the Trojans, and naturally enough. For before that, they thought that they were themselves protecting the ships, like a noble bulwark. But when they realised that a wall lay in front of them, built with a deep moat and set at intervals with sharp stakes, they grew careless and slackened their valour, because they trusted to the fortification. Yet it is not anyone who blames them and shows that they were in the wrong who is therefore a fit and proper person to praise the Emperor. But he who, in a worthy manner, recounts the Emperor's deeds, which were done not idly or automatically, or from an irrational impulse, but were skilfully planned beforehand and carried through, he alone praises adequately the Emperor's keen intelligence.

But to report to you those speeches which he made at every public gathering to the armies and

¹ *Iliad* 9. 260.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

βουλευτήρια μακροτέρας δέεται τῆς ξυγγραφῆς.
 ἐνὸς δὲ ἴσως ἐπακούειν οὐ χαλεπόν. καὶ μοι
 πάλιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν Λαέρτου, ὅποτε ὠρμημένους
 ἐκπλεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπέχει τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐς C
 τὸν πόλεμον μετατίθῃσι τὴν προθυμίαν, καὶ¹
 βασιλέως τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ξύλλογον, ἵνα δὴ
 πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ μειρακίων παιδικὰ φρονεῖν
 ἀναπειθόμενος ὁμολογιῶν ἐπελανθάνετο καὶ
 πίστεων, καὶ τῷ μὲν σωτῇρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ
 δυσμενῆς ἦν, σπονδὰς δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ὃν ἦν
 ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος βασιλεῖ πόλεμος, στρα-
 τὸν τε ἤγειρε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἀπῆντα τῆς D
 χώρας, κωλύσαι τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ταῦτόν ἦλθον ἀμφοτέρω τῷ στρατεύ-
 ματε καὶ ἐχρῆν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ποιεῖσθαι
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, βῆμά τε ὑψηλὸν ἤρετο καὶ
 αὐτὸ περιέσχεν ὀπλιτῶν δῆμος καὶ ἀκοντισ-
 τῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν ἱππεῖς τε ἐνσκευασάμενοι
 τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν τάξεων ἀνῆει
 τε ἐπ' αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ τέως ξυνάρ-
 χοντος οὔτε αἰχμὴν φέρων οὔτε ἀσπίδα καὶ 77
 κράνος, ἀλλὰ ἐσθήτα τὴν συνήθη. καὶ οὐδὲ
 αὐτῷ τις τῶν δορυφόρων εἶπετο, μόνος δὲ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βήματος εἰστήκει πεποισθὼς τῷ λόγῳ σεμνῶς
 ἡρμοσμένῳ. ἐργάτης γάρ ἐστι καὶ τούτων ἀγα-
 θός, οὐκ ἀποσμιλεύων οὐδὲ ἀπονυχίζων τὰ ῥή-
 ματα οὐδὲ ἀποτορνεύων τὰς περιόδους καθά-

¹ [τοῦ] βασιλέως Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

the common people and the councils, demands too long a narrative, though it is perhaps not too much to ask you to hear about one of these. Pray then think once more of the son of Laertes when the Greeks were rushing to set sail and he checked the rush and diverted their zeal back to the war,¹ and then of the Emperor's assembly in Illyria, when that old man,² persuaded by mere youths to think childish thoughts, forgot his treaties and obligations and proved to be the enemy of his preserver and benefactor, and came to terms with one against whom the Emperor was waging a war that allowed no truce nor herald of a truce,³ and who was not only getting an army together, but came to meet the Emperor on the border of the country, because he was anxious to hinder him from advancing further. And when those two armies met, and it was necessary to hold an assembly in the presence of the hoplites, a high platform was set up and it was surrounded by a crowd of hoplites, javelin-men and archers and cavalry equipped with their horses and the standards of the divisions. Then the Emperor, accompanied by him who for the moment was his colleague, mounted the platform, carrying no sword or shield or helmet, but wearing his usual dress. And not even one of his bodyguard followed him, but there he stood alone on the platform, trusting to that speech which was so impressively appropriate. For of speeches too he is a good craftsman, though he does not plane down and polish his phrases nor elaborate his periods like the ingenious

¹ *Iliad* 2. 188.

² Vetrano; Themistius, *Or.* 2. 37 B, who in a panegyric on Constantius describes this oratorical triumph.

³ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 262, ἦν γὰρ ἀσπονδὸς καὶ ἀκήρυκτος . . . πόλεμος.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

περ οἱ κομψοὶ ῥήτορες, σεμνὸς δὲ ἅμα καὶ
καθαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι ξὺν καιρῷ χρώμενος,
ὥστε ἐνδύεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ τῶν παιδείας B
καὶ ξυνέσεως μεταποιουμένων μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη
καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ξυνιέναι πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπ-
αίειν τῶν ῥημάτων. οὐκοῦν ἥρει μυριάδας
ὀπλιτῶν συχνάς καὶ χιλιάδας ἱππέων εἴκοσι
καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα¹ καὶ χώραν πάμφορον, οὐ
βία ἔλκων οὐδὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἄγων, ἐκόντας δὲ
αὐτῷ πειθομένους καὶ τὸ ἐπιταττόμενον ποιεῖν
ἐθέλοντας. ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν νίκην κρίνω τῆς
Λακωνικῆς ἐκείνης² μακρῷ σεμνοτέραν· ἡ μὲν γε
ἦν ἄδακρυς μόνοις³ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς C
κρατηθεῖσιν ἦνεγκε δάκρυα, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βήμα-
τος κατήλθεν ὁ τῆς βασιλείας ὑποκριτῆς δικα-
σάμενος καὶ ὥσπερ ὄφλημα βασιλεῖ πατρῶον
ἀποδοὺς τὴν ἀλουργίδα· τὰλλα δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσι
βασιλεὺς ἄφθονα μᾶλλον ἢ Κῦρόν φασι παρα-
σχεῖν τῷ πάππῳ, ζῆν τε ἐποίησε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι
καθάπερ Ὀμηρος ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἀφηλι-
κεστέρους,

Τοιούτῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,

Εὐδέμεναι μαλακῶς· ἡ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων. D

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸν ἡδέως ἂν τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους
διεξήλθον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν με ὄκνος καταλάβοι οὕτω
καλῶν ἀπτόμενον λόγων· αἰδῶς δὲ οἶμαι κατείργει
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει μετατιθέναι καὶ ἐξηρμηνεύειν
ἐς ὑμᾶς τοὺς λόγους. ἀδικοῖην γὰρ ἂν διαφθείρων

¹ τὰ before μαχιμώτατα V, Hertlein omit.

² ἐκείνης Naber adds.

³ μόνοις Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

rheticians, but is at once dignified and simple, and uses the right words on every occasion, so that they sink into the souls not only of those who claim to be cultured and intelligent, but many unlearned persons too understand and give hearing to his words. And so he won over many tens of thousands of hoplites and twenty thousand cavalry and most warlike nations, and at the same time a country that is extremely fertile, not seizing it by force, or carrying off captives, but by winning over men who obeyed him of their own free will and were eager to carry out his orders. This victory I judge to be far more splendid than that for which Sparta is famous.¹ For that was "tearless" for the victors only, but the Emperor's did not cause even the defeated to shed tears, but he who was masquerading as Emperor came down from the platform when he had pleaded his cause, and handed over to the Emperor the imperial purple² as though it were an ancestral debt. And all else the Emperor gave him in abundance, more than they say Cyrus gave to his grandfather, and arranged that he should live and be maintained in the manner that Homer recommends for men who are past their prime :—

"For it is fitting that such a one, when he has bathed and fed, should sleep soft, for that is the manner of the aged."³

Now for my part I should have been glad to repeat to you the words that the Emperor used, and no fear would overtake me when handling words so noble. But modesty restrains me and does not permit me to change or interpret his words to you. For it

¹ The victory of Archidamus over the Arcadians Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7. 1. 32.

² cf. *Oration* 1. 32 A.

³ *Odyssey* 24. 253.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

καὶ ἐλεγχόμενος αἰσχυνοίμην, εἴ τις ἄρα τὸ βασιλέως ἀναγνοὺς ξύγγραμμα ἢ τότε ἀκούσας ἀπομνημονεύοι καὶ ἀπαιτοίῃ οὐ τὰ νοήματα μόνον, 78 ὅσαις δὲ ἀρεταῖς ἐκεῖνα κοσμεῖται κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν ξυγκείμενα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν Ὀμήρῳ τὸ δέος πολλαῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενεαῖς τοὺς λόγους διηγουμένῳ, λιπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα τῶν ἐς τοὺς ξυλλόγους ῥηθέντων, καὶ σαφῶς οἶμαι πιστεύοντι, ὅτι ἄμεινον¹ τὰ κείνων αὐτὸς ἐξαγγελεῖ καὶ διηγῆσεται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μιμείσθαι καταγέλαστον καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐλευθέρας ψυχῆς καὶ γενναίας. τὰ μὲν δὴ θαυ- B
μαστὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὁπόσων ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος θεα-
τῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ διασώζει τὴν μνήμην ξὺν εὐφη-
μίᾳ, ἅτε ἐς τὸ² τέλος ἀφορῶν καὶ τῶν εὖ ἢ κακῶς ἀποβάντων κριτῆς καθεστῶς καὶ ἐπαινέτης οὐ μάλα ἀστείος, ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις τῶν μακαρίων σοφιστῶν καὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ γένους πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν μουσῶν ἐπιπνεομένου, ὥστε ὑμᾶς τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ διωχλήκαμεν, μακροτέρους τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι λόγους· καὶ γάρ ἐστε λίαν C
αὐτῶν ἤδη διακορεῖς καὶ ὑμῶν ἐστι τὰ ὦτα πλήρη, καὶ οὐ μὴ ποτε ἐπιλίπωσιν οἱ τούτων ποιηταί, πολέμους ὑμνοῦντες καὶ νίκας ἀνακηρύττοντες λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκας· παρέσχεσθε γὰρ ὑμεῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀφθονίαν, ἀσμένως ἐπακούοντες. καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. εἰσὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων ὑπολήψεις ἀγαθῶν

¹ ἄμεινον Petavius, Cobet, ἔρα Hertlein, MSS., ἔρα κακείνων cant. and fl.

² τὸ Reiske adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

would be wrong of me to tamper with them, and I should blush to have my ignorance exposed, if someone who had read the Emperor's composition or heard it at the time should remember it by heart, and demand from me not only the ideas in it but all the excellences with which they are adorned, though they are composed in the language of our ancestors.¹ Now this at any rate Homer had not to fear when, many generations later, he reported his speeches, since his speakers left no record of what they said in their assemblies, and I think he was clearly confident that he was able to relate and report what they said in a better style. But to make an inferior copy is absurd and unworthy of a generous and noble soul. Now as to the marvellous portion of his achievements and those of which the great multitude was spectator and hence preserves their memory and commends them, since it looks to the result and is there to judge whether they turn out well or ill, and eulogises them in language that is certainly not elegant,—as to all this I say you have often heard from the ingenious sophists, and from the race of poets inspired by the Muses themselves, so that, as far as these are concerned, I must have wearied you by speaking about them at too great length. For you are already surfeited with them, your ears are filled with them, and there will always be a supply of composers of such discourses to sing of battles and proclaim victories with a loud clear voice, after the manner of the heralds at the Olympic games. For you yourselves, since you delight to listen to them, have produced an abundance of these men. And no wonder. For their

¹ Latin; of which Julian had only a slight knowledge. The fourth century Sophists were content with Greek. Themistius never learned Latin, and Libanius needed an interpreter for a Latin letter, *Epistle* 956.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

πέρι καὶ φαύλων ταῖς ὑμετέραις ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ D
ἀπαγγέλλουσι· πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δια-
νοήματα, ἃ¹ ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ² τοῖς
ὀνόμασι σκιαγραφήσαντες καὶ διαπλάσαντες
ἡδίστοις ῥυθμοῖς καὶ σχήμασιν ὥς δὴ τι και-
νὸν εὐρόντες εἰς ὑμᾶς φέρουσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄσμε-
νοι παραδέχεσθε, καὶ ἐκείνους τε οἶεσθε ὀρθῶς
ἐπαινεῖν, τούτοις τε ἀποδίδοσθαι τὸ προσήκόν
φατε. τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν ἴσως ἀληθές, τυχὸν δὲ
καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει, ἀγνοούμενον πρὸς ὑμῶν ὅπη
ποτὲ ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο.

Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἐνενόησα Σωκράτη· 79
ἴστε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀκοῇ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
κλέος τῆς σοφίας παρὰ τῆς Πυθίας ἐκβοηθέν·
οὐ ταῦτα ἐπαινούντα³ οὐδὲ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μα-
καρίους ὁμολογοῦντα τοὺς πολλὴν κεκτημένους
χώραν, πλείστα δ' ἔθνη καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πολ-
λοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνων, πλείους δὲ ἔτι καὶ μείζους
βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Ἄθω διορύττειν δυναμένους
καὶ σχεδία τὰς ἡπείρους, ἐπειδὰν ἐθέλωσι
διαβαίνειν, συνάπτοντας καὶ ἔθνη καταστρεφο-
μένους καὶ αἰροῦντας νήσους καὶ σαγηνεύοντας B
καὶ λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα καταθύοντας.
οὔτε οὖν Ξέρξην ἐκεῖνος ἐπῆναι ποτὲ οὔτε
ἄλλον τινὰ Περσῶν ἢ Λυδῶν ἢ Μακεδόνων
βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων στρατηγόν, πλὴν
σφόδρα ὀλίγων, ὅπόσους ἡπίστατο χαίροντας
ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀσπαζομένους ἀνδρείαν μετὰ σωφρο-
σύνης καὶ φρόνησιν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης στέργοντας.

¹ & Reiske adds.

² ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ MSS., Cobet, ἐσθῆτα ποικίλῃν Hertlein.

³ ἐπαινούντα Reiske, εὐδαιμονούντα MSS., Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

conceptions of what is good and bad are akin to your own, and they do but report to you your own opinions and depict them in fine phrases, like a dress of many colours, and cast them into the mould of agreeable rhythms and forms, and bring them forth for you as though they had invented something new. And you welcome them eagerly, and think that this is the correct way to eulogise, and you say that these deeds have received their due. And this is perhaps true, but it may well be otherwise, since you do not really know what the correct way should be.

For I have observed that Socrates the Athenian—you know the man by hearsay and that his reputation for wisdom was proclaimed aloud by the Pythian oracle¹—I say I have observed that he did not praise that sort of thing, nor would he admit² that they are happy and fortunate who are masters of a great territory and many nations, with many Greeks too among them, and still more numerous and powerful barbarians, such men as are able to cut a canal through Athos and join continents³ by a bridge of boats whenever they please, and who subdue nations and reduce islands by sweeping the inhabitants into a net,⁴ and make offerings of a thousand talents' worth of frankincense.⁵ Therefore he never praised Xerxes or any other king of Persia or Lydia or Macedonia, and not even a Greek general, save only a very few, whomsoever he knew to delight in virtue and to cherish courage with temperance and to love wisdom with justice. But those whom he saw to be

¹ cf. 191 A. ² Plato, *Gorgias* 470 D. ³ Plato, *Laws* 699 A.
⁴ Plato, *Laws* 698 D ; Herodotus 6. 31. ⁵ Herodotus 1. 183.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ὅσους δὲ ἀγχίνους ἢ δεινούς ἢ στρατηγικούς ἢ κομψούς καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανούς ἑώρα, σμίκρ' ἅττα μόρια κατανειμαμένους ἀρετῆς, οὐδὲ τούτους C
 ἐς ἅπαν ἐπήνει. ἔπεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ κρίσει σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν δῆμος ἀρετὴν θεραπεύοντες, τὰ κλεινὰ δὲ οἶμαι ταῦτα καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ μὲν ὀλίγου τινός, οἱ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λέγοντες.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτῃ πῃ ξυνδοκεῖ, δέος οὐ φαῦλόν με ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν λόγων καὶ ἑμαντοῦ, μὴ ποτε ἄρα τοὺς μὲν παιδιὰν¹ ἀποφῆνῃτε, σοφιστὴν δὲ ἐμὲ γελοῖον καὶ ἀμαθῆ, μεταποιοῦμενον τέχνης, ἧς σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἔχειν D
 ὁμολογῶ, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁμολογητέον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς ἐπαίνους διεξιόντι καὶ ὧν ἀκούειν ἄξιον ὑμῖν οἴεσθε, εἰ καὶ ἀγροικότεροι καὶ ἐλάττους μακρῷ τῶν ῥηθέντων τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνονται. εἰ δέ, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἔφην, ἀποδέχεσθε τοὺς ἐκείνων ποιητάς, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀνείται τὸ δέος εὖ μάλα. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ὑμῖν ἄτοπος φανούμαι, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν οἶμαι φαυλότερος, κατ' ἑμαντὸν δὲ 80
 ἐξεταζόμενος οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπόβλητος οὐδὲ ἀτόποις ἐπιχειρῶν. ὑμῖν δὲ ἴσως οὐ ῥάδιον σοφοῖς καὶ θείοις ἀπιστεῖν ἀνδράσιν, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι πολλὰ μὲν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ, τὸ κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος. ταύτην δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ φασιν ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα καὶ βασιλικὴν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία πολιτικὴν καὶ στρατη-

¹ παιδιὰν Cobet, *Mnemosyne* 10. παιδιὰς (earlier conjecture Cobet) Hertlein, παιδείους V, παῖδας MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

cunning, or merely clever, or generals and nothing more, or ingenious, or able, though each one could lay claim to only one small fraction of virtue, to impose on the masses, these too he would not praise without reserve. And his judgment is followed by a host of wise men who reverence virtue, but as for all those wonders and marvels that I have described, some say of them that they are worth little, others that they are worth nothing.

Now if you also are of their opinion, I feel no inconsiderable alarm for what I said earlier, and for myself, lest possibly you should declare that my words are mere childishness, and that I am an absurd and ignorant sophist and make pretensions to an art in which I confess that I have no skill, as indeed I must confess to you when I recite eulogies that are really deserved, and such as you think it worth while to listen to, even though they should seem to most of you somewhat uncouth and far inferior to what has been already uttered. But if, as I said before, you accept the authors of those other eulogies, then my fear is altogether allayed. For then I shall not seem wholly out of place, but though, as I admit, inferior to many others, yet judged by my own standard, not wholly unprofitable nor attempting what is out of place. And indeed it is probably not easy for you to disbelieve wise and inspired men who have much to say, each in his own manner, though the sum and substance of all their speeches is the praise of virtue. And virtue they say is implanted in the soul and makes it happy and kingly, yes, by Zeus, and statesmanlike and gifted with true

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

γικὴν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ πλουσίαν γε ἀληθῶς
οὐ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ἔχουσιν χρυσίον

Οὐδ' ὅσα λάϊνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔεργε B
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, ὅτε ἦν ὀρθὰ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
πράγματα, οὐδὲ ἐσθῆτα πολυτελεῆ καὶ ψήφους Ἰν-
δικὰς καὶ γῆς πλέθρων μυριάδας πάνυ πολλὰς,
ἀλλ' ὃ πάντων ἅμα τούτων καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ
θεοφιλέστερον, ὃ καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαις ἔνεστι διασώ-
σασθαι καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ καὶ
ἐπ' ἐρημίας, ἐν λησταῖς μέσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τυράννων C
βιαίων.

"Ὅλως γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκείνου κρεῖττον, ὃ
βιασάμενον καθέξει καὶ ἀφαιρήσεται τὸν ἔχοντα
ἅπαξ. ἔστι γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ψυχῇ τὸ κτῆμα τοῦτο
τοιούτον, ὅποιον οἶμαι τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
τοῦδε νεὸς μὲν καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλοὶ πολλάκις
ὑφελόμενοι καὶ διαφθείραντες ὥχοντο, δόντες μὲν
ἄλλοι τὴν δίκην, ἄλλοι δὲ ὠλιγορηθέντες ὥς οὐκ
ἄξιοι κολάσεως εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν φερούσης· τὸ
φῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς
συνόδοις ἢ σελήνῃ τὸν κύκλον ὑποτρέχουσα, D
οὐδὲ εἰς αὐτὴν δεχομένη τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ ἡμῖν
πολλάκις, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκ μεσημβρίας
νύκτα δεικνύσα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαι-
ρεῖται φωτὸς τὴν σελήνην ἐξ ἐναντίας ἵσταμένην
περιλάμπων καὶ μεταδιδούς αὐτῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ
φύσεως οὐδὲ τὸν μέγαν καὶ θαυμαστὸν τουτονὶ
κόσμον ἐμπλήσας αὐγῆς καὶ ἡμέρας. οὐκ οὐν

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

generalship, and generous and truly wealthy, not because it possesses the Colophonian¹ treasures of gold,

“Nor all that the stone threshold of the Far-Darter contained within,”²

“in the old days, in times of peace,”³ when the fortunes of Greece had not yet fallen; nay nor costly clothing and precious stones from India and many tens of thousands of acres of land, but that which is superior to all these things together and more pleasing to the gods; which can keep us safe even in shipwreck, in the market-place, in the crowd, in the house, in the desert, in the midst of robbers, and from the violence of tyrants.

For there is nothing at all superior to it, nothing that can constrain and control it, or take it from him who has once possessed it. Indeed it seems to me that this possession bears the same relation to the soul as its light to the sun. For often men have stolen the votive offerings of the Sun and destroyed his temples and gone their way, and some have been punished, and others let alone as not worthy of the punishment that leads to amendment. But his light no one ever takes from the sun, not even the moon when in their conjunctions she oversteps his disc, or when she takes his rays to herself, and often, as the saying is, turns midday into night.⁴ Nor is he deprived of his light when he illumines the moon in her station opposite to himself and shares with her his own nature, nor when he fills with light and day this great and wonderful universe.

¹ The gold work of Colophon was proverbial for its excellence. Cf. Aristophanes, *Cocalus* fr. 8.

² *Iliad* 9. 404.

³ *Iliad* 22. 156.

⁴ First used by Archilochus, fr. 74, in a description of an eclipse of the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀρετῆς μεταδιδούς ἄλλω τῷ
 μεταδοθέντι μείον ἔχων ἐφάνη ποτέ· οὕτω θεῖον 81
 ἐστὶ κτῆμα καὶ πάγκαλον, καὶ οὐ ψευδὴς ὁ λόγος
 τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, ὅστις ποτὲ ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος
 ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ· πᾶς γὰρ ὃ τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς
 χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. θαρροῦντες οὖν
 ἤδη πλούσιον καλῶμεν τὸν ταύτην ἔχοντα, οἶμαι
 δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εὐγενῇ καὶ βασιλεύᾳ μόνον τῶν
 ἀπάντων, εἴ τῳ ξυνδοκεῖ. κρείττων μὲν εὐγένεια
 φαυλότητος γένους; κρείττων δὲ ἀρετὴ διαθέσεως B
 οὐ πάντῃ σπουδαίας. καὶ μή τις οἰέσθω τὸν
 λόγον δύσεριν καὶ βίαιον εἰς τὴν συνήθειαν
 ἀφορῶν τῶν ὀνομάτων· φασὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς
 ἐκ πάλαι πλουσίων εὐγενεῖς. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ
 ἄτοπον μάγειρον μὲν ἢ σκυτέα καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία
 κεραμέα τινὰ χρήματα ἐκ τῆς τέχνης ἢ καὶ
 ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἀθροίσαντα μὴ δοκεῖν εὐγενῇ μηδὲ
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπονομάζεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα,
 εἰ δὲ ὁ τούτου παῖς διαδεξάμενος τὸν κλῆρον εἰς
 τοὺς ἐκγόνους διαπορθμεύσειε, τούτους δὲ ἤδη μέγα C
 φρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς Πελοπίδαις ἢ τοῖς Ἑρακλείδαις
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ἀμιλλᾶσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅστις
 προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔφυ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν
 τοῦ βίου ῥοπὴν κατηνέχθη, δικαίως ἂν μεταποι-
 οῖτο τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ξυγγενείας, εἰ¹ μηδὲ ἐς
 τοὺς Πελοπίδας ἐξῆν ἐγγράφεσθαι τοὺς μὴ
 φέροντας ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον τοῦ γένους τὰ γνωρίσ-
 ματα. λόγῃ δὲ λέγεται περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν
 τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς ἐντυπωθῆναι παρὰ τῆς τε-

¹ εἰ Hertlein adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

Just so no good man who imparts his goodness to another was ever thought to have less virtue by as much as he had bestowed. So divine and excellent is that possession, and most true is the saying of the Athenian stranger, whoever that inspired man may have been: "All the gold beneath the earth and above ground is too little to give in exchange for virtue."¹ Let us therefore now boldly call its possessor wealthy, yes and I should say well-born also, and the only king among them all,² if anyone agree to this. For as noble birth is better than a lowly pedigree, so virtue is better than a character not in all respects admirable. And let no one say that this statement is contentious and too strong, judging by the ordinary use of words. For the multitude are wont to say that the sons of those who have long been rich are well-born. And yet is it not extraordinary that a cook or cobbler, yes, by Zeus, or some potter who has got money together by his craft, or by some other means, is not considered well-born nor is given that title by the many, whereas if this man's son inherit his estate and hand it on to his sons, they begin to give themselves airs and compete on the score of noble birth with the Pelopids and the Heraclids? Nay, even a man who is born of noble ancestors, but himself sinks down in the opposite scale of life, could not justly claim kinship with those ancestors, seeing that no one could be enrolled among the Pelopids who had not on his shoulder the birth-mark³ of that family. And in Boeotia it was said that there was the impression of a spear on the Sown-men⁴ from the

¹ Plato, *Laws* 728 A.

² Horace, *Epistles* 1. 1. 106.

³ One shoulder was white as ivory.

⁴ The Sparti, sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

κούσης καὶ θρεψαμένης αὐτοὺς βώλου, καὶ τὸ D
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διασωθῆναι τοῦτο τῷ γένει
 σύμβολον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν οὐδὲν οἰόμεθα
 δεῖν ἐγκεχαράχθαι τοιοῦτον, ὃ τοὺς πατέρας
 ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς κατερεῖ καὶ ἀπελέγξει τὸν τόκον
 γνήσιον; ὑπάρχειν δέ φασι καὶ Κελτοῖς ποταμὸν
 ἀδέκαστον κριτὴν τῶν ἐκγόνων.¹ καὶ οὐ πείθουσιν
 αὐτὸν οὔτε αἱ μητέρες ὀδυρόμεναι συγκαλύπτειν
 αὐταῖς καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὴν ἀμαρτάδα οὔτε 82
 οἱ πατέρες ὑπὲρ τῶν γαμετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων²
 ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει δειμαίνοντες, ἀτρεκῆς δέ ἐστι καὶ
 ἀψευδὴς κριτής. ἡμᾶς δὲ δεκάζει μὲν πλοῦτος,
 δεκάζει δὲ ἰσχύς καὶ ὥρα σώματος καὶ δυναστεία
 προγόνων ἐξῶθεν ἐπισκιάζουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει
 διορᾶν οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπειν ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν, ἥπερ δὴ τῶν
 ἄλλων ζώων διαφέροντες εἰκότως ἂν κατ' αὐτὸ τὴν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας ποιοίμεθα κρίσιν. καὶ μοι δο-
 κοῦσιν εὖστοχία φύσεως οἱ πάλαι θαυμαστῇ χρώ- B
 μενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ κτητον ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ
 φρονεῖν, οὔτι πλαστῶς, ἀλλ' αὐτοφυῶς φιλοσο-
 φοῦντες, τοῦτο κατανοῆσαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 τοῦ Διὸς ἀνειπεῖν ἐκγονον³ καὶ τὸ τῆς Λήδας υἱέε,
 Μίνω τε οἶμαι τὸν νομοθέτην καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν τὸν
 Κνωσίον τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιῶσαι φήμης· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ
 ἄλλων ἐκγόνους ἀνεκῆρυττον πολλοὺς διαφέροντας
 τῶν φύσει πατέρων. ἔβλεπον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ψυχὴν
 αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς πλοῦτον βαθύν

¹ ἐκγόνων MSS., cf. 82 A B, ἐγγόνων Hertlein.

² ἐκγόνων MSS., ἐγγόνων Hertlein.

³ ἐκγονον MSS., Cobet, ἐγγονον Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

clod of earth that bore and reared them, and that hence the race long preserved that distinguishing mark. And can we suppose that on men's souls no mark of that sort is engraved, which shall tell us accurately who their fathers were and vindicate their birth as legitimate? They say that the Celts also have a river¹ which is an incorruptible judge of offspring, and neither can the mothers persuade that river by their laments to hide and conceal their fault for them, nor the fathers who are afraid for their wives and sons in this trial, but it is an arbiter that never swerves or gives a false verdict. But we are corrupted by riches, by physical strength in its prime, by powerful ancestors, an influence from without that overshadows and does not permit us to see clearly or discern the soul; for we are unlike all other living things in this, that by the soul and by nothing else, we should with reason make our decision about noble birth. And it seems to me that the ancients, employing a wondrous sagacity of nature, since their wisdom was not like ours a thing acquired, but they were philosophers by nature, not manufactured,² perceived the truth of this, and so they called Heracles the son of Zeus, and Leda's two sons also, and Minos the law-giver, and Rhadamanthus of Cnossus they deemed worthy of the same distinction. And many others they proclaimed to be the children of other gods, because they so surpassed their mortal parents. For they looked at the soul alone and their actual deeds, and not at wealth piled high and hoary with age, nor at the

¹ The Rhine; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 16.

² Plato, *Laws* 642 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

καὶ χρόνῳ πολίον, οὐδὲ δυναστείαν ἐκ πάππων
 τινῶν καὶ ἐπιπάππων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤκουσαν· καίτοι C
 γε ὑπῆρχέ τιςιν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδόξῳ γενέσθαι
 πατέρων· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἧς ἐτίμων τε
 καὶ ἐθεράπευον ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἐνομίζοντο τῶν θεῶν
 παῖδες. δῆλον δὲ ἐνθένδε· ἄλλων γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰδότες
 τοὺς φύσει γονέας ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνῆπτον τὴν
 φήμην, τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ χαριζόμενοι. καὶ οὐ
 πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὥς ἄρα ἐκείνοι ὑπ' ἀμα-
 θίας ἐξαπατῶμενοι ταῦτα τῶν θεῶν κατεψεύδοντο.
 εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς ἦν ἐξαπατη- D
 θῆναι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, σχήματα περιτιθέντας
 ἀνθρώπινα καὶ μορφὰς τοιαύτας, ἀφανῆ μὲν
 αἰσθήσει καὶ ἀνέφικτον κεκτημένων αὐτῶν φύσιν,
 νῶ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ διὰ συγγένειαν μόλις προσπίπτου-
 σαν· οὔτι γε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶν θεῶν τοῦτο
 παθεῖν εὐλογον ἐκείνους, Ἡλίου μὲν ἐπιφημίζοντας
 Αἰλήτην νύεα, Ἑωσφόρου δὲ ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλους ἄλ-
 λων. ὅπερ δὲ ἔφην, χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν πειθομένους 83
 ἡμᾶς ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐγενείας
 ἐξέτασιν· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἂν ὦσιν ἀγαθοὶ πατέρες καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐμφορῆς, τοῦτον ὀνομάζειν θαρρύν-
 τως εὐγενῆ· ὅτῳ δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν πατέρων ὑπῆρξεν
 ἀρετῆς ἐνδεᾶ, αὐτὸς δὲ μετεποιήθη τούτου τοῦ κτή-
 ματος, τούτου δὲ νομιστέον πατέρα τὸν Δία καὶ
 φυτουργόν, καὶ οὐδὲν μείον αὐτῷ δοτέον ἐκείνων,
 οἱ γεγονότες πατέρων ἀγαθῶν τοὺς σφῶν τοκέας
 ἐξήλωσαν· ὅστις δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν γέγονε μοχθηρός, B

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

power that had come down to them from some grandfather or great-grandfather. And yet some of them were the sons of fathers not wholly inglorious. But because of the superabundance in them of that virtue which men honoured and cherished, they were held to be the sons of the gods themselves. This is clear from the following fact. In the case of certain others, though they did not know those who were by nature their sires, they ascribed that title to a divinity, to recompense the virtue of those men. And we ought not to say that they were deceived, and that in ignorance they told lies about the gods. For even if in the case of other gods or deities it was natural that they should be so deceived, when they clothed them in human forms and human shapes, though those deities possess a nature not to be perceived or attained by the senses, but barely recognisable by means of pure intelligence, by reason of their kinship with it; nevertheless in the case of the visible gods it is not probable that they were deceived, for instance, when they entitled Aeetes "son of Helios" and another¹ "son of the Dawn," and so on with others. But, as I said, we must in these cases believe them, and make our enquiry about noble birth accordingly. And when a man has virtuous parents and himself resembles them, we may with confidence call him nobly born. But when, though his parents lack virtue, he himself can claim to possess it, we must suppose that the father who begat him is Zeus, and we must not pay less respect to him than to those who are the sons of virtuous fathers and emulate their parents. But when a bad man comes of good parents, we ought to

¹ Meimnon.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τοῦτον τοῖς νόθοις ἐγγράφειν ἄξιον· τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
 μοχθηρῶν φῦντας καὶ προσομοίους τοῖς αὐτῶν το-
 κεῦσιν οὐποτε εὐγενεῖς φατέον, οὐδὲ εἰ πλουτοῖεν
 ταλάντοις μυρίοις, οὐδὲ εἰ ἀπαριθμοῖντο προγόνους
 δυνάστας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τυράννους εἴκοσιν, οὐδὲ εἰ
 νίκας Ὀλυμπιακὰς ἢ Πυθικὰς ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν
 ἀγῶνων, αἱ δὴ τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων εἰσὶ λαμπρότεραι, C
 ἀνελομένους ἔχοιεν δείκνυσθαι πλείους ἢ Καῖσαρ
 ὁ πρῶτος, ὀρύγματά τε¹ τὰ Ἀσσύρια καὶ τὰ Βαβυ-
 λωνίων τείχη πυραμίδας τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὰς
 Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων
 καὶ τρυφῆς γέγονε σημεῖα καὶ διανοίας ὑπὸ
 φιλοτιμίας ἀναφλεγομένης καὶ ἀπορουμένης² ἐς
 ὅ,τι τῷ πλούτῳ χρήσεται, εἴτα ἐς τοῦτο τὰς τῶν
 χρημάτων εὐπορίας καταβαλλομένης. εὖ γὰρ
 δὴ ἴστε, ὥς οὔτε πλούτος ἀρχαῖος ἢ νεωστὶ ποθεν
 ἐπιρρέων βασιλέα ποιεῖ οὔτε ἀλουργές ἰμάτιον D
 οὔτε τιάρα καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ διάδημα καὶ θρόνος
 ἀρχαῖος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀπλῖται πολλοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς
 μυρίοι, οὐδὲ εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι βασιλέα σφῶν
 τοῦτον ὁμολογοῖεν συνελθόντες, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἀρετὴν
 οὗτοι χαρίζονται, ἀλλὰ δυναστείαν μὲν οὐ μάλα
 εὐτυχῇ τῷ λαβόντι, πολὺ δὲ πλέον τοῖς παρα-
 σχομένοις. δεξάμενος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος αἵρεται μετέ-
 ωρος ἐπίπαν, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τοῦ περὶ τὸν Φαέ-
 θοντα μύθου καὶ πάθους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἐτέρων δεῖ παρα-
 δειγμάτων πρὸς πίστιν τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦ βίου παντὸς 84
 ἀναπεπλησμένου τοιούτων παθημάτων καὶ ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοῖς λόγων. ὑμῖν δὲ εἰ θανμαστὸν δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ

¹ τε Hertlein adds.

² καὶ ἀπορουμένης Hertlein suggests.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

enrol him among the bastards, while as for those who come of a bad stock and resemble their parents, never must we call them well-born, not even though their wealth amounts to ten thousand talents, not though they reckon among their ancestors twenty rulers, or, by Zeus, twenty tyrants, not though they can prove that the victories they won at Olympia or Pytho or in the encounters of war—which are in every way more brilliant than victories in the games—were more than the first Caesar's, or can point to excavations in Assyria¹ or to the walls of Babylon and the Egyptian pyramids besides, and to all else that is a proof of wealth and great possessions and luxury and a soul that is inflamed by ambition and, being at a loss how to use money, lavishes on things of that sort all those abundant supplies of wealth. For you are well aware that it is not wealth, either ancestral or newly acquired and pouring in from some source or other, that makes a king, nor his purple cloak nor his tiara and sceptre and diadem and ancestral throne, nay nor numerous hoplites and ten thousand cavalry; not though all men should gather together and acknowledge him for their king, because virtue they cannot bestow on him, but only power, ill-omened indeed for him that receives it, but still more for those that bestow it. For once he has received such power, a man of that sort is altogether raised aloft in the clouds, and in nowise differs from the legend of Phaethon and his fate. And there is no need of other instances to make us believe this saying, for the whole of life is full of such disasters and tales about them. And if it seems surprising to you that the title of king,

¹ cf. *Oration* 3. 126.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

δικαίως μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ θεο-
 φιλοῦς ἐπωνυμίας τοὺς πολλῆς μὲν γῆς καὶ ἐθνῶν
 ἀπείρων ἄρχοντας, γνώμη δὲ αὐτεξουσίῳ δίχα νοῦ
 καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ξυνεπομένων ἀρετῶν
 τὰ προστυχόντα κρίνοντας· ἴστε οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους
 ὄντας, οὐ μόνον εἰ τὰ παρόντα οὐδενός σφισιν B
 ἐμποδὼν ὄντος ἔχοιεν καὶ ἐμφοροῖντο τῆς ἐξουσίας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τῶν ἐπιστρατευόντων κρατοῖεν καὶ
 ἐπιόντες ἀνυπόστατοί τινες καὶ¹ ἄμαχοι φαί-
 νοιντο. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις ὑμῶν τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε,
 μάλα ἐμφανῶν μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν, Ἑλλή-
 νων ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρων, οἱ μάχας πολλὰς καὶ
 ἰσχυρὰς λίαν μαχεσάμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἔθνη C
 μὲν ἐκτῶντο καὶ αὐτοῖς φόρους ἀπάγειν κατηνάγ-
 καζον, ἐδούλενον δὲ αἷσχιον ἐκείνων ἡδονῇ καὶ
 τρυφῇ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀδικίᾳ.
 τούτους δὲ οὐδὲ ἰσχυροὺς ἂν φαίῃ νοῦν ἔχων
 ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ ἐπιφαίνοιτο καὶ ἐπιλάμποι μέγεθος
 τοῖς ἔργοις. μόνος γάρ ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὁ μετὰ
 ἀρετῆς ἀνδρείος καὶ μεγαλόφρων· ὅστις δὲ ἡττων
 μὲν ἡδονῶν, ἀκράτῳ δὲ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν
 παντοιῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ σμικρῶν ἀπαγορεύειν ἀναγ-
 καζόμενος, οὗτος δὲ οὐδέ ἰσχυρὸς οὐδέ ἀνδρείος D
 ἀνθρωπίνην ἰσχύν· ἐπιτρεπτέον δὲ ἴσως αὐτῷ κατὰ
 τοὺς ταύρους ἢ τοὺς λέοντας ἢ τὰς παρδάλεις τῇ
 ῥώμῃ γάνυσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ταύτην ἀποβαλὼν
 καθάπερ οἱ κηφήνες ἀλλοτρίοις ἐφέστηκε πόνοις,
 αὐτὸς ὢν μαλθακὸς αἰχμητῆς καὶ δειλὸς καὶ
 ἀκόλαστος. τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν οὐ μόνον ἀληθοῦς
 ἐνδεὴς πλούτου καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πολυτι-
 μήτου καὶ σεμνοῦ καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ, ἐξ οὗ παντοδαπαῖ

¹ τινες καὶ Hertlein suggests, τινες σφόδρα καὶ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

so honourable, so favoured by the gods, cannot justly be claimed by men who, though they rule over a vast territory and nations without number, nevertheless settle questions that arise by an autocratic decision, without intelligence or wisdom or the virtues that go with wisdom, believe me they are not even free men ; I do not mean if they merely possess what they have with none to hinder them and have their fill of power, but even though they conquer all who make war against them, and, when they lead an invading army, appear invincible and irresistible. And if any of you doubt this statement, I have no lack of notable witnesses, Greek and barbarian, who fought and won many mighty battles, and became the masters of whole nations and compelled them to pay tribute, and yet were themselves slaves in a still more shameful degree of pleasure, money and wantonness, insolence and injustice. And no man of sense would call them even powerful, not though greatness should shine upon and illumine all that they achieved. For he alone is strong whose virtue aids him to be brave and magnanimous. But he who is the slave of pleasure and cannot control his temper and appetites of all sorts, but is compelled to succumb to trivial things, is neither brave himself nor strong with a man's strength, though we may perhaps allow him to exult like a bull or lion or leopard¹ in his brute force, if indeed he do not lose even this and, like a drone, merely superintend the labours of others, himself a "feeble warrior,"² and cowardly and dissolute. And if that be his character, he is lacking not only in true riches, but in that wealth also which men so highly honour and reverence and

¹ *Iliad* 17, 20. ² Homeric phrase : *Iliad* 17. 588.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

κρεμάμεναι ψυχὰὶ πράγματα ἔχουσι μυρία καὶ
 πόνους, τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν κέρδους ἔνεκα πλεῖν τε ὑπο- 85
 μένουσαι καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ ληστεύειν καὶ ἀναρ-
 πάζειν τὰς τυραννίδας. ζῶσι γὰρ αἰὲν μὲν κτώμενοι,
 αἰὲν δὲ ἐνδεεῖς, οὔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων φημί σιτίων
 καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐσθημάτων· ὥρισταί γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦ-
 τος πλοῦτος εὖ μάλα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ οὐκ
 ἔστιν αὐτοῦ στέρεσθαι οὔτε τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὔτε τοὺς
 ἰχθῦς¹ οὔτε τὰ θηρία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς
 σῶφρονας· ὅσους δὲ ἐνοχλεῖ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία B
 καὶ ἔρως δυστυχῆς, τούτους δὲ ἀνάγκη πεινῆν διὰ
 βίου καὶ ἀθλιώτερον ἀπαλλάττειν μακρῷ τῶν τῆς
 ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἐνδεομένων. τούτοις μὲν γὰρ
 ἀποπλήσασι τὴν γαστέρα πολλή γέγονεν εἰρήνη
 καὶ ἀνοκωχή τῆς ἀλγηδόνος, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὔτε
 ἡμέρα πέφηνεν ἀκερδῆς ἡδεῖα, οὔτε εὐφρόνη τὸν
 λυσιμελῆ καὶ λυσιμέριμον ὕπνον ἐπάγουσα
 παῦλαν ἐνεποίησε τῆς ἐμμανοῦς λύττης, στροβεῖ C
 δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ στρέφει τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκλογιζομένων
 καὶ ἀπαριθμουμένων τὰ χρήματα· καὶ οὐκ
 ἐξαιρεῖται τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς ἐπ'
 αὐτῇ ταλαιπωρίας² οὐδὲ ὁ Ταυτάλου καὶ Μίδου
 πλοῦτος περιγενόμενος οὐδὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ
 χαλεπωτάτη δαιμόνων τυραννὶς προσγενομένη. ἡ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε Δαρείου τὸν Περσῶν μονάρχην,³
 οὐ παντάπασι μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, δυσέρωτα δὲ
 αἰσχυρῶς εἰς χρήματα καὶ νεκρῶν θήκας ὑπὸ τῆς
 ἐπιθυμίας διορύττειν⁴ καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐπιτάττειν D

¹ ἰχθῦς Hertlein suggests, ἰχθύας MSS., cf. 59 A, ἰχθύας V.

² ταλαιπωρίας Hertlein suggests, λοιδυρίας MSS.

³ μονάρχην Cobet, μονάρχην μισθωτόν MSS., Hertlein suggests μόναρχον μισθωτόν, ἢ μισθωτὸν Reiske, μονάρχου V.

⁴ After διορύττειν Cobet omits ἀναπειθόμενον.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

desire, on which hang the souls of men of all sorts, so that they undergo countless toils and labours for the sake of daily gain, and endure to sail the sea and to trade and rob and grasp at tyrannies. For they live ever acquiring but ever in want, though I do not say of necessary food and drink and clothes ; for the limit of this sort of property has been clearly defined by nature, and none can be deprived of it, neither birds nor fish nor wild beasts, much less prudent men. But those who are tortured by the desire and fatal passion for money must suffer a lifelong hunger,¹ and depart from life more miserably than those who lack daily food. For these, once they have filled their bellies, enjoy perfect peace and respite from their torment, but for those others no day is sweet that does not bring them gain, nor does night with her gift of sleep that relaxes the limbs and frees men from care² bring for them any remission of their raging madness, but distracts and agitates their souls as they reckon and count up their money. And not even the wealth of Tantalus and Midas, should they possess it, frees those men from their desire and their hard toil therewith, nay nor to gain "the most great and grievous tyranny of heaven,"³ should they become possessed of this also. For have you not heard that Darius, the ruler of Persia, a man not wholly base, but insatiably and shamefully covetous of money, dug up in his greed even the tombs of the dead⁴ and

¹ Plato, *Laws* 832 A.

² *Odyssey* 20. 56.

³ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 506 and fr. 252, Nauck.

⁴ Of Queen Nitocris, Herodotus 1. 187.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

φόρους; ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα γέγονε κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους.¹ ἐκάλουν γὰρ αὐτὸν Περσῶν οἱ γινώριμοι ὅτιπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Σάραμβον.

Ἄλλ' ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ λόγος, ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ τινος κατάντους ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῆς καταρρήσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κολλάζειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς τρόπους, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτῷ περαιτέρω φοιτᾶν. ἀπαιτητέον δὲ εἰς δύναμιν τὸν 86
 ἄγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονα. ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβῆς καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγωρος θεραπείας θεῶν, εἴτα ἐς τοὺς τοκέας ζῶντάς τε οἶμαι καὶ τελευτήσαντας ὅσιος καὶ ἐπιμελής, ἀδελφοῖς τε εὖνους, καὶ ὁμογνίους θεοὺς αἰδούμενος, ἰκέταις καὶ ξένοις πρᾶος καὶ μείλιχος, τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλων, τῶν πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐν δίκῃ καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ· ἀγαπᾷ δὲ πλοῦτον, οὗτι τὸν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ B
 βριθόμενον, φίλων δὲ ἀληθοῦς εὐνοίας καὶ ἀκολακεύτου θεραπείας μεστόν· ἀνδρείος μὲν φύσει καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής, πολέμῳ δὲ ἥκιστα χαίρων καὶ στάσιν ἐμφύλιον ἀπεχθαίρων, τοὺς γε μὴν ἔκ τινος τύχης ἐπιφυομένους ἢ διὰ τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν μοχθηρίαν ἀνδρείως ὑφιστάμενος καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ἐγκρατῶς, τέλος τε ἐπάγων τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀφιστάμενος, πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ὑποχείριον C
 αὐτῷ ποιήσεται. κρατήσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων

¹ ἀνθρώπους· Cobet, ἀνθρώπους ἐκφανές· Hertlein, ἐκφανές V, M, ἐμφανές MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

exacted the most costly tribute? And hence he acquired the title¹ that is famous among all mankind. For the notables of Persia called him by the name that the Athenians gave to Sarambos.²

But it seems that my argument, as though it had reached some steep descent, is glutting itself with unsparing abuse, and is chastising the manners of these men beyond what is fitting, so that I must not allow it to travel further. But now I must demand from it an account, as far as is possible, of the man who is good and kingly and great-souled. In the first place, then, he is devout and does not neglect the worship of the gods, and secondly he is pious and ministers to his parents, both when they are alive and after their death, and he is friendly to his brothers, and reverences the gods who protect the family, while to suppliants and strangers he is mild and gentle; and he is anxious to gratify good citizens, and governs the masses with justice and for their benefit. And wealth he loves, but not that which is heavy with gold and silver, but that which is full of the true good-will of his friends,³ and service without flattery. Though by nature he is brave and gallant, he takes no pleasure in war, and detests civil discord, though when men do attack him, whether from some chance, or by reason of their own wickedness, he resists them bravely and defends himself with energy, and carries through his enterprises to the end, not desisting till he has destroyed the power of the foe and made it subject to himself.

¹ "Huckster" (κάπηλος) Herodotus 3. 89.

² Or Sarabos, a Plataean wineseller at Athens; Plato, *Gorgias* 518 B; perhaps to be identified with the *Vinari* *Exaeramhus* in Plautus, *Asinaria* 436; cf. Themistius 297 D.

³ A saying of Alexander, cf. Themistius 203 c; Stobaeus, *Sermones* 214; Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 21.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἔπαυσε τὸ ξίφος φόνων, μίασμα κρίνων τὸν οὐκ ἀμυνόμενον ἔτι κτείνειν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν. φιλό-
 πονος δὲ ὢν φύσει καὶ μεγαλόψυχος κοινωνεῖ
 μὲν ἅπασιν τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἔχειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ
 πλεόν ἄξιοι, μεταδίδωσι δὲ ἐκείνοις τῶν κινδύ-
 νων τὰ ἔπαθλα, χαίρων καὶ γεγηθὼς οὔτι τῷ
 πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων χρυσίου καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ
 ἐπαύλεις κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ κατεσκευασμένας, D
 ἀλλὰ τῷ πολλοὺς μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν δύνασθαι, χαρί-
 ζεσθαι δὲ ἅπασιν ὅτου ἂν τύχωσιν ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες·
 τούτων αὐτὸν ὃ γε ἀληθινὸς ἄξιοι βασιλεὺς.
 φιλόπολις¹ δὲ ὢν καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης τῶν μὲν
 καθάπερ νομεὺς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελεῖται, προνοῶν
 ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ θάλλη καὶ εὐθηνῇται τὰ θρέμματα
 δαψιλοῦς καὶ ἀταράχου τῆς νομῆς ἐμπιμπλάμενα,
 τοὺς δὲ ἐφορᾷ καὶ συνέχει, πρὸς ἀνδρείαν καὶ
 ῥώμην καὶ πραότητα γυμνάζων καθάπερ σκύλα- 87
 κας εὐφυνεῖς καὶ γενναίους τῆς ποίμνης φύλακας,
 ἔργων τε αὐτῷ κοινωνοὺς καὶ ἐπικούρους τῷ
 πλήθει νομίζων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀρπακτῆράς τινας
 οὐδὲ λυμεῶνας τῶν ποιμνίων καθάπερ οἱ λύκοι
 καὶ κυνῶν οἱ φαυλότατοι, οἱ² τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως
 καὶ τροφῆς ἐπιλαθόμενοι ἀντὶ σωτήρων καὶ
 προαγωνιστῶν ἀνεφάνησαν αὐτοῖς δηλήμονες·
 οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπνηλοὺς ἀνέξεται εἶναι καὶ ἀργοὺς
 καὶ ἀπολέμους, ὅπως ἂν μὴ φυλάκων ἐτέρων
 οἱ φρουροὶ δέωνται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς³ B
 ἄρχουσιν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων, ἔστι
 δὲ ὅπου καὶ μόνον ἀπόχρη σωτήριον ἐπιτήδευμα

¹ φιλοπολίτης Hertlein suggests, but cf. Isocrates *To Nicocles* 15. ² οἱ Hertlein adds. ³ τοῖς Hertlein suggests.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

But after he has conquered by force of arms, he makes his sword cease from slaughter, because he thinks that for one who is no longer defending himself to go on killing and laying waste is to incur pollution. And being by nature fond of work, and great of soul, he shares in the labours of all; and claims the lion's share of those labours, then divides with the others the rewards for the risks which he has run, and is glad and rejoices, not because he has more gold and silver treasure than other men, and palaces adorned with costly furniture, but because he is able to do good to many, and to bestow on all men whatever they may chance to lack. This is what he who is truly a king claims for himself. And since he loves both the city and the soldiers,¹ he cares for the citizens as a shepherd for his flock, planning how their young may flourish and thrive, eating their full of abundant and undisturbed pasture; and his soldiers he oversees and keeps together, training them in courage, strength and mercy, like well-bred dogs, noble guardians of the flock,² regarding them both as the partners of his exploits and the protectors of the masses, and not as spoilers and pillagers of the flock, like wolves and mongrel dogs which, forgetting their own nature and nurture, turn out to be marauders instead of preservers and defenders. Yet on the other hand, he will not suffer them to be sluggish, slothful and unwarlike, lest the guardians should themselves need others to watch them, nor disobedient to their officers, because he knows that obedience above all else, and sometimes alone, is the saving discipline in

¹ Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 15; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* i. 28.

² *Republic* 416 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

πρὸς πόλεμον· πόνων δὲ ἀπάντων ἀδεεῖς¹ καὶ
 ἀτεράμονας, οὔτι ραθύμους ἐργάσεται, ἐπιστά-
 μενος ὅτι μὴ μέγα ὄφελος φύλακος τὸν πόνον
 φεύγοντος καὶ οὐ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν οὐδὲ ἀντέ-
 χειν πρὸς κάματον. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ παραινῶν μόνον
 οὐδὲ ἐπαινῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προθύμως καὶ χαριζό-
 μενος ἢ κολάζων ἐγκρατῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ξυμ- C
 πείθει καὶ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸν
 τοιοῦτον ἐπιδεικνύων, ἀπεχόμενος μὲν ἡδονῆς
 ἀπάσης, χρημάτων δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σμικρὸν οὔτε
 μεῖζον ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἀφαιρούμενος τῶν ὑπηκόων,
 ὑπνω τε εἰκὼν ὀλίγα καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ἀποστρε-
 φόμενος, ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄξιος
 καθεύδων ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ ἐγρηγορῶς τοῖς καθεύδουσιν
 ἐμφορῆς. πειθομένους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξει καλῶς αὐτῷ
 τε οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, εἰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις D
 πειθόμενος νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ὀρθοῖς ξυνεπόμενος
 διατάγμασι δῆλος εἴη, καὶ ὅλως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 ἀποδοὺς τῷ φύσει βασιλικῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικῷ τῆς
 ψυχῆς μορίῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ ἀκο-
 λάστῳ. καὶ καρτερεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπομένειν τὸν τε
 ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κάματον ὅποσα
 τε κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξηυρέθη γυμνάσια μελέτης
 ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ὀθνεῖους ἀγῶνας, πῶς ἂν
 τις μάλιστα πείσας εἴη,² ἢ δῆλον ὡς αὐτὸς ὀρώ-
 μενος καρτερὸς καὶ ἀδαμάντινος; ἔστι γὰρ ἀλη- 88
 θῶς ἡδιστον θέαμα στρατιώτῃ πονουμένῳ σῶφρων
 αὐτοκράτωρ, συνεφαπτόμενος ἔργων καὶ προθυ-

¹ ἀδεεῖς Reiske, ἐνδεεῖς MSS., Hertlein.

² πείσας εἴη Naber, cf. 272 D 281 A, πείσειεν Hertlein, πεισθεῖη MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

war. And he will train them to be hardy and not afraid of any labour, and never indolent, for he knows that there is not much use in a guardian who shirks his task and cannot hold out or endure fatigue. And not only by exhorting, or by his readiness to praise the deserving or by rewarding and punishing severely and inexorably, does he win them over to this and coerce them; but far rather does he show that he is himself what he would have them be, since he refrains from all pleasure, and as for money desires it not at all, much or little, nor robs his subjects of it; and since he abhors indolence he allows little time for sleep. For in truth no one who is asleep is good for anything,¹ nor if, when awake he resembles those who are asleep. And he will, I think, succeed in keeping them wonderfully obedient to himself and to their officers, since he himself will be seen to obey the wisest laws and to live in accordance with right precepts, and in short to be under the guidance of that part of the soul which is naturally kingly and worthy to take the lead, and not of the emotional or undisciplined part. For how could one better persuade men to endure and undergo fatigue, not only in a campaign and under arms, but also in all those exercises that have been invented in times of peace to give men practice for conflicts abroad, than by being clearly seen to be oneself strong as adamant? For in truth the most agreeable sight for a soldier, when he is fighting hard, is a prudent commander who takes an active part in the work in hand, himself zealous while exhorting his men, who is cheerful and

¹ Plato, *Laws* 808 E.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

μούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσι
φοβεροῖς φαιδρὸς καὶ ἀδεῆς καὶ ὅπου λίαν θαρ-
ροῦσι σεμνὸς καὶ ἐμβριθής. πέφυκε γὰρ ἐξομοι-
οῦσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐλα-
βείας περὶ καὶ θράσους. προνοητέον δὲ αὐτῷ
τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ μείον ὅπως ἄφθονον τὴν τροφήν
ἔχωσι καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδέονται. B
πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ πιστότατοι τῶν ποιμνίων φρου-
ροὶ καὶ φύλακες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀναγκαζόμενοι
ἄγριοι τέ εἰσι τοῖς νομεῦσι καὶ αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν
ιδόντες περιυλακτοῦσι καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν προβάτων
ἀπέσχοντο.

Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδων ὁ γενναῖος, πόλει
δὲ σωτὴρ καὶ κηδεμών, οὔτι τοὺς ἔξωθεν μόνον
ἀπείργων κινδύνους οὐδὲ ἀντιταττόμενος ἢ καὶ
ἐπιστρατεύων βαρβάροις γείτοσι· στάσιν δὲ
ἐξαιρῶν καὶ ἔθνη μοχθηρὰ καὶ τρυφήν καὶ ἀκο- C
λασίαν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν παρέξει ῥαστώνην.
ὕβριν δὲ ἐξείργων καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν
καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀμέτρου κτήσεως τὰς¹ ἐκ τούτων
ἀναφυομένας στάσεις καὶ ἔριδας εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν
τελευτώσας οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέξεται φῦναι, γενο-
μένας δὲ ὡς ἐνι τάχιστα ἀφανιεῖ² καὶ ἐξελάσει
τῆς αὐτοῦ πόλεως. λήσεται δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς
ὑπερβὰς τὸν νόμον καὶ βιασάμενος, οὐ³ μᾶλλον ἢ
τῶν πολεμίων τις τὸν χάρακα. φύλαξ δὲ ὢν D
ἀγαθὸς τῶν νόμων, ἀμείνων ἔσται δημιουργός, εἴ
ποτε καιρὸς καὶ τύχη καλοίη· καὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ
πείθει τὸν τοιοῦτον ψευδῇ καὶ κίβδηλον καὶ νόθον

¹ Before τὰς Hertlein omits καὶ.

² ἀφανιεῖ Cobet, ἀφανίσει MSS., Hertlein,

³ οὐ Hertlein adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

calm in what seems to be a dangerous situation, but on occasion stern and severe whenever they are over confident. For in the matter of caution or boldness the subordinate naturally imitates his leader. And he must plan as well, no less than for what I have mentioned, that they may have abundant provisions and run short of none of the necessities of life. For often the most loyal guardians and protectors of the flock are driven by want to become fierce towards the shepherds, and when they see them from afar they bark at them and do not even spare the sheep.¹

Such then is the good king at the head of his legions, but to his city he is a saviour and protector, not only when he is warding off dangers from without or repelling barbarian neighbours or invading them; but also by putting down civil discord, vicious morals, luxury and profligacy, he will procure relief from the greatest evils. And by excluding insolence, lawlessness, injustice and greed for boundless wealth, he will not permit the feuds that arise from these causes and the dissensions that end in disaster to show even the first sign of growth, and if they do arise he will abolish them as quickly as possible and expel them from his city. And no one who transgresses and violates the law will escape his notice, no more than would an enemy in the act of scaling his defences. But though he is a good guardian of the laws, he will be still better at framing them, if ever occasion and chance call on him to do so. And no device can persuade one of his character to add to the statutes a false and spurious and bastard law, any more than he would

¹ *Republic* 416 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τοῖς κειμένοις ἐπεισάγειν νόμον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ δούλειον καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἐπεισαγαγεῖν¹ σπέρμα. δίκης δὲ αὐτῷ μέλει καὶ θέμιδος, καὶ οὔτε γονεῖς οὔτε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πείθουσι καταχαρίσασθαι σφιν καὶ προδοῦναι τὸ ἔνδικον. 89 ὑπολαμβάνει γὰρ ἀπάντων εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα κοινὴν ἐστίαν καὶ μητέρα, πρεσβυτέραν μὲν καὶ σεμνοτέραν τῶν² πατέρων, φιλτέραν δὲ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ φίλων· ἥς ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ βιάσασθαι μείζον ἀσέβημα κρίνει τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν θεῶν παρανομίας. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἔκγονος³ τῆς δίκης, ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα καὶ θεῖον ἀληθῶς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ, ὃν οὐδαμῶς ὃ γε ἔμφρων ἀνὴρ περὶ σμικροῦ ποιήσεται οὐδὲ ἀτιμάσει· ἀλλὰ ἐν B δίκῃ πάντα δρῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τιμῆσει προθύμως, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς δὲ ἐς δύναμιν ἰᾶσθαι καθάπερ ἱατρὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμῆσεται.

Διττῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑποφαινόντων ἐλπίδας ἀμείνους καὶ οὐ πάντῃ τὴν θεραπείαν ἀπεστραμμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀνίατα πλημμελούντων· τούτοις δὲ οἱ νόμοι θάνατον λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἐπενόησαν, οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μᾶλλον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄλλων ὠφέλειαν διττὰς C δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς κρίσεις γίγνεσθαι. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν ἱασίμων αὐτῷ προσήκειν ὑπολήφεται τὴν τε ἐπίγνωσιν καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν, ἀφέξεται δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μάλα ἐρρωμένως, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐκὼν ἄψαιτο κρίσεως, ἐφ' ἣ θάνατος ἢ ζημία παρὰ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ὠφληκόσι τὴν δίκην

¹ ἐπεισαγαγεῖν Hertlein, ἐπαγαγεῖν MSS.

² After τῶν Hertlein omits φίλων καὶ.

³ ἐγγονος Hertlein, MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

introduce among his own sons a servile and vulgar strain. For he cares for justice and the right, and neither parents nor kinsfolk nor friends can persuade him to do them a favour and betray the cause of justice. For he looks upon his fatherland as the common hearth and mother of all, older and more reverend than his parents, and more precious than brothers, or friends or comrades; and to defraud or do violence to her laws he regards as a greater impiety than sacrilegious robbery of the money that belongs to the gods. For law is the child of justice, the sacred and truly divine adjunct of the most mighty god, and never will the man who is wise make light of it or set it at naught. But since all that he does will have justice in view, he will be eager to honour the good, and the vicious he will, like a good physician, make every effort to cure.

But there are two kinds of error, for in one type of sinner may dimly be discerned a hope of improvement, nor do they wholly reject a cure, while the vices of others are incurable. And for the latter the laws have contrived the penalty of death as a release from evil, and this not only for the benefit of the criminal, but quite as much in the interest of others. Accordingly there must needs be two kinds of trials. For when men are not incurable the king will hold it to be his duty to investigate and to cure. But with the others he will firmly refuse to interfere, and will never willingly have anything to do with a trial when death is the penalty that has been ordained by the laws for the

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

προηγόρευται.¹ νομοθετῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων
 ὕβριν μὲν καὶ χαλεπότητα καὶ πικρίαν τῶν τιμω-
 ριῶν ἀφαιρήσει, ἀποκληρώσει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν
 σωφρόνων καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου βάσανον οὐ φαύ- D
 λην τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς παρασχομένων δικαστήριον,²
 οἳ μηδὲν αὐθαδῶς μηδὲ ὀρμῇ τινι παντελῶς ἀλόγῳ
 χρώμενοι, ἐν ἡμέρας ἡμερῶ σμικρῷ βουλευσάμενοι,
 τυχόν δὲ οὐδὲ βουλῇ δόντες, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς πολίτου
 τὴν μέλαιναν οἴσουσι ψῆφον. αὐτῷ δὲ οὔτε ἐν
 τῇ χειρὶ ξίφος εἰς πολίτου, καὶ ἀδικῇ τὰ ἔσχατα,
 φόνον οὔτε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κέντρον ὑπεῖναι χρή,
 ὅπου καὶ τὴν τῶν μελιττῶν ὀρώμεν βασιλεύουσαν
 καθαρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πλήκτρον γενομένην. 90
 ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μελίττας βλεπτέον, εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ
 οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα οὐπερ εἶναι χρή
 τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄρχοντα προφήτην καὶ ὑπηρέτην.
 οὐκοῦν ὅσα μὲν ἀγαθὰ γέγονε παντελῶς τῆς
 ἐναντίας ἁμικτα φύσεως καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, τούτων
 δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν τε καὶ ἔστι δημιουργός· τὰ κακὰ
 δὲ οὐτ' ἐγέννησεν οὐτ' ἐπέταξεν εἶναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ
 μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, περὶ δὲ τὴν γῆν B
 στρεφόμενα καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀποικίαν σταλεῖσαν
 τῶν ψυχῶν διαλαβόμενα κρίνειν ἐπέταξε καὶ
 διακαθαίρειν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις. τού-
 των δὲ οἱ μὲν εἰσι σωτῆρες καὶ ἐπίκουροι τῆς
 ἡνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπαραίτητοι κριταί,
 ὧν ἀδικημάτων ὀξεῖαν καὶ δεινὴν ἐπάγοντες δίκην
 ὥσὶ τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀπολυθεῖσι τῶν σωματῶν,

¹ προηγόρευται Hertlein suggests, προαγορεύεται MSS.

² δικαστήριον Hertlein suggests, τὸ δικαστήριον MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

guilty. However, in making laws for such offences, he will do away with violence and harshness and cruelty of punishment, and will elect by lot, to judge them, a court of staid and sober men who throughout their lives have admitted the most rigid scrutiny of their own virtue, men who will not rashly, or led by some wholly irrational impulse, after deliberating for only a small part of the day, or it may be without even debating, cast the black voting-tablet in the case of a fellow-citizen. But in his own hand no sword should lie ready to slay a citizen, even though he has committed the blackest crimes, nor should a sting lurk in his soul, considering that, as we see, nature has made even the queen-bee free from a sting. However it is not to bees that we must look for our analogy, but in my opinion to the king of the gods himself, whose prophet and vice-regent the genuine ruler ought to be. For wherever good exists wholly untainted by its opposite, and for the benefit of mankind in common and the whole universe, of this good God was and is the only creator. But evil he neither created nor ordered to be,¹ but he banished it from heaven, and as it moves upon earth and has chosen for its abode our souls, that colony which was sent down from heaven, he has enjoined on his sons and descendants to judge and cleanse men from it. Now of these some are the friends and protectors of the human race, but others are inexorable judges who inflict on men harsh and terrible punishment for their misdeeds, both while they are alive and after they are set free from their bodies, and others again are as it

¹ Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ δῆμοι τιμωροὶ τινες καὶ ἀποπλη- C
ρωταὶ τῶν δικασθέντων, ἕτερον τῶν φαύλων καὶ
ἀνοήτων δαιμόνων τὸ φύλον· ἃ δὴ μιμητέον τῷ
γενναίῳ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ, καὶ μεταδοτέον πολλοῖς
μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς¹ διὰ φιλίας ἐς ταύτην τὴν
κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν.² ἀρχὰς δὲ ἐπιτρεπ-
τέον οἰκείας ἐκάστου τῇ φύσει καὶ προαιρέσει,
τῷ μὲν ἀνδρώδει καὶ τολμηρῷ καὶ μεγαλοθύμῳ
μετὰ ξυνέσεως στρατιωτικὰς, ἵν' εἰς δέον ἔχῃ
τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ, τῷ δικαίῳ δὲ καὶ
πράγι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον εὐχερῶς D
ἐπικλωμένῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὰς ἀμφὶ τὰ συναλ-
λάγματα, βοηθείας τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ ἀπλου-
στέροις μηχανώμενον καὶ πένησι πρὸς τοὺς
ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἀπατεῶνας καὶ πανούργους καὶ
ἐπαιρομένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς τὸ βιάζεσθαι
καὶ ὑπερορᾶν τῆς δίκης, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κεκρα-
μένῳ μείζονα ἐν³ τῇ πόλει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν
περιθετέον, καὶ αὐτῷ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτη- 91
μάτων κρίσεις, οἷς ἔπεται τιμωρία καὶ κόλασις
ἔνδικος ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων⁴
ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ ἐμφρόνως λογίζοιτο. κρίνας γὰρ ὁ
τοιούτος ἀδεκάστως ἅμα τοῖς συνέδροις παραδώσει
τῷ δημίῳ τὰ γνωσθέντα ἐπιτελεῖν, οὔτε διὰ θυμοῦ
μέγεθος οὔτε διὰ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς ἀμαρτάνων
τοῦ φύσει δικαίου. κινδυνεύει δὲ ὁ κράτιστος ἐν
πόλει τοιούτός τις εἶναι, τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις B
ἔχων ἀγαθὰ, τὰς δὲ οἶον κήρας ἐκ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος

¹ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς Reiske, ἀρετῆς MSS., Hertlein.

² κοινωνίαν προσληφθεῖσιν. Reiske, κοινωνίαν, MSS., Hertlein.

³ μείζονα ἐν Hertlein suggests, μείζονά τε ἐν MSS.

⁴ ἀδικουμένων ἐπιτρέπων Reiske, ἀδικουμένων, MSS., Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

were executioners and avengers who carry out the sentence, a different race of inferior and unintelligent demons. Now the king who is good and a favourite of the gods must imitate this example, and share his own excellence with many of his subjects, whom, because of his regard for them, he admits into this partnership; and he must entrust them with offices suited to the character and principles of each; military command for him who is brave and daring and high-spirited, but discreet as well, so that when he has need he may use his spirit and energy; and for him who is just and kind and humane and easily prone to pity, that office in the service of the state that relates to contracts, devising this means of protection for the weaker and more simple citizens and for the poor against the powerful, fraudulent and wicked and those who are so buoyed up by their riches that they try to violate and despise justice; but to the man who combines both these temperaments he must assign still greater honour and power in the state, and if he entrust to him the trials of offences for which are enacted just pains and penalties with a view to recompensing the injured, that would be a fair and wise measure. For a man of this sort, together with his colleagues, will give an impartial decision, and then hand over to the public official the carrying out of the verdict, nor will he through excess of anger or tender-heartedness fall short of what is essentially just. Now the ruler in

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ἐκφεύγων.
 ἐφορῶν δὲ αὐτὸς ἅπαντα καὶ κατευθύνων καὶ
 ἄρχων ἀρχόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων
 καὶ διοικήσεων τεταγμένους καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ
 ἁπάντων βουλῆς κοινωνοῦντας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἶναι
 καὶ ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτοῦ παραπλησίους εὔξεται
 γενέσθαι. αἰρήσεται δὲ οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς
 ἔτυχεν, οὐδ' ἐβελήσει φαυλότερος εἶναι κριτῆς τῶν
 λιθογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν βασανιζόντων τὸ χρυσίον C
 ἢ τὴν πορφύραν. τούτοις γὰρ οὐ μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἐξέτασιν ἀπόχρη, ἀλλὰ συνιέντες οἶμαι τῶν
 πανουργεῖν ἐθελόντων ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον
 τὴν μοχθηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτεχνήματα εἰς δύναμιν
 ἅπασιν ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ ἀντέστησαν ἐλέγχους
 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς τέχνης. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς
 κακίας ὑπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐστὶ ποικίλη καὶ ἀπα-
 τηλὴ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐκείνης
 ἔργων, ὅτι δὴ ψεύδεται πολλάκις ἀρετὴν ὑποδυ- D
 μένη καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ὀξύτερον
 ὁρᾶν ἢ καὶ ἀποκάμνοντας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου
 πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν, τὸ παθεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ὀρθῶς
 φυλάσσεται. ἐλόμενος δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔχων τούτοις ἐπιτρέψει τὴν τῶν
 ἐλασσόνων ἀρχόντων αἵρεσιν.

Νόμων μὲν δὴ περὶ καὶ ἀρχόντων τοιάδε
 γινώσκει. τοῦ πλήθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσιν
 οὔτε ἀργὸν οὔτε αὐθαδὲς ἀνέξεται εἶναι οὔτε μὴν
 ἐνδεὲς τῶν ἀναγκαίων· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τῶν 92
 γεωργῶν φῦλον ἀροῦντες καὶ φυτεύοντες τροφήν

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

our state will be somewhat like this, possessing only what is good in both those qualities. and in every quality that I mentioned earlier avoiding a fatal excess.¹ And though he will in person oversee and direct and govern the whole, he will see to it that those of his officials who are in charge of the most important works and management and who share his councils for the general good, are virtuous men and as far as possible like himself. And he will choose them, not carelessly or at random, nor will he consent to be a less rigorous judge than a lapidary or one who tests gold plate or purple dye. For such men are not satisfied with one method of testing, but since they know, I suppose, that the wickedness and devices of those who are trying to cheat them are various and manifold, they try to meet all these as far as possible, and they oppose to them the tests derived from their art. So too our ruler apprehends that evil changes its face and is apt to deceive, and that the cruellest thing that it does is that it often takes men in by putting on the garb of virtue, and hoodwinks those who are not keen sighted enough, or who in course of time grow weary of the length of the investigation, and therefore he will rightly be on his guard against any such deception. But when once he has chosen them, and has about him the worthiest men, he will entrust to them the choice of the minor officials.

Such is his policy with regard to the laws and magistrates. As for the common people, those who live in the towns he will not allow to be idle or impudent, but neither will he permit them to be without the necessaries of life. And the farming class who live in the country, ploughing and sowing to

¹ Plato, *Laws* 937 D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἀποίσουσι τοῖς φύλαξι καὶ ἐπικούροις σφῶν, μισθὸν καὶ ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀναγκαίαν. οἰκοδομήματα δὲ Ἀσσύρια καὶ πολυτελεῖς καὶ δαπανηρὰς λειτουργίας χαίρειν ἑάσαντες ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἔξωθεν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν οἰκοθεν καταβιώσονται, ἀγαπῶντες μὲν τὸν αἷτιον τῶν παρόντων σφίσι καθάπερ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, ὑμνοῦντες δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπευχόμενοι, οὔτι πλαστῶς οὐδὲ ἀπὸ γλώττης, ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀγαθὰ. φθάνουσι δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς εὐχάς, καὶ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὰ θεῖα δόντες οὐτὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστέρησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ χρεὼν βιάζοιτο κακῷ τῷ περιπεσεῖν, τούτων δὴ τῶν θρυλδυμένων ἀνηκέστων, χορευτὴν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ συνέστιον, καὶ αὐτῷ κλέος καθ' ἅπαντας ἡγείραν ἀνθρώπους. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τῶν σοφῶν ἀκούω πολλάκις, καὶ με ὁ λόγος ἰσχυρῶς πείθει. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθον, μακρότερα μὲν τυχὸν ἴσως τοῦ καιροῦ φθεγγόμενος, ἐλάττονα δὲ οἶμαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως· καὶ ὅτῳ γέγονε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἐπακούειν ἐν φροντίδι, οὗτος ὅτι μὴ ψεύδομαι σαφῶς ἐπίσταται. ἑτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν αἰτία τοῦ μήκου τῆς μὲν εἰρημένης ἦττον ἀναγκαία, προσεχεστέρα δὲ οἶμαι τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ· τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτης ἀνηκόους ὑμᾶς εἶναι χρή.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπομνησθῶμεν μικρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὁπότε τῆς ὑπὲρ τούτων διηγήσεως ἀπεπαυόμεθα. ἔφαμέν ποῦ χρήναι τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκροατὰς οὐκ εἰς ταῦτα ὁρᾶν, ὧν ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς πολ-

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

furnish food for their protectors and guardians, will receive in return payment in money, and the clothes that they need. But as for Assyrian palaces and costly and extravagant public services, they will have nothing to do with them, and will end their lives in the utmost peace as regards enemies at home and abroad, and will adore the cause of their good fortune as though he were a kindly deity, and praise God for him when they pray, not hypocritically or with the lips only, but invoking blessings on him from the bottom of their hearts. But the gods do not wait for their prayers, and unasked they give him celestial rewards, but they do not let him lack human blessings either; and if fate should compel him to fall into any misfortune, I mean one of those incurable calamities that people are always talking about, then the gods make him their follower and associate, and exalt his fame among all mankind. All this I have often heard from the wise, and in their account of it I have the firmest faith. And so I have repeated it to you, perhaps making a longer speech than the occasion called for, but too short in my opinion for the theme. And he to whom it has been given to hear such arguments and reflect on them, knows well that I speak the truth. But there is another reason for the length of my speech, less forcible, but I think more akin to the present argument. And perhaps you ought not to miss hearing this also,

In the first place, then, let me remind you briefly of what I said before, when I broke off my discourse for the sake of this digression. What I said was that, when serious-minded people listen to sincere panegyrics, they ought not to look to those things

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

λάκις μεταδίδωσιν, εἰς δὲ τὰς ἑξῆς καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς μόνοις μέτεστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φύσει σπουδαίοις. εἶτα ἐντεῦθεν ἐλόντες¹ τοὺς ἐξῆς 93 ἐπεραίνομεν λόγους, ὥς πρὸς² κανόνα τινὰ καὶ στάθμην ἀπευθύνοντες, ἥ τοὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπαίνους ἐναρμόττειν ἐχρῆν. καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν ἀληθὴς καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος ἀρμονία πρὸς τοῦτο γέγονε τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ὀλβιος μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ὄντως εὐδαίμων, εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς· ὅστις δὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετο, τῶν πλέον ἀπολειφθέντων ἀμείνων καὶ εὐτυχέστερος· B οἱ δὲ ἀπολειφθέντες παντελῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τραπόμενοι δυστυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ μόχθηροί, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μεγίστων αἵτιοι συμφορῶν.

Εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν ταύτῃ πῃ ξυνδοκεῖ, ὦρα ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς ἔργοις, ἃ τεθαυμάκαμεν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸν λόγον καθ' αὐτὸν ἰόντα, καθάπερ ἵππον ἀνταγωνιστοῦ στερόμενον ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, κρατεῖν καὶ ἀποφέρειν τὰ νικητήρια, πειράσομαι, πῇ ποτε διαφέρετον ἀλλήλων ὃ τε ἡμέτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν σοφῶν ρητόρων ἔπαινος, δεῖξαι. C οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν τὸ προγόνων γενέσθαι δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων θαυμάζουσι μάλα, ὀλβίων καὶ εὐδαίμωνων μακαρίους ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐκγόνους· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὔτε ἐνενόησαν οὔτε ἐσκέψαντο, τίνα τρόπον διατελοῦσιν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς³ χρώμενοι.

¹ ἐλόντες Cobet, ἐλόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν MSS., Hertlein.

² ὥς πρὸς Cobet, ὥσπερ MSS., Hertlein.

³ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Hertlein suggests, ἀλλήλοις MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

of which fortune often grants a share even to the wicked, but to the character of the man and his virtues, which belong only to those who are good and by nature estimable ; and, taking up my tale at that point, I pursued the arguments that followed, guiding myself as it were by the rule and measure to which one ought to adjust the eulogies of good men and good kings. And when one of them harmonises exactly and without variation with this model, he is himself happy and truly fortunate, and happy are those who have a share in such a government as his. And he who comes near to being like him is better and more fortunate than those who fall further short of him. But those who fail altogether to resemble him, or who follow an opposite course, are ill-fated, senseless and wicked, and cause the greatest disasters to themselves and others.

And now if you are in any way of my opinion, it is time to proceed to those achievements that we have so admired. And lest any should think that my argument is running alone, like a horse in a race that has lost its competitor and for that reason wins and carries off the prizes, I will try to show in what way my encomium differs from that of clever rhetoricians. For they greatly admire the fact that a man is born of ancestors who had power or were kings, since they hold that the sons of the prosperous and fortunate are themselves blest. But the question that next arises they neither think of nor investigate, I mean how they employed their

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

καίτοι γε τοῦτο ἦν τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐκείνης τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν· εἰ μὴ τις καὶ πρὸς τοῦνομα δυσχεραίνει, τὴν κτῆσιν D
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἔμφρονος χρήσεως ἀγαθὴν καὶ φαύλην
 ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει· ὥστε οὐ μέγα, καθάπερ οἴονται, τὸ βασιλέως πλουσίου καὶ πολυχρύσου γενέσθαι, μέγα δὲ ἀληθῶς τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν πατρίαν ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἄμεμπτον αὐτὸν τοῖς γειναμένοις παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαν.

Βούλεσθε οὖν εἰ τοῦτο ὑπάρχει βασιλεῖ καταμαθεῖν; παρέξομαι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ μαρτυρίαν πιστήν, καί με οὐχ αἰρήσετε ψευδομαρτυρίων,¹ εὖ οἶδα· 94
 ὑπομνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς² ὧν ἴστε· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἤδη τοῦ λεγομένου ξυνίετε, εἴ τε οὐπω δῆλον, αὐτίκα μάλα ξυνήσετε ἐννοήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγάπα διαφερόντως, οὐτι πρῶτος ὧν λίαν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις οὐδὲ τῇ φύσει πλέον ἢ τῷ τρόπῳ διδούς, ἡττώμενος δὲ οἶμαι τῆς θεραπείας καὶ οὐκ ἔχων, ὅ,τι μέμφοιτο, δῆλος ἦν εὖνους ὢν. B
 καὶ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον τῆς γνώμης, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Κωνσταντίῳ ταύτην ἐξεῖλε τὴν μοῖραν, ἣν αὐτῷ πρότερον προσήκειν ἔχειν ὑπέλαβεν, εἰθ' ὅτι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον, τὸν πρεσβύτατον καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀφείδς σχολὴν ἄγοντας, τοῦτον δὲ ἄσχυλον ἐκάλει καὶ ἐπέτρεπε τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ξύμπαντα. γεγόμενος δὲ ἐγκρατὴς ἀπάντων οὕτω

¹ ψευδομαρτυρίων Cobet, ψευδομαρτυριῶν Hertlein, V, M, ψευδομαρτυρίας MSS.

² ὑμᾶς Hertlein suggests, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

advantages throughout their lives. And yet, after all, this is the chief cause of that happiness, and of almost all external goods. Unless indeed someone objects to this statement that it is only by wise use of it that property becomes a good, and that it is harmful when the opposite use is made. So that it is not a great thing, as they think, to be descended from a king who was wealthy and "rich in gold," but it is truly great, while surpassing the virtue of one's ancestors, to behave to one's parents in a manner beyond reproach in all respects.

Do you wish to learn whether this is true of the Emperor? I will offer you trustworthy evidence, and I know well that you will not convict me of false witness. For I shall but remind you of what you know already. And perhaps you understand even now what I mean, but if it is not yet evident you very soon will, when you call to mind that the Emperor's father loved him more than the others, though he was by no means over-indulgent to his children, for it was character that he favoured rather than the ties of blood ; but he was, I suppose, won over by the Emperor's dutiful service to him, and as he had nothing to reproach him with, he made his affection for him evident. And a proof of his feeling is, first, that he chose for Constantius that portion of the empire which he had formerly thought best suited to himself, and, secondly, that when he was at the point of death he passed over his eldest¹ and youngest² sons, though they were at leisure, and summoned Constantius, who was not at leisure, and entrusted him with the whole government. And

¹ Constantine II.

² Constans,

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς δικαίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως προση-
 νέχθη, ὥστε οἱ μὲν οὔτε κληθέντες οὔτε ἀφικό-
 μενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον καὶ διεμάχοντο, C
 τούτῳ δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐμέμφοντο.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ στάσις τέλος εἶχεν οὐκ εὐτυχές,
 ἐξὸν μεταποιεῖσθαι πλειόνων, ἐκὼν ἀφήκε, τῆς
 αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπολαμβάνων πολλά τε ἔθνη καὶ
 ὀλίγα δεῖσθαι, περικεῖσθαι δέ, οἶμαι, φροντίδας
 μείζονας ὅτῳ πλειόνων ἀνάγκη τημελεῖν καὶ¹
 κήδεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρυφῆς ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν
 βασιλείαν εἶναι παρασκευὴν οὐδέ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν
 χρημάτων εἰς πότους καὶ ἡδονὰς οἱ καταχρώμενοι D
 μειζόνων εὐπορίαν προσόδων ἐπινοοῦσιν, οὕτω
 χρῆναι τὸν βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἀναι-
 ρεῖσθαι πόλεμον, ὅ,τι μὴ τῶν ἀρχομένων τῆς
 ὠφελείας ἔνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν τὸ
 πλεον ξυγχωρῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ ἀρετῆς ἔλαττον
 ἔχων τῷ κρατίστῳ πλεονεκτεῖν ὑπέλαβε. καὶ
 ὅτι μὴ δέει μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκείνου παρασκευῆς τὴν 95
 ἡσυχίαν ἡγάπα, τεκμήριον ὑμῖν ἐμφανές ἔστω ὁ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ξυμπεσὼν πόλεμος. ἐχρήσατο γοῦν
 πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δυνάμεις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὅπλοις
 ὕστερον. πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκείνοι μὲν που τὸ
 νικᾶν τεθαυμάκασιν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺ πλεον τὸ ξὺν
 δίκῃ μὲν ἀνελέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, διενεγκεῖν δὲ

¹ τημελεῖν καὶ Cobet, [ἐπιμελεῖν καὶ] Hertlein, who suggests
 κήδεσθαι καὶ ἐπαμύνειν, ἐπιμένειν M, ἐπισυνέχειν V, ἐπιμελεῖν
 MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

when he had become master of the whole, he behaved to his brothers at once so justly and with such moderation, that, while they who had neither been summoned nor had come of themselves quarrelled and fought with one another, they showed no resentment against Constantius, nor ever reproached him. And when their feud reached its fatal issue,¹ though he might have laid claim to a greater share of empire, he renounced it of his own free will, because he thought that many nations or few called for the exercise of the same virtues, and also, perhaps, that the more a man has to look after and care for the greater are the anxieties beset him. For he does not think that the imperial power is a means of procuring luxury, nor that, as certain men who have wealth and misapply it for drink and other pleasures set their hearts on lavish and ever-increasing revenues, this ought to be an emperor's policy, nor that he ought ever to embark on a war except only for the benefit of his subjects. And so he allowed his brother² to have the lion's share, and thought that if he himself possessed the smaller share with honour, he had the advantage in what was most worth having. And that it was not rather from fear of his brother's resources that he preferred peace, you may consider clearly proved by the war that broke out later. For he had recourse to arms later on against his brother's forces, but it was to avenge him.³ And here again there are perhaps some who have admired him merely for having won the victory. But I admire far more the fact that it was with justice that he undertook the

¹ Constantine II was slain while marching against Constans.

² Constans.

³ Constans was slain by the soldiers of Magnentius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἀνδρείως καὶ μάλα ἐμπείρως, ἐπιθείσης δὲ τὸ
τέλος τῆς τύχης δεξιὸν χρήσασθαι τῇ νίκῃ σωφ-
ρόνως καὶ βασιλικῶς, καὶ ὅλως ἄξιον τοῦ κρατεῖν
φανῆναι.

Βούλεσθε οὖν καὶ τούτων ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς B
δικαστηρίοις ὀνομαστὶ καλῶμεν τοὺς μάρτυρας;
καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐδεὶς πω πόλεμος συνέστη πρότερον
οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
Πέρσας Μακεδόσιν, οὔπερ δὴ δοκοῦσιν ἐν δίκῃ
γενέσθαι, τοσαύτην ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ παιδί που
δῆλον, τοῖς μὲν γε λίαν ἀρχαίων ἀδικημάτων
τιμωρίας σφόδρα νεαρᾶς¹ οὐτ' εἰς παῖδας οὔτε εἰς
ἐγγόνους γενομένης, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν ἀφελόμενον καὶ
ἀποστερήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων C
ἀπογόνους· Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ὥρμητο

τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐστράτεψε γυναῖκα μίαν ἐκδι-
κεῖν ἐθέλων. τῷ δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἦν νεαρὰ τὰ ἀδική-
ματα, ἦρχε δὲ οὐ κατὰ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πρίαμον
ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ τυχὸν δι' ἀρετὴν ἢ κατὰ γένος
προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιωθεὶς, ἀλλὰ
ἀναιδὴς καὶ τραχὺς βάρβαρος τῶν ἐαλωκότων οὐ
πρὸ πολλοῦ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔπραξε καὶ ὅπως D
ἦρχεν, οὔτε ἡδύ μοι λέγειν οὔτε ἐν καιρῷ· ἐν δίκῃ
δὲ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπολέμησεν, ἀκηκόατε. τῆς δὲ
ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ πρόσθεν
ρῆθέντα σημεῖα, πιστότερα δέ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἔργα τῶν

¹ νεαρᾶς Hertlein suggests, νεωτέρας MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

war, and that he carried it through with great courage and skill, and, when fortune gave him a favourable issue, used his victory with moderation and in imperial fashion, and showed himself entirely worthy to overcome.

Now do you wish that, as though I were in a law-court, I should summon before you by name witnesses of this also? But it is plain even to a child that no war ever yet arose that had so good an excuse, not even of the Greeks against Troy or of the Macedonians¹ against the Persians, though these wars, at any rate, are thought to have been justified, since the latter was to exact vengeance in more recent times for very ancient offences, and that not on sons or grandsons, but on him² who had robbed and deprived of their sovereignty the descendants of those very offenders. And Agamemnon set forth

“To avenge the strivings and groans of Helen,”³

for it was because he desired to avenge one woman that he went to war with the Trojans. But the wrongs done to Constantius were still fresh, and he⁴ who was in power was not, like Darius or Priam, a man of royal birth who, it may be, laid claim to an empire that belonged to him by reason of his birth or his family, but a shameless and savage barbarian who not long before had been among the captives of war.⁵ But all that he did and how he governed is neither agreeable for me to tell nor would it be well-timed. And that the Emperor was justified in making war on him you have heard, and of his skill and courage what I said earlier is proof enough, but deeds are, I

¹ Under Alexander.

² Darius III.

³ *Iliad* 2. 356.

⁴ Magnentius.

⁵ cf. *Oration* 1. 34 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

λόγων. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γεγόμενα καὶ ὅπως
 ξίφους μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέησεν ἔτι, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἀδικημύ-
 των μειζόνων εἶχεν ὑποψίαν, οὐδὲ εἴ τῳ πρὸς τὸν 96
 τύραννον οἰκειοτέρα γέγονε φιλία, οὐδὲ μὴν εἴ τις
 ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενος φέρειν τε ἡξίου κηρύκιον καὶ
 ἐλοιδορεῖτο βασιλεῖ, τῆς προπετείας ἀπέτισε
 δίκην, ὅ,τι μὴ τὰλλα μοχθηρὸς ἦν, ἐννοήσατε δὴ
 πρὸς φίλου Διός. ποταπὸν δὲ χρήμα λοιδορία;
 1 ὡς θυμοδακὲς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀμύττον ψυχὴν μᾶλλον
 ἢ σίδηρος χρώτα; οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά
 παρώξυνεν εἰς δύναμιν ἀμύνασθαι λόγῳ τε καὶ
 ἔργῳ· διηνέχθη γοῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου πρὸς τὸν
 ξενοδόκον αὐτὸς ὦν ἀλήτης καὶ ξένος, καὶ ταῦτα
 εἰδώς, ὅτι

"Αφρων . . . καὶ οὐτιδανὸς πέλει ἀνὴρ,

"Οστις ξεινοδόκῳ ἔριδα προφέρῃσι βαρεῖαν,

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
 τὸν Θέτιδος¹ καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας οὐ φαύλους
 οὐδὲ ἀγεννεῖς ἀνθρώπους. μόνῳ δὲ ὑπῆρχεν, C
 οἶμαι, Σωκράτει καὶ σπανίοις τισὶν ἐκείνου
 ζηλωταῖς, εὐδαίμοσιν ἀληθῶς καὶ μακαρίοις
 γενομένοις, τὸν ἔσχατον ἀποδύσασθαι χιτῶνα
 τῆς φιλοτιμίας. φιλότιμον γὰρ δεινῶς τὸ πάθος,
 καὶ ἔοικεν ἐμφύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ταῖς
 γενναίαις ψυχαῖς· ἄχθονται γὰρ ὡς ἐναντιωτάτῳ
 σφίσι λοιδορία, καὶ τοὺς ἀπορρίπτοντας ἐς αὐτοὺς D

¹ τὸν V, τὸν τῆς MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

think, more convincing than words. But what happened after the victory, and how he no longer made use of the sword, not even against those who were under suspicion of serious crimes, or who had been familiar friends of the usurper, nay not even against anyone who, to curry favour with the latter, had stooped to win a tale-bearer's fee by slandering the Emperor, consider, in the name of Zeus the god of friendship, that not even these paid the penalty of their audacity, except when they were guilty of other crimes. And yet what a terrible thing is slander! How truly does it devour the heart and wound the soul as iron cannot wound the body! This it was that goaded Odysseus to defend himself by word and deed. At any rate it was for this reason that he quarrelled with his host¹ when he was himself a wanderer and a guest, and though he knew that

“Foolish and of nothing worth is that man who provokes a violent quarrel with his host.”²

And so it was with Alexander, Philip's son, and Achilles, son of Thetis, and others who were not worthless or ignoble men. But only to Socrates, I think, and a few others who emulated him, men who were truly fortunate and happy, was it given to put off the last garment that man discards—the love of glory.³ For resentment of calumny is due to the passion for glory, and for this reason it is implanted most deeply in the noblest souls. For they resent it as their deadliest foe, and those who hurl at them slanderous language they

¹ Alcinous.

² *Odyssey* 8. 209.

³ Dioscorides in Athenaeus 507 D; Tacitus *Hist.* 4. 6; cf. Milton *Lycidas*,

“Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
“(That last infirmity of noble mind).”

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τοιαῦτα ῥήματα μισοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐπάγοντας
 τὸν σίδηρον καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας φόνον, διαφόρους
 τε αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσι φύσει καὶ οὐ νόμῳ, εἴ γε
 οἱ μὲν ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἐρώσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτων
 μόνον ἀφαιροῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανῶν-
 ται βλασφημίας ψευδεῖς. τούτου καὶ Ἡρακλέα
 φασὶ καὶ ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀκράτορας τοῦ πάθους
 γενέσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνων τῷ λόγῳ
 πείθομαι, καὶ βασιλέα τεθέαμαι σφόδρα ἐγκρατῶς
 τὴν λαιδορίαν ἀποτρεψάμενον,¹ οὔτι φαυλότερον 97
 ἔργον, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῦ Τροίαν ἐλεῖν καὶ
 φάλαγγα γενναίαν τρέψασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις
 καὶ οὐ μέγα οἶεται οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐπαίνων τοσοῦτων,
 ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶν, ὅταν ἔν τινι τοιαύτῃ ξυμφορᾷ
 γένηται, κρινέτω, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ σφόδρα ληρεῖν
 δόξομεν, ὥς ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν καὶ γενόμενος βασιλεὺς μετὰ
 τὸν πόλεμον εἰκότως οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ ποθεινὸς ταῖς
 φίλοις καὶ ἀγαπητός, πολλοῖς² μὲν τιμῆς καὶ B
 δυνάμεως καὶ παρρησίας μεταδιδούς, χρήματα δὲ
 αὐτοῖς ἄφθονα χαριζόμενος καὶ χρῆσθαι ὅπως τις
 βούλεται τῷ πλούτῳ ξυγχωρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 πολεμίοις τοιοῦτος ἐδόκει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὑμῖν
 ἐμφανὲς καὶ τοῦδε γιγνέσθω· ἄνδρες, τῆς γερου-
 σίας ὅτιπερ ὄφελος, ἀξιώσει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ
 ξυνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν ἄλλων, ὥσπερ ἐς λιμένα
 καταφεύγοντες τὴν τούτου δεξιάν, ἐστίας τε

¹ ἀποτρεψάμενον Hertlein suggests, δεξάμενον Petavius, τρεψάμενον MSS.

² πολλοῖς fl., Hertlein prefers, πολλῆς MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

hate more than men who attack them with the sword or plot their destruction; and they regard them as differing from themselves, not merely in their acquired habits, but in their essential nature, seeing that they love praise and honour, and the slanderer not only robs them of these, but also manufactures false accusations against them. They say that even Heracles and certain other heroes were swayed by these emotions. But for my part I do not believe this account of them, and as for the Emperor I have seen him repelling calumny with great self-restraint, which in my judgment is no slighter achievement than "to take Troy"¹ or rout a powerful phalanx. And if anyone does not believe me, and thinks it no great achievement nor worth all these praises, let him observe himself when a misfortune of this sort happens to him, and then let him decide; and I am convinced that he will not think that I am talking with exceeding folly.

Now since this was and is the Emperor's behaviour after the war, he is naturally loved and "longed for by his friends,"² since he has admitted many of them to honour and power and freedom of speech, and has bestowed on them as well vast sums of money, and permits them to use their wealth as they please; but even to his enemies he is the same. The following may serve as a clear proof of this. Those members of the Senate who were of any account and surpassed the rest in reputation and wealth and wisdom, fled to the shelter of his right hand as though to a harbour, and, leaving behind their hearths and

¹ A proverb, cf. Euripides, *Andromache* 368.

² Aristophanes, *Frogs* 84.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

λιπόντες καὶ οἴκους καὶ παῖδας Παιονίαν μὲν ἀντὶ C
 τῆς Ῥώμης, τὴν μετὰ τούτου δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν φιλτάτων
 συνουσίαν ἡσπάσαντο, ἢλη τε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων
 ἱππέων ξὺν τοῖς σημείοις καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν
 ἄγουσα τούτῳ τοῦ κινδύνου ξυμμετέχειν μᾶλλον
 ἢ ἐκείνῳ τῆς εὐτυχίας ἡξίου. καὶ ταῦτα ἅπαντα
 ἐδρᾶτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δράου ταῖς
 ῥόσιν ὁ πρόσθεν λόγος παρέστησεν. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ
 ἤδη βεβαίως ἐθάρρουν, τέως δ' ἐδόκει τὰ τῶν
 τυράννων ἐπικρατεῖν, πλεονεκτήματός τινος περὶ D
 τοὺς κατασκόπους τοὺς¹ βασιλέως γενομένου, ὃ δὴ
 ἐκείνόν τε ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἄφρονα καὶ
 ἐξετάραττε τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους ἐφικνεῖσθαι οὐδὲ
 διορᾶν τὴν στρατηγίαν. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ
 γενναῖδας καθάπερ ἀγαθὸς νεὼς κυβερνήτης,
 ἐξαπίνης νεφῶν ῥαγείσης λαίλαπος, εἴτα ἐπ' αὐτῇ
 τοῦ θεοῦ σείοντος τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τὰς ῥόνας.
 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἀπείρους δεινὸν καὶ ἄτοπον
 κατέλαβε δέος, ὁ δὲ ἤδη χαίρει καὶ γάννυται, 98
 γαλήνην ἀκριβῆ καὶ νηνεμίαν ἐλπίζων. λέγεται
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν συνταράττων τὴν γῆν
 παύειν τὰ κύματα. καὶ ἡ τύχη δὲ τοὺς ἀνοήτους
 ἐξαπατᾷ καὶ σφάλλει περὶ τοῖς μείζοσι, μικρὰ
 πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσα, τοῖς ἔμφροσι δὲ τὸ
 βεβαίως θαρσεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν μειζόνων, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς
 ἐλάττοσιν αὐτοὺς διαταράττη, παρέχει. τοῦτο
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι παθόντες ἐν Πύλαις οὐκ ἀπηγό-
 ρεον οὐδὲ ἔδεισαν τὸν Μῆδον ἐπιφερόμενον, B

¹ τοὺς Hertlein suggests, τοῦ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

homes and children, preferred Paeonia¹ to Rome, and to be with him rather than with their dearest. Again, a division of the choicest of the cavalry together with their standards, and bringing their general² with them, chose to share danger with him rather than success with the usurper. And all this took place before the battle on the banks of the Drave, which the earlier part of my speech described to you. For after that they began to feel perfect confidence, though before that it looked as though the usurper's cause was getting the upper hand, when he gained some slight advantage in the affair of the Emperor's scouts,³ which indeed made the usurper beside himself with joy and greatly agitated those who were incapable of grasping or estimating generalship. But the Emperor was unperturbed and heroic, like a good pilot when a tempest has suddenly burst from the clouds, and next moment, the god shakes the depths and the shores. Then a terrible and dreadful panic seizes on those who are inexperienced, but the pilot begins to rejoice, and is glad, because he can now hope for a perfect and windless calm. For it is said that Poseidon, when he makes the earth quake, calms the waves. And just so fortune deceives the foolish and deludes them about more important things by allowing them some small advantage, but in the wise she inspires unshaken confidence about more serious affairs even when she disconcerts them in the case of those that are less serious. This was what happened to the Lacedaemonians at Pylae,⁴ but they did not despair nor fear the onset of the Mede because they had lost

¹ Pannonia.

³ cf. *Oration* 1. 35 c.

² Silvanus, cf. *Oration* 1. 60.

⁴ Thermopylae.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

τριακοσίους Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος προέμενοι· τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι πολλάκις παθόντες μείζονα κατῴρθουν ὕστερον· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐννοῶν καὶ λογιζόμενος οὐδαμῶς ἐσφάλῃ τῆς γνώμης.

Ἄλλ' ἐπείπερ ἅπαξ ἐκὼν ὁ λόγος ἐς τοῦτο ἀφίκται καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, οἵπερ δὴ ξυμφυλάττουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπείργουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, διηγεῖται· βούλεσθε ὑμῖν ἐναργὲς εἶπω τεκμήριον C
χθές που ἦ καὶ πρῶν γενόμενον; ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπιταχθέντων τοῖς ἐν Γαλατία στρατοπέδοις· ἵστε ἴσως καὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν τρόπον· ὄμηρον φιλίας καὶ πίστεως ἀπέλιπεν οὐδὲν δεομένῳ βασιλεῖ τὸν παῖδα· εἶτα ἦν ἀπιστότερος τῶν λεόντων, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι, φησί, πρὸς ἄνδρας¹ ὅρκια πιστά, ἀρπάζων D
τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὰ χρήματα καὶ διανέμων τοῖς ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις καὶ ὥσπερ λύτρα καταβαλλόμενος, ἐξὸν τῷ σιδήρῳ παρασκευάζειν καὶ οὐ τοῖς χρήμασι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ὑπήγετο διὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς εὐνοίαν· καὶ τέλος ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἀνελόμενος ἀλουργὲς ἱμάτιον γελοῖος ἀληθῶς τύραννος καὶ τραγικὸς ὄντως ἀνεφάνη. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς μὲν εἶχον πρὸς τὴν ἀπιστίαν, θῆλυν δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντες ὁρᾶν ἐνδευκότα στολὴν τὸν δείλαιον 99

¹ [Ὅμηρος] ὅρκια Hertlein.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

three hundred Spartans and their king¹ at the entrance into Greece. This often happened to the Romans, but they achieved more important successes later on. Wherefore, since the Emperor knew this and counted on it, he in no way wavered in his purpose.

But seeing that my argument has, of its own accord, once reached this point and is describing the affection that the Emperor inspires in the common people, the magistrates, and the garrisons who aid him to protect the empire and repulse its enemies, are you willing that I should relate to you a signal proof of this, which happened, one may say, yesterday or the day before? A certain man² who had been given the command of the garrisons in Galatia—you probably know his name and character—left his son behind him as a hostage for his friendship and loyalty to the Emperor, though not at the Emperor's request. Then he proved to be more treacherous than "lions who have no faithful covenants with man,"³ as the poet says, and plundered the cities of their wealth and distributed it among the invading barbarians, paying it down as a sort of ransom, though he was well able to take measures to win security by the sword rather than by money. But he tried to win them over to friendliness by means of money. And finally he took from the women's apartments a purple dress, and showed himself truly a tyrant and tragical indeed. Then the soldiers, resenting his treachery, would not tolerate the sight of him thus dressed up in women's garb,⁴ and they set on the miserable wretch and tore him limb from limb,⁵ nor would they

¹ Leonidas.

² Silvanus.

³ *Iliad* 22. 262.

⁴ Euripides, *Bacchae* 822.

⁵ cf. *Oration* 1. 48 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπιθέμενοι σπαράττουσιν, οὐδὲ τὸν τῆς σελήνης κύκλον ἄρξαι σφῶν ἀνασχόμενοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῆς τῶν φυλάκων εὐνοίας ὑπῆρξε βασιλεῖ τὸ γέρας, ἀρχῆς ἀμεμφοῦς καὶ δικαίας ἀμοιβῇ θαυμαστή. ὅστις δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ γέγονε ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦειν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι μήτε ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα χαλεπὸς μήτε ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτος καὶ δεινὸς εἴλετο γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς B
ἐνὶ μάλιστα πρᾶως εἶχε καὶ εὐμενὴς πᾶσιν ἦν καίτοι πολλῶν συκοφαντεῖν ἐθελόντων καὶ διηρμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐκ αἰτίους τὰ κέντρα. πολλῶν δὲ τυχὸν ἀληθῶς ἐνόχων ὄντων ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὑποψίαις, ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἦν πρᾶος τοῖς οὐκ ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν¹ οὐδὲ ἀποφανθεῖσι κοινωνοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ ἐξαγίστων βουλευμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν τοῦ παρανομήσαντος παῖδα καὶ πατήσαντος C
πίστιν καὶ ὄρκια φειδῶ ἄρα βασιλικὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον φήσομεν, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα χαλεπαίνοντα καὶ πικραινόμενον τῶν Τρώων οὐ τοῖς ξυνεξελλθοῦσι μόνον τῷ Πάριδι καὶ καθυβρίσασι τοῦ Μενέλεω τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κυουμένοις ἔτι καὶ ὧν D
τυχὸν οὐδὲ αἱ μητέρες τότε ἐγεγόνεσαν, ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑρπαγὴν ἐνενοεῖ; εἰ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὡμὸν τις οἶεται καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἥκιστα βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, τὸ πρᾶον δὲ οἶμαι καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀρμόττειν ἥκιστα μὲν χαίρουσι τιμωρίαις, ἀχθομένῳ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφοραῖς, ὅπως ἂν γίγνωνται, εἴτε

¹ ἐξελεγχθεῖσιν Hertlein suggests, ἐλεγχθεῖσιν MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

endure either that the crescent moon¹ should rule over them. Now it was the affection of his garrison that gave the Emperor this guerdon, a wonderful recompense for his just and blameless rule. But you are eager to hear how he behaved after this. This too, however, you cannot fail to know, that he chose neither to be harsh towards that man's son² nor suspicious and formidable to his friends, but in the highest possible degree he was merciful and kindly to them all, though many desired to bring false accusations³ and had raised their stings to strike the innocent. But though many were perhaps really involved in the crimes of which they were suspected, he was merciful to all alike, provided they had not been convicted or proved to be partners in the usurper's monstrous and abominable schemes. And shall we not declare that the forbearance shown by him towards the son of one who had broken the laws and trampled on loyalty and sworn covenants was truly royal and godlike; or shall we rather approve Agamemnon, who vented his rage and cruelty not only on those Trojans who had accompanied Paris and had outraged the hearth of Menelaus, but even on those who were yet unborn, and whose mothers even were perhaps not yet born when Paris plotted the rape? Anyone therefore who thinks that cruelty and harshness and inhumanity ill become a king, and that mercy and goodness and human kindness befit one who takes no pleasure in acts of vengeance, but grieves at the misfortunes of his subjects, however they may arise, whether from their

¹ His Oriental dress suggested Persian rule, symbolised by the crescent.

² cf. *Oration* I. 49 A.

³ cf. *Oration* I. 48 C, D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

κακία σφῶν καὶ ἀμαθία, εἴτε ἔξωθεν παρὰ τῆς
τύχης ἐπάγουιντο, δῆλός ἐστι τούτῳ διδοὺς τὰ
νικητήρια. ἐννοεῖτε γάρ, ὥς περὶ τὸν παῖδα
γένεονε τοῦ φύσαντος ἀμείνων καὶ δικαιοτέρος,
περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους πιστότερος τοῦ τὴν 100
φιλίαν ὁμολογήσαντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας
προεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ἀπέσωσεν ἅπαντας. καὶ εἰ μὲν
ἐκείνος ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγνωκώς¹ τρόπου
ἅτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατανοήσας σφόδρα ἐπί-
στευεν, ἀσφαλῶς μὲν οἱ τὰ τοῦ παιδός, βεβαίως
δὲ ὀρμεῖν τὰ τῶν φίλων, συνίει μὲν ὀρθῶς,
πολλάκις δὲ ἦν πανούργος καὶ μοχθηρὸς καὶ
δυστυχής, πολέμιος ἐθέλων εἶναι τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ
ὃν σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαφερόντως πρᾶον B
ἠπίστατο μισῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ ἀφαιρού-
μενος ὧν οὐδαμῶς ἔχρην. εἰ δέ, ἀνελπίστου μὲν
οἱ τοῦ παιδός τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχανούσης,
χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ ἀδυνάτου τῆς² τῶν φίλων καὶ
τῶν συγγενῶν, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὅμως προείλετο,
ὁ μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μοχθηρὸς καὶ ἀνόητος
καὶ ἀγριώτερος τῶν θηρίων, ὁ δὲ ἡμερος καὶ
πρᾶος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, τοῦ μὲν νηπίου κατ-
ελεήσας τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ C
οὐκ ἐξελεγχθείσι πράως ἔχων, τοῦ δὲ ὑπεριδῶν καὶ
καταφρονήσας τῶν πονηρευμάτων. ὁ γὰρ ἂ μηδὲ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις διὰ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν
ἀδικημάτων ἐλπίζει ξυγχωρῶν εἰκότως ἀρετῆς ἐστι

¹ ἐγνωκώς τρόπου—κατανοήσας Hertlein suggests, ἐγνωκώς—
τὸν τρόπον κατανοήσας MSS. ² τῆς Hertlein adds.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

own wickedness and ignorance or aimed at them from without by fate, will, it is evident, award to the Emperor the palm of victory. For bear in mind that he was kinder and more just to the boy than his own father, and to the usurper's friends he was more loyal than he who acknowledged the tie of friendship. For the usurper forsook them all, but the Emperor saved them all. And if the usurper, knowing all this about the Emperor's character, since he had for a long time been able to observe it, was entirely confident that his son was safely at anchor and his friends securely also, then he did indeed understand him aright, but he was many times over criminal and base and accursed for desiring to be at enmity with such a man, and for hating one whom he knew to be so excellent and so surpassingly mild, and for plotting against him and trying to rob him of what it was a shame to take from him. But if, on the other hand, his son's safety was something that he had never hoped for, and the safety of his friends and kinsfolk he had thought difficult or impossible, and he nevertheless chose to be disloyal, this is yet another proof that he was wicked and infatuated and fiercer than a wild beast, and that the Emperor was gentle and mild and magnanimous, since he took pity on the youth of the helpless child, and was merciful to those who were not proved guilty, and ignored and despised the crimes of the usurper. For he who grants what not one of his enemies expects, because the guilt that is on their conscience is so great, beyond a doubt carries off the prize for virtue: for while he tempers justice with

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

νικηφόρος, τὴν δίκην μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ πραό-
 τερον μετατιθείς, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενος
 τοὺς τὸ μέτριον ἐπιτιθέντας ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀνδρεία
 δὲ διαφέρων τῷ μηδένα πολέμιον ἀξίόχρεων ὑπο- D
 λαμβάνειν, φρόνησιν δὲ ἐπιδεικνύμενος τῷ συγ-
 καταλύειν τὰς ἔχθρας καὶ οὐ παραπέμπειν εἰς
 τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ εἰς ἐγγόνους προφάσει τῆς
 ἀκριβοῦς δίκης καὶ τοῦ βούλεσθαι¹ ἐπιεικῶς μάλα
 πίτυος δίκην τῶν πονηρῶν ἀφανίζειν τὰ σπέρματα.
 ἐκείνων γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τὴν εἰκόνα παλαιὸς ἀπέφηνε λόγος. ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς
 βασιλεὺς μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς τὸν θεὸν οἶδε μὲν 101
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν ἐσμύς μελιττῶν ἐξιπταμένους,
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δριμυτάτου ξύλου τὸν γλυκὺν καρπὸν
 φυόμενον, σὺκά φημι τὰ χαρίεντα, καὶ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν
 τὴν σίδην καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ἄλλων φυόμενα ἀνόμοια
 τοῖς γεννώσι καὶ ἀποτίκτουςιν. οὐκ οἶται
 ταῦτα χρῆναι πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς διαφθεῖρειν, ἀλλὰ
 περιμένειν τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἀπω-
 σαμένοις τῶν πατέρων τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ τὴν μωρίαν B
 ἀγαθοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ σώφροσι, ζηλωτὰς δὲ γενο-
 μένους τῶν πατρώων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑφέξειν ἐν
 καιρῷ τὴν δίκην, οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις ἔργοις καὶ ξυμ-
 φοραῖς παραναλωθέντας.

Ἄρ' οὖν ὑμῖν ἱκανῶς δοκοῦμεν ἐκτετελεκέναι
 τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον; ἢ ποθεῖτε ἀκούειν ὑμεῖς καὶ
 τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα, καὶ ὥς οὐ μόνον
 ἐστὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητος, ἀλλ' οὔτε αἰσχρὰς C
 ἐπιθυμίας ἐύλω πώποτε, οὔτε οἰκίας καλῆς οὔτ'

¹ βούλεσθαι Hertlein suggests, βούλεσθαί περ MSS.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

what is nobler and more merciful, in self-restraint he surpasses those who are merely moderate in their vengeance; and in courage he excels because he thinks no enemy worthy of notice; and his wisdom he displays by suppressing enmities and by not handing them down to his sons and descendants on the pretext of strict justice, or of wishing, and very reasonably too, to blot out the seed of the wicked like the seed of a pine-tree.¹ For this is the way of those trees, and in consequence an ancient tale² gave rise to this simile. But the good Emperor, closely imitating God, knows that even from rocks swarms of bees fly forth, and that sweet fruits grow even from the bitterest wood, pleasant figs, for instance, and from thorns the pomegranate, and there are other instances where things are produced entirely unlike the parents that begat them and brought them forth. Therefore he thinks that we ought not to destroy these before they have reached maturity, but to wait for time to pass, and to trust them to cast off the folly and madness of their fathers and become good and temperate, but that, if they should turn out to emulate their fathers' practices, they will in good time suffer punishment, but they will not have been uselessly sacrificed because of the deeds and misfortunes of others.

Now do you think I have made my sincere panegyric sufficiently thorough and complete? Or are you anxious to hear also about the Emperor's powers of endurance and his august bearing, and that not only is he unconquerable by the enemy, but has never yet succumbed to any disgraceful appetite, and

¹ A proverb; the pine when cut down does not send up shoots again.

² Herodotus 6. 37.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, II

ἐπαύλεως πολυτελοῦς οὔτε ὄρμων σμαραγδίνων
ἐπιθυμήσας ἀφείλετο βία ἢ καὶ πειθοῖ τοὺς κεκτη-
μένους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας οὐδὲ θερα-
παίνης, οὐδὲ ὅλως τὴν ἄδικον ἀφροδίτην ἡγάπησε,
καὶ ὥς οὐδὲ ὦν ὥραι φύουσιν ἀγαθῶν τὴν ἄμετρον
ἀπαιτεῖ πλησμονήν, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ θέρους ὥρα τοῦ
κρυστάλλου μέλει, οὐδὲ μεταβάλλει πρὸς τὰς D
ὥρας τὴν οἴκησιν, τοῖς πονουμένοις δὲ ἀεὶ πάρεστι
τῆς ἀρχῆς μέρεσιν ἀντέχων καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρύος καὶ
πρὸς τὰ θάληη τὰ γενναῖα; τούτων δὲ εἴ με
κελεύοιτε φέρειν ὑμῖν ἐμφανῇ τὰ τεκμήρια, γνώριμα
μὲν ἐρῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀπορήσω, μακρὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ
διωλύγιος, ἐμοί τε οὐ σχολὴ τὰς μούσας ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον θεραπεύειν, ἀλλ' ὥρα λοιπὸν πρὸς ἔργον
τρέπεσθαι.

THE HEROIC DEEDS OF CONSTANTIUS

never coveted a fine house or a costly palace or a necklace of emeralds, and then robbed their owners of them either by violence or persuasion ; and that he has never coveted any free-born woman or handmaid or pursued any dishonourable passion ; and that he does not even desire an immoderate surfeit of the good things that the seasons produce, or care for ice in summer, or change his residence with the time of year ; but is ever at hand to aid those portions of the empire that are in trouble, enduring both frost and extreme heat ? But if you should bid me bring before you plain proofs of this, I shall merely say what is familiar to all, and I shall not lack evidence, but the account would be long, a monstrous speech, nor indeed have I leisure to cultivate the Muses to such an extent, for it is now time for me to turn to my work.¹

¹ His campaign in Gaul.

ORATION III

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION III

THE Third Oration is an expression of gratitude (*χαριστήριος λόγος*)¹ to the Empress Eusebia, the first wife of Constantius. After Julian's intractable step-brother Gallus Caesar had been murdered by the Emperor, he was summoned to the court at Milan, and there, awkward and ill at ease, cut off from his favourite studies and from the society of philosophers, surrounded by intriguing and unfriendly courtiers, and regarded with suspicion by the Emperor, Julian was protected, encouraged and advised by Eusebia. His praise and gratitude are, for once, sincere. The oration must have been composed either in Gaul or shortly before Julian set out thither after the dangerous dignity of the Caesarship had been thrust upon him. His sincerity has affected his style, which is simpler and more direct than that of the other two Panegyrics.

¹ cf. Quintilian 3. 7. 10. on the *Gratiarum actio*.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΤΣΕΒΙΑΣ

ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ

Τί ποτε ἄρα χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόν- 102
των μεγάλα καὶ πέρα¹ μεγάλων, οὔτι φημὶ
χρυσίου οὐδὲ ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς ὅ,τι ἂν τύχη
τις παρὰ τοῦ πέλας εὖ παθὼν· εἴτα τοιαῦτα μὲν
ἀποτίνειν οὔτε ἐπιχειρούντων οὔτε διανοουμένων,
ῥαθύμως δὲ καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ τὰ
δυνατὰ ποιεῖν καὶ διαλύεσθαι τὸ ὄφλημα; ἢ B
δῆλον ὅτι φαύλους καὶ μοχθηροὺς νομιστέον;
οὐδενὸς γὰρ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ἑλαττον
μισοῦμεν ἀχαριστίαν καὶ ὀνειδίζομεν τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις, ὅταν εὖ παθόντες περὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὧσιν
ἀχάριστοι· ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὗτος ἀχάριστος μόνον,
ὅστις εὖ παθὼν δρᾷ κακῶς ἢ λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ὅστις σιωπᾷ καὶ ἀποκρύπτει, λήθη παραδιδούς
καὶ ἀφανίζων τὰς χάριτας. καὶ τῆς μὲν θηριώδους C
ἐκείνης καὶ ἀπανθρώπου μοχθηρίας σφόδρα ὀλίγα
καὶ εὐαρίθμητα κομιδῇ τὰ παραδείγματα· πολλοὶ
δὲ ἀποκρύπτουσι τὸ δοκεῖν εὖ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδα
ὅ,τι βουλόμενοι· φασὶ δὲ ὅμως θωπείας τινὸς καὶ
ἀγεννοῦς κολακείας τὴν δόξαν ἐκκλίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ

¹ πέρα Cobet, ὑπὲρ MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF THE EMPRESS EUSEBIA

WHAT, pray, ought we to think of those who owe things of price and beyond price—I do not mean gold or silver, but simply any benefit one may happen to receive from one's neighbour—suppose that they neither try nor intend to repay that kindness, but are indolent and do not trouble themselves to do what they can and try to discharge the debt? Is it not evident that we must think them mean and base? Far more I think than any other crime do we hate ingratitude, and we blame those persons who have received benefits and are ungrateful to their benefactors. And the ungrateful man is not only he who repays a kindness with evil deeds or words, but also he who is silent and conceals a kindness and tries to consign it to oblivion and abolish gratitude. Now of such brutal and inhuman baseness as the repayment with evil the instances are few and easily reckoned; but there are many who try to conceal the appearance of having received benefits, though with what purpose I know not. They assert, however, that it is because they are trying to avoid a reputation for a sort of servility and for base flattery. But though I

τούτους¹ μὲν ὅτι μὴδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγουσι σαφῶς 103
 εἰδὼς ὁμῶς ἀφήμι, καὶ κείσθω διαφεύγειν αὐτούς,
 καθάπερ οἴονται, κολακείας οὐκ ἀληθῆ δόξαν,
 πολλοῖς ἅμα πάθεσιν ἐνόχους φανέντας καὶ
 νοσήμασιν αἰσχίστοις πάνυ καὶ ἀνελευθέροις. ἡ
 γὰρ οὐ συνιέντες ἀναίσθητοι λίαν εἰσίν, ὧν οὐδ-
 αμῶς ἀναίσθητον εἶναι χρῆν, ἡ συνιέντες ἐπι-
 λήσμονες ὧν ἐχρῆν εἰς ἅπαντα μεμνήσθαι τὸν
 χρόνον· μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ ἀποκνοῦντες δι' ἀσδη-
 ποτοῦν αἰτίας δειλοὶ καὶ βάσκανοι φύσει καὶ
 ἀπλῶς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις δυσμενεῖς, οἳ γε οὐδὲ B
 τοῖς εὐεργέταις πρᾶοι καὶ προσηνεῖς ἐθέλοντες
 εἶναι, εἴτα, ἂν μὲν δέῃ λαιδορῆσαί που καὶ δακεῖν,
 ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία ὀργίλον καὶ ὀξὺ βλέπουσιν·
 ὥσπερ δὲ ἀνάλωμα πολυτελὲς φεύγοντες τὸν
 ἀληθινὸν ἔπαινον, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, αἰτιῶνται τὰς
 ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων εὐφημίας, ἐξὸν ἐκείνο
 ἐξετάζειν μόνον, εἰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶσι καὶ
 περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦνται τοῦ δοκεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαί- C
 νοις χαρίζεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν,
 ὥς ἀνωφελὲς χρῆμα ἢ εὐφημία οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν
 γέγονεν οὔτε αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπόσοι τὴν ἴσιν
 ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὸν βίον τάξιν εἰληχότες τῆς ἐν ταῖς
 πράξεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀπελείφθησαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
 ἄκουσμά τέ ἐστιν ἡδὺ καὶ προθυμοτέρους παρέχει
 περὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν ἔργων· τοὺς
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ζηλοῦν ἐκείνα πειθοῖ καὶ βία παρ-
 ὡρμησεν ὁρῶντας ὅτι μὴδὲ τῶν προλαβόντων

¹ τούτους Cobet, ο἗τοι MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

know well enough that what they say is all insincere, nevertheless I let that pass, and suppose we assume that they, as they think, do escape an undeserved reputation for flattery, still they at the same time appear to be guilty of many weaknesses and defects of character that are in the highest degree base and illiberal. For either they are too dense to perceive what no one should fail to perceive, or they are not dense but forgetful of what they ought to remember for all time. Or again, they do remember, and yet shirk their duty for some reason or other, being cowards and grudging by nature, and their hand is against every man without exception, seeing that not even to their benefactors do they consent to be gentle and amiable; and then if there be any opening to slander and bite, they look angry and fierce like wild beasts. Genuine praise they somehow or other avoid giving, as though it were a costly extravagance, and they censure the applause given to noble actions, when the only thing that they need enquire into is whether the eulogists respect truth and rate her higher than the reputation of showing their gratitude by eulogy. For this at any rate they cannot assert, that praise is a useless thing, either to those who receive it or to others besides, who, though they have been assigned the same rank in life as the objects of their praise, have fallen short of their merit in what they have accomplished. To the former it is not only agreeable to hear, but makes them zealous to aim at a still higher level of conduct, while the latter it stimulates both by persuasion and compulsion to imitate that noble conduct, because they see that none of those

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

τινὲς ἀπεστερήθησαν ὁ μόνον δοῦναί τε καὶ λαβεῖν
 ἐστὶ δημοσία καλόν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ D
 ἐμφανὲς διδόναι καὶ περιβλέπειν, ὅπως ὅτι
 πλείστοι τὸ δοθὲν εἴσονται, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀπειρο-
 κάλου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑποσχών¹ τὴν χεῖρε ὑποδέξαιτ'
 ἂν τις ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, μὴ παντάπασιν
 ἀποσεισάμενος αἰδῶ καὶ ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου.
 Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ καὶ διδοὺς τὸν λαβόντα ἐπειράτο 104
 λαθεῖν· συνίει δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῆς πράξεως τὸν
 δράσαντα. ἐπαίνων δὲ ζηλωτὸν μὲν ἀκροατὰς
 ὡς πλείστους εὖρεῖν, ἀγαπητὸν δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
 ὀλίγους. καὶ ἐπῆναι δὲ Σωκράτης πολλοὺς καὶ
 Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης· Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ
 Ἀγησίλαον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην,
 οὗτι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκεῖνον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ϕ ²
 συνεστράτευτο ἐπὶ βασιλέα³ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους
 ξυγγράφων οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο. ἐμοὶ δὲ θαυμαστὸν B
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδρας μὲν τοὺς καλοὺς τε
 καγαθοὺς⁴ προθύμως ἐπαινεσόμεθα, γυναῖκα δὲ
 ἀγαθὴν τῆς εὐφημίας οὐκ ἀξιόσομεν, ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν
 μείον αὐταῖς ἢ περ τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσήκειν ὑπο-
 λαμβάνοντες. ἢ γὰρ εἶναι σώφρονα καὶ συνετὴν
 καὶ οἶαν νέμειν⁵ ἐκάστω τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ
 θαρραλέαν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονα καὶ
 ἐλευθέριον καὶ πάντα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν· ὑπάρχειν
 ἐκείνη⁶ οἰόμενοι χρῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἴτα⁷ τῶν

¹ ὑποσχών Cobet, ὑποσχέιν MSS., Hertlein.

² τὸν ϕ Cobet, Naber ϕ MSS., Hertlein.

³ ἐπὶ βασιλέα Cobet, [ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα] Hertlein.

⁴ καλοὺς τε καγαθοὺς Cobet, καλοὺς MSS., Hertlein.

⁵ οἶαν νέμειν Hertlein suggests, νέμειν MSS.

⁶ ἐκείνη Petavius, ἐκείνην MSS., Hertlein.

⁷ εἴτα Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

who have anticipated them have been deprived of that which alone it is honourable to give and receive publicly. For to give money openly, and to look anxiously round that as many as possible may know of the gift, is characteristic of a vulgar person. Nay no one would even stretch out his hands to receive it in the sight of all men, unless he had first cast off all propriety of manner and sense of shame. Arcesilaus indeed, when offering a gift, used to try to hide his identity even from the recipient.¹ But in his case the manner of the deed always made known the doer. For a eulogy, however, one is ambitious to obtain as many hearers as possible, and even a small audience is, I think, not to be despised. Socrates, for instance, spoke in praise of many, as did Plato also and Aristotle. Xenophon, too, eulogised King Agesilaus and Cyrus the Persian, not only the elder Cyrus, but him whom he accompanied on his campaign against the Great King, nor did he hide away his eulogies, but put them into his history. Now I should think it strange indeed if we shall be eager to applaud men of high character, and not think fit to give our tribute of praise to a noble woman, believing as we do that excellence is the attribute of women no less than of men. Or shall we who think that such a one ought to be modest and wise and competent to assign to every man his due, and brave in danger, high-minded and generous, and that in a word all such qualities as these should be hers,—shall we, I say,

¹ Plutarch, *Moralia* 63 D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγκωμίων ἀφαιρησόμεθα τὸν ἐκ C
 τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν ψόγον δεδοικότες; "Ομηρος
 δὲ οὐκ ἡσχύνετο τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐπαινέσας οὐδὲ
 τὴν Ἀλκίνοῦ γαμετὴν, οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλη διαφερόν-
 τως ἀγαθὴ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς
 μετεποινήθη. οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ ἐκείνη τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τούτῳ διήμαρτεν εὐφημίας. πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις
 παθεῖν μὲν εὖ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ, σμικροῦ D
 τε ὁμοίως καὶ μείζονος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον παρὰ
 γυναικὸς ἢ παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δεξόμεθα, τὴν δὲ ἐπ'
 αὐτῷ χάριν ἀποτίνειν ὀκνήσομεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε
 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δεῖσθαι καταγέλαστον εἶναι φῶσι καὶ
 οὐκ ἄξιον ἀνδρὸς ἐπιεικοῦς καὶ γενναίου, εἶναι δὲ
 καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τὸν σοφὸν ἀγεννῆ καὶ δειλόν,
 ὅτι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰκέτευε θυγατέρα παίζου-
 σαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λειμῶνος ξὺν ταῖς ὁμήλιξι παρ-
 θένοις παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ἡόσι. μὴ ποτε οὖν
 οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόσχονται
 παιδός, ἣν Ὀμηρὸς φησιν ἀπεικασθεῖσαν παρ- 105
 θένῳ καλῇ καὶ γενναίᾳ Ὀδυσσεὶ μὲν ἡγήσασθαι
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια φερούσης ὁδοῦ, σύμβουλον
 δὲ αὐτῷ¹ καὶ διδάσκαλον γενομένην, ὣν ἐχρῆν
 εἶσω παρελθόντα δρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, καθάπερ τινα
 ῥήτορα ξὺν τέχνῃ² τέλειον ἴσαι βασιλίδος ἐγκώ-
 μιον, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἀρξαμένην. ἔχει δὲ
 αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔπη τὸν τρόπον τόνδε·

Δέσποιναν μὲν πρῶτα κιχήσσαι ἐν μεγάροισιν,
 Ἀρήτη δ' ὄνομ' ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμον, ἐκ δὲ τοκῶν B
 Τῶν αὐτῶν, οἵπερ τέκον Ἀλκίνοον βασιλῆα.

¹ αὐτῷ Cobet, αὐτοῦ MSS., Hertlein.

² [τῇ] τέχνῃ Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

then rob her of the encomium due to her good deeds, from any fear of the charge of appearing to flatter? But Homer was not ashamed to praise Penelope and the consort of Alcinous¹ and other women of exceptional goodness, or even those whose claim to virtue was slight. Nay nor did Penelope fail to obtain her share of praise for this very thing. But besides these reasons for praise, shall we consent to accept kind treatment from a woman no less than from a man, and to obtain some boon whether small or great, and then hesitate to pay the thanks due therefor? But perhaps people will say that the very act of making a request to a woman is despicable and unworthy of an honourable and high-spirited man, and that even the wise Odysseus was spiritless and cowardly because he was a suppliant to the king's daughter² as she played with her maiden companions by the banks of the river. Perhaps they will not spare even Athene the daughter of Zeus, of whom Homer says³ that she put on the likeness of a fair and noble maiden and guided him along the road that led to the palace, and was his adviser and instructed him what he must do and say when he had entered within; and that, like some orator perfect in the art of rhetoric, she sang an encomium of the queen, and for a prelude told the tale of her lineage from of old. Homer's verses about this are as follows:

"The queen thou shalt find first in the halls.
Arete is the name she is called by, and of the same
parents is she as those who begat king Alcinous."⁴

¹ Arete.

³ *Odyssey* 7. 20.

² Nausicaa.

⁴ *Odyssey* 7. 54.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ἀναλαβὼν δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οἶμαι
τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασάν τε καὶ
ἔπαθον εἰπὼν, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὴν ὁ θεῖος, τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀπολομένου νέου καὶ νυμφίου, ἔγημέ τε καὶ
ἐτίμησεν,

ὥς οὔτις ἐπὶ χθονὶ τίεται ἄλλη,

καὶ ὅσων τυγχάνει

C

Ἐκ τε φίλων παίδων ἕκ τ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλκινόοιο,
ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου, οἱ
καθάπερ θεὸν ὀρώσι πορευομένην διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος,
τέλος ἐπέθηκε ταῖς εὐφημίαις ζηλωτὸν ἀνδρὶ καὶ
γυναικί,

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι νόου γε καὶ αὐτὴ δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ
λέγων, καὶ ὥς κρίνουν εὖ ἠπίστατο, οἷσιν τ' εὖ
φρονέησι, καὶ διαλύειν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλή- D
ματα τοῖς πολίταις ἀναφνύμενα ξὺν δίκῃ. ταύτην
δὴ οὖν ἰκετεύσας εἰ τύχοις εὖνου, πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἔφη,

Ἐλπωρή τοι ἔπειτα φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι
Οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον

ὁ δ' ἐπείσθη τῇ συμβουλῇ. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι δεησόμεθα
μειζόνων εἰκόνων καὶ ἀποδείξεων ἐναργεστέρων,
ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολακεύειν δοκεῖν
ὑποψίαν; οὐχὶ δὲ ἤδη μιμούμενοι τὸν σοφὸν 106
ἐκεῖνον καὶ θεῖον ποιητὴν ἐπαινέσομεν Εὐσεβίαν
τὴν ἀρίστην, ἐπιθυμοῦντες μὲν ἔπαινον αὐτῆς
ἄξιον διεξελθεῖν, ἀγαπῶντες δέ, εἰ καὶ μετρίως
τυγχάνοιμεν οὕτω καλῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτηδευμά-

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

Then he goes back and begins with Poseidon and tells of the origin of that family and all that they did and suffered, and how when her father perished, still young and newly-wed, her uncle married her, and honoured her

“As no other woman in the world is honoured,”
and he tells of all the honour she receives

“From her dear children and from Alcinous himself,”

and from the council of elders also, I think, and from the people who look upon her as a goddess as she goes through the city; and on all his praises he sets this crown, one that man and woman alike may well envy, when he says

“For indeed she too has no lack of excellent understanding,”

and that she knows well how to judge between men, and, for those citizens to whom she is kindly disposed, how to reconcile with justice the grievances that arise among them. Now if, when you entreat her, the goddess says to him, you find her well disposed,

“Then is there hope that you will see your friends and come to your high-roofed house.”

And he was persuaded by her counsel. Shall I then need yet greater instances and clearer proofs, so that I may escape the suspicion of seeming to flatter? Shall I not forthwith imitate that wise and inspired poet and go on to praise the noble Eusebia, eager as I am to compose an encomium worthy of her, though I shall be thankful if, even in a moderate degree, I succeed in describing accomplishments so many and

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

των; καὶ τῶν¹ ἀγαθῶν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκείνη, σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ πραότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα φιλίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τιμῆς. προσήκει δὲ οἶμαι καθάπερ ἔχουσιν ἐπόμενον τοῖς ἤδη ῥηθείσιν οὕτω ποιείσθαι τὴν ξὺν εὐφημίᾳ τάξιν, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνη, πατρίδος τε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ πατέρων μνημονεύοντα, καὶ ὅπως ἐγγήματο καὶ ὄτινι, καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις τρόπον.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς πατρίδος πολλὰ σεμνὰ λέγειν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν διὰ παλαιότητα παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ· φαίνεται γὰρ εἶναι τῶν μύθων οὐ πόρρω· ὅποιον δὴ τι καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν Μουσῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς εἶεν δῆπουθεν ἐκ τῆς Πιερίας, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος εἰς τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀφίκοντο παρὰ τὸν πατέρα κληθεῖσαι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον, μύθῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ προσήκον, ἀπολειπτέον· ὀλίγα δὲ εἰπεῖν τῶν οὐ πᾶσι γνωρίμων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος λόγου. Μακεδόνων γὰρ οἰκίσαι φασὶ τὴν χώραν τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνους, Τημένου παῖδας, οἱ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν λῆξιν νεμόμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες τέλος ἐποίησαντο τὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ φιλοτιμίας· εἶτα ἐλόντες τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ γένος ὄλβιον ἀπολιπόντες² βασι-

¹ καὶ τῶν Petavius, οὐ τῶν MSS., Hertlein suggests οὕτως ἀγαθῶν ὑπαρχόντων, Reiske suggests ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἀπορῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτου ἄψωμαι πρώτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν. "I am at a loss which of her noble qualities to discuss first."

² ἀπολιπόντες MSS., ἀπολείποντες V, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

so admirable? And I shall be thankful if I succeed in describing also those noble qualities of hers, her temperance, justice, mildness and goodness, or her affection for her husband, or her generosity about money, or the honour that she pays to her own people and her kinsfolk. It is proper for me, I think, to follow in the track as it were of what I have already said, and, as I pursue my panegyric, so arrange it as to give the same order as Athene, making mention, as is natural, of her native land, her ancestors, how she married and whom, and all the rest in the same fashion as Homer.

Now though I have much that is highly honourable to say about her native land,¹ I think it well to omit part, because of its antiquity. For it seems to be not far removed from myth. For instance, the sort of story that is told about the Muses, that they actually came from Pieria² and that it was not from Helicon that they came to Olympus, when summoned to their father's side. This then, and all else of the same sort, since it is better suited to a fable than to my narrative, must be omitted. But perhaps it is not out of the way nor alien from my present theme to tell some of the facts that are not familiar to all. They say³ that Macedonia was colonised by the descendants of Heracles, the sons of Temenus, who had been awarded Argos as their portion, then quarrelled, and to make an end of their strife and jealousy led out a colony. Then they seized Macedonia, and leaving a

¹ Eusebia belonged to a noble family of Thessalonica, in Macedonia; she was married to Constantius in 352 A. D.

² Near Mount Olympus. ³ Herodotus 8. 137.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

λείς ἐκ βασιλέων διετέλουν καθάπερ κλῆρον τὴν
 τιμὴν διαδεχόμενοι. πάντας μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς
 ἐπαινεῖν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὔτε οἶμαι ῥάδιον. πολλῶν
 δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων καὶ καταλιπόντων
 Ἑλληνικοῦ τρόπου μνημεῖα πάγκαλα, Φίλιππος 107
 καὶ ὁ τούτου παῖς ἀρετῇ διηνεγκάτην πάντων, ὅσοι
 πάσαι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης ἤρξαν, οἶμαι δὲ
 ἔγωγε καὶ ὅσοι Λυδῶν ἢ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ
 Ἀσσυρίων, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Καμβύσου παιδός, ὃς
 ἐκ τῶν Μήδων ἐς Πέρσας τὴν βασιλείαν μετέ-
 στησεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος ἐπειράθη τὴν Μακεδό-
 νων αὐξῆσαι δύναμιν, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ
 πλείστα καταστρεψάμενος ὅρον ἐποιήσατο πρὸς
 ἑῷ μὲν καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπ'
 ἄρκτων δὲ οἶμαι τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τὸ B
 Ὠρικὸν ἔθνος. ὁ τούτου δὲ αὖ παῖς ὑπὸ τῷ
 Σταγειρίτῃ σοφῷ τρεφόμενος τοσοῦτον μεγαλοψυ-
 χία τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων διήνεγκε καὶ προσέτι τὸν
 αὐτοῦ πατέρα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ τῇ θαρραλεότητι
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενος, ὥστ'¹
 οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῷ ζῆν ὑπελάμβανεν, εἰ μὴ ξυμπάν-
 των μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πάντων δὲ ἐθνῶν κρατήσειεν.
 οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν ἐπῆλθε σύμπασαν κατα- C
 στρεφόμενος, καὶ ἀνίσχοντα πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων
 τὸν ἥλιον προσεκύνει, ὥρμημένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Εὐρώπην, ὅπως τὰ λειπόμενα περιβαλλόμενος γῆς
 τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάττης κύριος γένοιτο, τὸ χρεῶν
 ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κατέλαβε. Μακεδόνες δὲ ἀπάντων
 ἤρχον, ὧν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ κτησάμενοι πόλεων καὶ
 ἐθνῶν ἔτυχον. ἄρ' οὖν ἔτι χρὴ διὰ μειζόνων

¹ ὥστ' Hertlein suggests.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

prosperous family behind them, they succeeded to the throne, king after king, as though the privilege were an inheritance. Now to praise all these would be neither truthful, nor in my opinion easy. But though many of them were brave men and left behind them very glorious monuments of the Hellenic character, Philip and his son surpassed in valour all who of old ruled over Macedonia and Thrace, yes and I should say all who governed the Lydians as well, or the Medes and Persians and Assyrians, except only the son of Cambyses,¹ who transferred the sovereignty from the Medes to the Persians. For Philip was the first to try to increase the power of the Macedonians, and when he had subdued the greater part of Europe, he made the sea his frontier limit on the east and south, and on the north I think the Danube, and on the west the people of Oricus.² And after him, his son, who was bred up at the feet of the wise Stagyrte,³ so far excelled all the rest in greatness of soul, and besides, surpassed his own father in generalship and courage and the other virtues, that he thought that life for him was not worth living unless he could subdue all men and all nations. And so he traversed the whole of Asia, conquering as he went, and he was the first of men⁴ to adore the rising sun; but as he was setting out for Europe in order to gain control of the remainder and so become master of the whole earth and sea, he paid the debt of nature in Babylon. Then Macedonians became the rulers of all the cities and nations that they had acquired under his leadership. And now is it still

¹ Cyrus.

² A town on the coast of Illyria.

³ Aristotle; "who bred | Great Alexander to subdue the world." Milton, *Paradise Regained* 4. ⁴ i.e. of Greeks.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

τεκμηρίων δηλοῦν, ὡς ἔνδοξος μὲν ἡ Μακεδονία D
καὶ μεγάλη τὸ πρόσθεν γένοιτο; ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς
τὸ κράτιστον ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη, ἣν ἀνέστησαν,
πεσόντων, οἶμαι, Θετταλῶν, τῆς κατ' ἐκείνων
ἐπώνυμον νίκης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔτι
δέομαι μακρότερα λέγειν.

Εὐγενείας γε μὴν τί ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἔτι πράγματα
ἐπιζητοῦντες φανερώτερον καὶ ἐναργές μᾶλλον
τεκμήριον; θυγάτηρ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς ἀξίου νομισ-
θέντος τὴν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴν ἄρχειν,¹
πάλαι μὲν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ βασιλείαν ἀτεχνῶς ὀνομα- 108
ζομένην, μεταβαλοῦσαν δὲ διὰ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
χρωμένους τῇ δυνάμει τὸ ὄνομα· νῦν δὲ ἤδη τῆς
δυνάμεως ἐπιλειπούσης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς μοναρχίαν
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας μεθέστηκε, τιμὴ καθ' αὐτὴν τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπάντων στερομένη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν
ἀντίρροπος εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις οἶον
ἄθλον ἀποκειμένη καὶ γέρας ἀρετῆς ἢ πίστεως
ἢ τινος εὐνοίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας περὶ τοὺς τῶν B
ὅλων ἄρχοντας ἢ πράξεως λαμπρᾶς, τοῖς βασι-
λεῦσι δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς οἶον ἄγαλμα
καὶ κόσμος ἐπιτιθεμένη· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων
ὀνομάτων τε καὶ ἔργων, ὅποσα τῆς παλαιᾶς
ἐκείνης πολιτείας διασώζει τινὰ φαύλην καὶ
ἀμυδρὰν εἰκόνα, ἢ παντάπασιν ὑπεριδόντες διὰ
τὴν ἰσχὺν κατέγνωσαν, ἢ προσιέμενοί γε διὰ
βίου καρποῦνται τὰς ἐπωνυμίας· μόνης δέ, οἶμαι,
ταύτης οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπερεῖδον, χαίρουσί
τε² καὶ πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν τυγχάνοντες· καὶ οὔτε C

¹ ἄρχειν Hertlein adds.

² οὔτε—τε Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ—δὲ MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

necessary to show by stronger proofs that Macedonia was famous and great of old? And the most important place in Macedonia is that city which they restored, after, I think, the fall of the Thessalians, and which is called after their victory over them.¹ But concerning all this I need not speak at greater length.

And of her noble birth why should I take any further trouble to seek for clearer or more manifest proof than this? I mean that she is the daughter of a man who was considered worthy to hold the office that gives its name to the year,² an office that in the past was powerful and actually called royal, but lost that title because of those who abused their power. But now that in these days its power has waned, since the government has changed to a monarchy, the bare honour, though robbed of all the rest, is held to counterbalance all power, and for private citizens is set up as a sort of prize and a reward of virtue, or loyalty, or of some favour done to the ruler of the empire, or for some brilliant exploit, while for the emperors, it is added to the advantages they already possess as the crowning glory and adornment. For all the other titles and functions that still retain some feeble and shadowy resemblance to the ancient constitution they either altogether despised and rejected, because of their absolute power, or they attached them to themselves and enjoy the titles for life. But this office alone, I think, they from the first did not despise, and it still gratifies them when they obtain it for the year. Indeed there is no private citizen or emperor, nor has ever

¹ Thessalonica.

² The consulship.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ιδιώτης οὐδεὶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς ἐστὶν ἢ γέγονεν, ὃς οὐ ζηλωτὸν ἐνόμισεν ὑπάτος ἐπονομασθῆναι. εἰ δέ, ὅτι πρῶτος ἔτυχεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ γέγονεν ἀρχηγὸς τῷ γένει τῆς εὐδοξίας, ἔλαττόν τις ἔχειν αὐτὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπολαμβάνει, λίαν ἐξαπατῶμενος οὐ μανθάνει· τῷ παντὶ γὰρ οἶμαι κρεῖττόν ἐστι καὶ σεμνότερον ἀρχὴν παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἐγγόνοις περιφανείας τοσαύτης ἢ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν προ- D γόνων. ἐπεὶ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης οἰκιστὴν γενέσθαι κρεῖττον ἢ πολίτην, καὶ λαβεῖν ὁτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δοῦναι τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον. λαμβάνειν δὲ εἰκόσιν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οἱ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πολῖται παρὰ τῶν πόλεων οἷον ἀφορμὰς τινὰς πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. ὅστις δὲ ἀποδίδωσι πάλιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προγόνοις τε καὶ πατρίδι μείζονα τιμῆς ὑπόθεσιν, λαμπροτέραν μὲν ἐκείνην καὶ σεμνοτέραν, τοὺς πατέρας δὲ ἐνδοξοτέρους ἀποφαίνων, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν¹ πρὸς 109 εὐγενείας λόγον ἄμιλλαν· οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐκείνου φήσκει κρεῖττων γεγονέναι· ἐξ ἀγαθῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν φῦναι χρή. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐνδόξων ἐνδοξότερος γενόμενος, ἐς ταῦτόν ἀρετῇ τῆς τύχης πνεοῦσης, οὗτος οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ἀπορεῖν, εἰ τῆς εὐγενείας εἰκότως μεταποιεῖται.

Εὐσεβία δέ, περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, παῖς μὲν ὑπάτου γέγονε, γαμετὴ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλέως ἀνδρείου, σῶφρονος, συνετοῦ, δικαίου, χρηστοῦ καὶ πράου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου, ὃς ἐπειδὴ πατρῶαν οὔσαν αὐτῷ B

² δοκεῖ καταλιπεῖν Hertlein suggests, καταλιπεῖν V, M, καταλείπει MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

been, who did not think it an enviable distinction to be entitled consul. And if there be anyone who thinks that, because he I spoke of was the first of his line to win that title and to lay the foundations of distinction for his family, he is therefore inferior to the others, he fails to understand that he is deceived exceedingly. For it is, in my opinion, altogether nobler and more honourable to lay the foundations of such great distinction for one's descendants than to receive it from one's ancestors. For indeed it is a nobler thing to be the founder of a mighty city than a mere citizen and to receive any good thing is altogether less dignified than to give. Indeed it is evident that sons receive from their fathers, and citizens from their cities, a start, as it were, on the path of glory. But he who by his own effort pays back to his ancestors and his native land that honour on a higher scale, and makes his country show more brilliant and more distinguished, and his ancestors more illustrious, clearly yields the prize to no man on the score of native nobility. Nor is there any man who can claim to be superior to him I speak of. For the good must needs be born of good parents. But when the son of illustrious parents himself becomes more illustrious, and fortune blows the same way as his merit, he causes no one to feel doubt, if he lays claim, as is reasonable, to be of native nobility.

Now Eusebia, the subject of my speech, was the daughter of a consul, and is the consort of an Emperor who is brave, temperate, wise, just, virtuous, mild and high-souled, who, when he acquired the

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεκθήσατο, ἀφελόμενος τοῦ βίᾳ
 λαβόντος, γάμου τε ἐδεῖτο πρὸς παίδων γένεσιν,
 οἱ κληρονομήσουσι τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας,
 ταύτην ἀξίαν ἔκρινε τῆς κοινωνίας γεγονὼς ἤδη
 σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης κύριος. καίτοι
 πῶς ἂν τις μείζονα μαρτυρίαν ἐπιζητήσῃ τῆσδε;
 οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς, ὑπὲρ δὲ C
 ἀπάντων ἀπλῶς, ὅσα χρήν οἶμαι τὴν βασιλεῖ
 τοσοῦτῳ συνιούσαν, καθάπερ φερνὴν οἴκοθεν
 ἐπιφερομένην, κομίζειν ἀγαθὰ, παιδείαν ὀρθήν,
 σύνεσιν ἐμμελῆ, ἀκμὴν καὶ ὥραν σώματος καὶ
 κάλλος τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς
 ἄλλας παρθένους, καθάπερ οἶμαι περὶ τῇ σελήνῃ
 πληθούσῃ οἱ διαφανεῖς ἀστέρες καταυγαζόμενοι
 κρύπτουσι τὴν μορφήν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τούτων
 οὐδὲν¹ ἐξαρκεῖν δοκεῖ πρὸς κοινωνίαν βασιλέως,
 πάντα δὲ ἅμα, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τινος ἀγαθῷ βασιλεῖ D
 καλὴν καὶ σώφρονα πλάττοντος τὴν νύμφην,
 εἰς ταῦτὸ συνεληλυθότα πόρρωθεν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐφελκυσάμενα μάλα ὄλβιον ἦγε τὸν
 νυμφίον. κάλλος μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ γένους
 βοηθείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν οἶμαι στερό-
 μενον οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην ἀκόλαστον ἰσχύει πείθειν τὴν
 γαμήλιον ἀνάψαι λαμπάδα, ἅμφω δὲ ἅμα συνελ-
 θόντα γάμον μὲν ἤρμοσε πολλάκις, ἀπολειπόμενα
 δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν τρόπων ἁρμονίας καὶ χάριτος οὐ 110
 λίαν ἐφάνη ζηλωτά.

Ταῦτα ἐπιστάμενον σαφῶς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν
 σώφρονα φαίνειν ἂν εἰκότως πολλάκις βουλευσά-
 μενον ἐλέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὰ μὲν οἶμαι πυνθα-

¹ οὐδὲν MSS., οὐδὲ ἐν V, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

throne that had belonged to his ancestors, and had won it back from him who had usurped it by violence, and desired to wed that he might beget sons to inherit his honour and power, deemed this lady worthy of his alliance, when he had already become master of almost the whole world. And indeed why should one search for stronger evidence than this? Evidence, I mean, not only of her native nobility, but of all those combined gifts which she who is united to so great an Emperor ought to bring with her from her home as a dowry, wit and wisdom, a body in the flower of youth, and beauty so conspicuous as to throw into the shade all other maidens beside, even as, I believe, the radiant stars about the moon at the full are outshone and hide their shape.¹ For no single one of these endowments is thought to suffice for an alliance with an Emperor, but all together, as though some god were fashioning for a virtuous Emperor a fair and modest bride, were united in her single person and, attracting not his eyes alone, brought from afar that bridegroom blest of heaven. For beauty alone, if it lacks the support of birth and the other advantages I have mentioned, is not enough to induce even a licentious man, a mere citizen, to kindle the marriage torch, though both combined have brought about many a match, but when they occur without sweetness and charm of character they are seen to be far from desirable.

I have good reason to say that the Emperor in his prudence understood this clearly, and that it was only after long deliberation that he chose this

¹ Ἄσπερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν ἅψ' ἀποκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἶδος. Sappho *fr.* 3.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

νόμενον, ὅσα χρῆν δι' ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῆς μαθεῖν,
 τεκμαιρόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν·
 ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τί δεῖ λέγοντας διατρίβειν,
 καθάπερ οὐκ ἔχοντας ἴδιον ἐγκώμιον τῆς,¹ ὑπὲρ
 ἧς ὁ λόγος, διελθεῖν; τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσως οὔτε B
 εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἐπακοῦσαι πολὺ καὶ ἐργῶδες, ὅτι
 δὴ γένος μὲν αὐτῇ σφόδρα Ἑλληνικόν, Ἑλλήνων
 τῶν πάνυ, καὶ πόλις ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μακε-
 δονίας, σωφροσύνη δὲ ὑπὲρ τε Εὐάδην τὴν
 Καπανέως καὶ τὴν Θετταλὴν ἐκείνην Λαοδάμειαν.
 αἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὺς καὶ νέους καὶ ἔτι νυμφίους
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀφαιρεθεῖσαι δαιμόνων βία βασκάνων
 ἢ μοιρῶν νήμασι τοῦ ζῆν ὑπερείδον διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα,
 ἡ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χρεὼν τὸν κουρίδιον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα C
 κατέλαβε, τοῖς παισὶ προσκαθημένη τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ
 σωφροσύνῃ κλέγς αὐτῇ εἰργάσατο, ὥστε τῇ μὲν
 Πηνελόπῃ περιόντος ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένου τοῦ γή-
 μαντος, προσῆει τὰ μεираκία μνηστευσόμενα ἔκ τε
 Ἰθάκης καὶ Σάμου καὶ Δουλιχίου, τῇ δὲ ἄνῃρ μὲν
 οὔδεις καλὸς καὶ μέγας ἢ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ πλούσιος
 ὑπὲρ² τούτων εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ὑπέμεινέ ποτε· τὴν
 θυγατέρα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑαυτῷ συνοικεῖν ἀξίαν
 ἔκρινε, καὶ ἔδρασε τὸν γάμον λαμπρῶς μετὰ τὰ D
 τρόπαια, ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δήμους³ ἐστιῶν.

Εἰ δέ τις ἄρα ἐκείνων ἐπακούειν ποθεῖ, ὅπως μὲν
 ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐκαλεῖτο μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ νύμφη,

¹ τῆς Cobet adds.

² Before ὑπὲρ Horkel and Hertlein omit ὅς.

³ δήμους Naber, μούσας MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

marriage, partly making enquiries about all that was needful to learn about her by hearsay, but judging also from her mother of the daughter's noble disposition. Of that mother why should I take time to say more, as though I had not to recite a special encomium on her who is the theme of my speech? But so much perhaps I may say briefly and you may hear without weariness, that her family is entirely Greek, yes Greek of the purest stock, and her native city was the metropolis of Macedonia, and she was more self-controlled than Evadne¹ the wife of Capaneus, and the famous Laodameia² of Thessaly. For these two, when they had lost their husbands, who were young, handsome and still newly-wed, whether by the constraint of some envious powers, or because the threads of the fates were so woven, threw away their lives for love. But the mother of the Empress, when his fate had come upon her wedded lord, devoted herself to her children, and won a great reputation for prudence, so great indeed, that whereas Penelope, while her husband was still on his travels and wanderings, was beset by those young suitors who came to woo her from Ithaca and Samos and Dulichium, that lady no man however fair and tall or powerful and wealthy ever ventured to approach with any such proposals. And her daughter the Emperor deemed worthy to live by his side, and after setting up the trophies of his victories, he celebrated the marriage with great splendour, feasting nations and cities and peoples.

But should any haply desire to hear of such things as how the bride was bidden to come from Macedonia

¹ Euripides, *Suppliants* 494.

² The wife of Protesilaus.

τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς πομπῆς τρόπος, ἀρμάτων καὶ
 ἵππων καὶ ὀχημάτων παντοδαπῶν χρυσῷ καὶ
 ἀργύρῳ καὶ ὀρειχάλκῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀρίστης τέχνης
 εἰργασμένων, ἴστω παιδικῶν σφόδρα ἀκουσμάτων 111
 ἐπιθυμῶν· καθάπερ γὰρ οἶμαι κιθαρωδοῦ τινος
 δεξιού τὴν τέχνην· ἔστω δέ, εἰ βούλει, Τέρπανδρος
 οὗτος ἢ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν δὴ λόγος ἔχει
 δαιμονία πομπῇ χρησάμενον φιλομουσοτέρου τοῦ
 δελφίνος τυχεῖν ἢ τῶν ξυμπλεόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν ἄκραν κομισθῆναι· ἔθελγε γὰρ οἶμαι
 τοὺς δυστυχεῖς ναύτας ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης
 εἰργάσατο, αὐτῆς δὲ ἐκείνης ὑπερεώρων καὶ
 οὐδεμίαν ὥραν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς μουσικῆς· εἰ δὴ οὖν B
 τις τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἐκείνοις τὸν κράτιστον ἐπιλεξά-
 μενος καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὸν περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμον τῇ
 τέχνῃ πρόποντα εἶτα ἐς θέατρον παραγάγοι
 παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων
 φύσει τε καὶ ἡλικία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι
 διαφερόντων, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας καὶ
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν¹ ὅποσοι τοιοῦτοι εἰς
 τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἀποβλέποντας ἐκ-
 πεπλήχθαι δεινῶς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, τῶν ἀνδρῶν δὲ
 τοὺς ἀμαθεστέρους καὶ γυναικῶν πλὴν σφόδρα
 ὀλίγων ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κρίνειν C
 τὰ κρούματα, μουσικὸν δὲ ἄνδρα, τοὺς νόμους²
 ἐξεπιστάμενον τῆς τέχνης, οὔτε μιγνύμενα τὰ μέλη
 τῆς ἡδονῆς χάριν φαύλως ἀνέχεσθαι, δυσχεραίνειν
 τε³ καὶ εἰ⁴ τοὺς τρόπους τῆς μουσικῆς διαφθείρει

¹ τῶν before γυναικῶν Hertlein omits.

² νόμους Hertlein suggests, λόγους MSS.

³ τε Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS. ⁴ εἰ [τις] Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

with her mother, and what was the manner of the cavalcade, of the chariots and horses and carriages of all sorts, decorated with gold and silver and copper of the finest workmanship, let me tell him that it is extremely childish of him to wish to hear such things. It is like the case of some player on the cithara who is an accomplished artist—let us say if you please Terpander or he of Methymna¹ of whom the story goes that he enjoyed a divine escort and found that the dolphin cared more for music than did his fellow-voyagers, and was thus conveyed safely to the Laconian promontory.² For though he did indeed charm those miserable sailors by his skilful performance, yet they despised his art and paid no heed to his music. Now, as I was going to say, if some one were to choose the best of those two musicians, and were to clothe him in the raiment suited to his art, and were then to bring him into a theatre full of men, women and children of all sorts, varying in temperament and age and habits besides, do you not suppose that the children and those of the men and women who had childish tastes would gaze at his dress and his lyre, and be marvellously smitten with his appearance, while the more ignorant of the men, and the whole crowd of women, except a very few, would judge his playing simply by the criterion of pleasure or the reverse; whereas a musical man who understood the rules of the art would not endure that the melodies should be wrongly mixed for the sake of giving pleasure, but would resent it if the player did not preserve

¹ Arion. ² Taenarum.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

καὶ εἰ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις μὴ δεόντως χρῶτο μηδὲ ἐπομένως τοῖς νόμοις τῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ θείας μουσικῆς; ὁρῶν δὲ ἐμμένοντα τοῖς νομισθεῖσι καὶ οὐ κίβδηλον ἡδονήν, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον D τοῖς θεαταῖς ἐνεργασάμενον ἅπεισι τοῦτον ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος, ὅτι δὴ σὺν τέχνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν τὰς Μούσας τῷ θεάτρῳ ξυγγέγονε. τὸν δὲ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἐπαινοῦντα ληρεῖν οἶεται καὶ ἀνοηταίνειν· καὶ εἰ διὰ πλείονων¹ τὰ τοιαῦτα διηγείται, λέξει τε ἡδίστη κοσμῶν καὶ ἐπιλαίνων τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἀγεννὲς τῶν διηγημάτων, γελοιότερον νομίζει τῶν ἀποτορνεύειν τὰς 112 κέγχρους ἐπιχειρούντων, καθάπερ οἶμαι φασὶ τὸν Μυρμηκίδην ἀντιταττόμενον τῇ Φειδίου τέχνῃ. οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ταύταις ὑποθήσομεν ταῖς αἰτίαις, ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ δώρων παντοίων ὄρμων τε καὶ στεφάνων κατάλογον τῶν ἐκ βασιλέως μακρόν τινα τοῦτον ἄδοντες, οὐδὲ ὡς ἀπήντων οἱ δῆμοι δεξιούμενοι καὶ χαίροντες, οὐδὲ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην λαμπρὰ καὶ ζηλωτὰ γέγονε καὶ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ B τῶν βασιλείων εἴσω παρήλθε καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης ἡξιώθη, τί πρῶτον ἔργον ἐκείνης γέγονε, καὶ αὖθις δεύτερον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον, καὶ πολλὰ δὴ μάλα τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; οὐ γάρ, εἰ σφόδρα λέγειν ἐθέλοιμι καὶ μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων βίβλους ξυντιθέναι, ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμβάνω τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἔργων, ὅσα ἐκείνη φρόνησιν καὶ πραότητα καὶ

¹ διὰ πλείονων Hertlein suggests, μετὰ πλείονος MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

the modes of the music and did not use the harmonies properly, and conformably to the laws of genuine and inspired music? But if he saw that he was faithful to the principles of his art and produced in the audience a pleasure that was not spurious but pure and uncontaminated, he would go home praising the musician, and filled with admiration because his performance in the theatre was artistic and did the Muses no wrong. But such a man thinks that anyone who praises the purple raiment and the lyre is foolish and out of his mind, while, if he goes on to give full details about such outward things, adorning them with an agreeable style and smoothing away all that is worthless and vulgar in the tale, then the critic thinks him more ridiculous than those who try to carve cherry-stones,¹ as I believe is related of Myrmecides² who thus sought to rival the art of Pheidias. And so neither will I, if I can help it, lay myself open to this charge by reciting the long list of costly robes and gifts of all kinds and necklaces and garlands that were sent by the Emperor, nor how the folk in each place came to meet her with welcome and rejoicing, nor all the glorious and auspicious incidents that occurred on that journey, and were reported. But when she entered the palace and was honoured with her imperial title, what was the first thing she did and then the second and the third and the many actions that followed? For however much I might wish to tell of them and to compose lengthy volumes about them, I think that, for the majority, those of her deeds will be sufficient that more conspicuously

¹ Literally seeds or small beads.

² Famed for his minute carving of ivory.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

σωφροσύνην καὶ φιланθρωπίαν ἐπιείκειάν τε καὶ
ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐξεμαρτύρησε C
λαμπρότερον, ἢ νῦν ὁ παρὼν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος
δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς πάλαι διὰ
τῶν ἔργων ἐγνωκότας. οὐ μὴν ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνο
δυσχερές, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐφάνη, παντελῶς
ἄξιον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀποσιωπῆσαι, πειρᾶσθαι δὲ
εἰς δύναμιν φράζειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μὲν
φρονήσεως ποιεῖσθαι σημεῖον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς
πάσης, ὅτι τὸν γήμαντα διέθηκεν οὕτω περὶ αὐτήν,
ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ γενναίαν.

Ὡστε ἔγωγε τῆς Πηνελόπης πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα
νομίσας ἐπαίνων ἄξια τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα D
θαυμάζω, ὅτι δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα λίαν ἔπειθε στέργειν
καὶ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτήν ὑπερορῶντα μὲν, ὥς φασί,
δαιμονίων γάμων, ἀτιμάζοντα δὲ οὐ μείον τὴν τῶν
Φαίάκων ξυγγένειαν. Καίτοι γε εἶχον αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαι ἐρωτικῶς, Καλυψὼ καὶ Κίρκη καὶ Ναυ-
σικάα· καὶ ἦν αὐταῖς τὰ βασίλεια πάγκαλα,
κῆπων τινῶν καὶ παραδείσων ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυτευ- 113
μένων μάλα ἀμφιλαφέσι καὶ κατασκίοις τοῖς
δένδρεσι, λειμῶνές τε ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις καὶ μαλακῇ
τῇ πόᾳ βρύοντες·

Κρῆναι δ' ἐξείης πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ·
καὶ ἐτεθήλει περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμερὶς ἡβώωσα¹
σταφυλῆς οἶμαι τῆς γενναίας, βριθομένη τοῖς
βότρυσι· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Φαίαξιν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα,
πλὴν ὅσῳ πολυτελέστερα, ἅτε οἶμαι ποιητὰ ξὺν B
τέχνῃ, τῆς τῶν αὐτοφυῶν ἔλαττον μετεῖχε χάριτος
καὶ ἥττον εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐκείνων ἐράσματα. τῆς

¹ ἡβώωσα Cobet, ἡβῶσα MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

witnessed to her wisdom and clemency and modesty and benevolence and goodness and generosity and her other virtues, than does now the present account of her, which tries to enlighten and instruct those who have long known it all from personal experience. For it would not be at all proper, merely because the task has proved to be difficult or rather impossible, to keep silence about the whole, but one should rather try, as far as one can, to tell about those deeds, and to bring forward as a proof of her wisdom and of all her other virtues the fact that she made her husband regard her as it is fitting that he should regard a beautiful and noble wife.

Therefore, though I think that many of the other qualities of Penelope are worthy of praise, this I admire beyond all, that she so entirely persuaded her husband to love and cherish her, that he despised, we are told, unions with goddesses, and equally rejected an alliance with the Phaeacians. And yet they were all in love with him, Calypso, Circe, Nausicaa. And they had very beautiful palaces and gardens and parks withal, planted with wide-spreading and shady trees, and meadows gay with flowers, in which soft grass grew deep: "And four fountains in a row flowed with shining water."¹ And a lusty wild vine bloomed about her dwelling,² with bunches of excellent grapes, laden with clusters. And at the Phaeacian court there were the same things, except that they were more costly, seeing that, as I suppose, they were made by art, and hence had less charm and seemed less lovely than those that were of natural growth. Now to all

¹ *Odyssey* 5. 70.

² The cave of Calypso.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

τρυφῆς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ προσέτι τῆς
 περὶ τὰς νήσους ἐκείνας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας τίνα
 οὐκ ἂν ἡττηθῆναι δοκεῖτε¹ τοσοῦτους ἀνατλάντα
 πόνους καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἔτι ὑφορώμενον δεινότερα²
 πείσεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας
 αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἑκατὸν νεανίσκους ἡβῶντας εὖ μάλα C
 μόνον ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλοντα, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ
 ἐκείνῳ ποτὲ συνηνέχθη; εἴ τις οὖν ἔροιτο τὸν
 Ὀδυσσεά παίζων ὧδέ πως· τί ποτε, ὦ σοφώτατε
 ῥῆτορ ἢ στρατηγὲ ἢ ὅ τι χρή σε ὀνομάζειν, τοσού-
 τους ἐκὼν ὑπέμεινας πόνους, ἐξὸν εἶναι ὄλβιον καὶ
 εὐδαίμονα, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθάνατον εἴ τι χρή
 ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις Καλυψοῦς πιστεύειν, σὺ δὲ
 ἐλόμενος τὰ χεῖρω πρὸ τῶν βελτιόνων τοσοῦτους
 σαυτῷ προσθέθεικας πόνους, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Σχερίᾳ D
 καταμείναι ἐβελήσας, ἐξὸν ἐκεῖ που παυσάμενον
 τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπηλλάχθαι· σὺ
 δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔγνωσ στρατεῦεσθαι καὶ
 ἄθλους δὴ τινὰς καὶ ἀποδημίαν ἐτέραν ἐκτελεῖν
 οὔτι τῆς πρόσθεν, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκὸς ἀπονωτέραν
 οὐδὲ κουφοτέραν. τί δὴ οὖν οἴεσθε πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἐκείνους εἰπεῖν ἔχειν; ἂρ' οὐχ ὅτι τῇ Πηνελόπῃ
 συνεῖναι ἐθέλων τοὺς ἄθλους αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς
 στρατείας χαρίεντα διηγήματα φέρειν ὑπέλαβε;
 ταῦτά τοι καὶ τὴν μητέρα πεποίηκεν αὐτῷ
 παραινοῦσαν μεμνήσθαι πάντων, ὧν τε εἶδε 114
 θεαμάτων καὶ ὧν ἤκουσεν ἀκουσμάτων,

ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῇ εἴπησθα γυναικί,

¹ δοκεῖτε Hertlein suggests, εἰκὸς Reiske δοκεῖ MSS.

² δεινότερα Hertlein suggests, δεινότατα MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

that luxury and wealth, and moreover to the peace and quiet that surrounded those islands, who do you think would not have succumbed, especially one who had endured so great toils and dangers and expected that he would have to suffer still more terrible hardships, partly by sea and partly in his own house, since he had to fight all alone against a hundred youths in their prime, a thing which had never happened to him even in the land of Troy? Now if someone in jest were to question Odysseus somewhat in this fashion: "Why, O most wise orator or general, or whatever one must call you, did you endure so many toils, when you might have been prosperous and happy and perhaps even immortal, if one may at all believe the promises of Calypso? But you chose the worse instead of the better, and imposed on yourself all those hardships¹ and refused to remain even in Scheria, though you might surely have rested there from your wandering and been delivered from your perils; but behold you resolved to carry on the war in your own house and to perform feats of valour and to accomplish a second journey, not less toilsome, as seemed likely, nor easier than the first!" What answer then do you think he would give to this? Would he not answer that he longed always to be with Penelope, and that those contests and campaigns he purposed to take back to her as a pleasant tale to tell? For this reason, then, he makes his mother exhort him to remember everything, all the sights he saw and all the things he heard, and then she says: "So that in the days to come thou mayst tell it to thy wife."²

¹ cf. *Misopogon* 342A. In both passages Julian evidently echoes some line, not now extant, from Menander, *Duskolos*.

² *Odyssey* 11. 223.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

φησίν. ὁ δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐπιλαθόμενος, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἀφίκετο καὶ τῶν μεираκίων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια κωμαζόντων ἐκράτει ξὺν δίκη, πάντα ἀθρόως αὐτῇ διηγεῖτο, ὅσα τε ἔδρασε καὶ ὅσα ἀνέτλη, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν ἀναπειθόμενος ἐκτελεῖν διανοεῖτο· ἀπόρρητον δὲ ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲ ἓν, ἀλλ' ἡξίου κοινωνὸν γίγνεσθαι τῶν B βουλευμάτων καὶ ὅ,τι πρακτέον εἴη συννοεῖν καὶ συνεξευρίσκειν. ἄρα τοῦτο ὑμῖν τῆς Πηνελόπης ὀλίγον ἐγκώμιον δοκεῖ, ἢ ἤδη¹ τις ἄλλη τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν ὑπερβαλλομένη γαμετὴ τε οὐσα βασιλέως ἀνδρείου καὶ μεγαλοψύχου καὶ σώφρονος τοσαύτην εὐνοίαν ἐνεποίησεν αὐτῆς τῷ γήμαντι, συγκερασάμενη τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐρώ- C των ἐπιπνεομένη φιλίᾳ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς καθ' ἅπερ ῥεῦμα θεῖον ἐπιφερομένην ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς καὶ γενναίαις ψυχαῖς; δύο γὰρ δὴ τῷδε τινὲ πίθω² φιλίας ἔστων, ὧν ἡδε κατ' ἴσον ἀρυσάμενη βουλευμάτων τε αὐτῷ γέγονε κοινωνὸς καὶ πρᾶον ὄντα φύσει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἃ πέφυκε παρακαλεῖ μᾶλλον πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς συγγνώμην τὴν δίκην τρέπει. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν τις εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ὅτῳ γέγονεν ἡ βασιλὶς ἡδε ἐν δίκη τυχὸν ἢ καὶ παρὰ δίκην αἰτία τιμωρίας καὶ κολάσεως μικρᾶς ἢ μείζονος. Ἀθήνησι μὲν οὖν φασιν, D ὅτε τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἔζων τοῖς οἰκείοις πειθόμενοι νόμοις μέγαλην καὶ ποδυνάνθρωπον οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, εἴ ποτε τῶν δικαζόντων

¹ ἤδη Horkel, εἰ δὴ MSS.

² πίθω Bruno Friederich, πειθῶ τε καὶ ιδέα MSS., Hertlein, τε καὶ ιδέα Cobet omits.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

And indeed he forgot nothing, and no sooner had he come home and vanquished, as was just, the youths who caroused in the palace, than he related all to her without pause, all that he had achieved and endured, and all else that, obeying the oracles, he purposed still to accomplish.¹ And from her he kept nothing secret, but chose that she should be the partner of his counsels and should help him to plan and contrive what he must do. And do you think this a trifling tribute to Penelope, or is there not now found to be yet another woman whose virtue surpasses hers, and who, as the consort of a brave, magnanimous and prudent Emperor, has won as great affection from her husband, since she has mingled with the tenderness that is inspired by love that other which good and noble souls derive from their own virtue, whence it flows like a sacred fount? For there are two jars,² so to speak, of these two kinds of human affection, and Eusebia drew in equal measure from both, and so has come to be the partner of her husband's counsels, and though the Emperor is by nature merciful, good and wise, she encourages him to follow yet more becomingly his natural bent, and ever turns justice to mercy. So that no one could ever cite a case in which this Empress, whether with justice, as might happen, or unjustly, has ever been the cause of punishment or chastisement either great or small. Now we are told that at Athens, in the days when they employed their ancestral customs and lived in obedience to their own laws, as the inhabitants of a great and humane city, whenever the

¹ *Odyssey* 23. 284. ² cf. *Iliad* 24. 527; *Oration* 7. 236 c.

αἱ ψῆφοι κατ' ἴσον γένοιντο τοῖς φεύγουσι πρὸς
 τοὺς διώκοντας, τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένην τῷ
 τὴν δίκην ὀφλήσειν μέλλοντι ἀπολύειν ἄμφω τῆς
 αἰτίας, τὸν μὲν ἐπάγοντα τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ 115
 δοκεῖν εἶναι συκοφάντην, τὸν δέ, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ
 δοκεῖν ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ πονηρεύματι. τοῦτον δὲ
 φιλάνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ χαρίεντα τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τῶν
 δικῶν, ἃς βασιλεὺς κρίνει, σωζόμενον πρᾶότερον
 αὕτη καθίστησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὁ φεύγων παρ'
 ὀλίγον ἔλθῃ τὴν ἴσιν ἐν ταῖς ψήφοις λαχεῖν,
 πείθει, τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δέησιν προσθεῖσα καὶ
 ἱκετηρίαν, ἀφεῖναι πάντως τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ ἐκὼν
 ἐκόντι τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐ, καθά- B
 περ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον παρὰ τῆς
 γαμετῆς ὁμολογεῖν¹ ὅ,τι ξυγχωροίη,² δίδωσιν
 ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ. καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπον
 χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις τὰ τοιαῦτα ξυγχωρεῖν κατὰ
 ἀνδρῶν ὑβριστῶν καὶ ἀλαζόνων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ³ γὰρ
 εἰ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειοί τινές εἰσι πᾶσχειν κακῶς
 καὶ κολάζεσθαι, τούτους ἐκ παντὸς ἀπολέσθαι
 χρεῶν· ὃ δὲ καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς ἤδε ξυννοοῦσα κακὸν μὲν
 οὐδὲν ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε⁴ κόλασιν οὔτε C
 τιμωρίαν ἐπαγαγεῖν οὐχ ὅπως βασιλείᾳ τινὸς ἢ
 πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἰκίᾳ μιᾷ τῶν πολιτῶν. προσ-
 θέην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε θαρρῶν εὖ μάλα, ὅτι μηδὲν

¹ φησι τὸν Δία ἐκβιαζόμενον — ὁμολογεῖν Cobet, φησιν, ἐκβιαζόμενος—ὁμολογεῖ MSS., Hertlein, ἐκβιαζόμενον V, ὁμολογεῖν V, M.

² ξυγχωρεῖ Reiske.

³ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Hertlein suggests.

⁴ ἐκέλευσεν οὔτε ἄλλο ποτε οὔτε Hertlein suggests, οὔτε ἤτησεν ἄλλο ποτέ τινι οὔτε MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

votes of the jurymen were cast evenly for defendant and plaintiff, the vote of Athene¹ was awarded to him who would have incurred the penalty, and thus both were acquitted of guilt, he who had brought the accusation, of the reputation of sycophant, and the defendant, naturally, of the guilt of the crime. Now this humane and gracious custom is kept up in the suits which the Emperor judges, but Eusebia's mercy goes further. For whenever the defendant comes near to obtaining an equal number of votes, she persuades the Emperor, adding her request and entreaty on his behalf, to acquit the man entirely of the charge. And of free will with willing heart he grants the boon, and does not give it as Homer says Zeus, constrained by his wife, agreed as to what he should concede to her "of free will but with soul unwilling."² And perhaps it is not strange that he should concede this pardon reluctantly and under protest in the case of the violent and depraved. But not even when men richly deserve to suffer and be punished ought they to be utterly ruined. Now since the Empress recognises this, she has never bidden him inflict any injury of any kind, or any punishment or chastisement even on a single household of the citizens, much less on a whole kingdom or city. And I might add, with the utmost confidence that I am speaking the absolute truth, that in the case of no man or woman is it possible to charge her with any misfortune that has happened, but all the benefits that she

¹ The traditional founding of the ancient court of the Areopagus, which tried cases of homicide, is described in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*. Orestes, on trial at Athens for matricide, is acquitted, the votes being even, by the decision of Athene, who thereupon founds the tribunal, 485 foll.

² *Iliad* 4. 43.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ψευδός φημι, ὥς οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς
 μιᾶς ἔστιν αὐτὴν αἰτιᾶσθαι ξυμφορᾶς τῇ τῆς
 τυχοῦσης, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ὅσα καὶ οὐστινας δρᾷ καὶ
 ἔδρασεν, ἡδέως ἂν ὑμῖν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐξαριθμη-
 σαίμην καθ' ἕκαστα ἀπαγγέλλων, ὥς ὅδε μὲν τὸν
 πατρῶον δι' ἐκείνην νέμεται κλῆρον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ
 ἀπηλλάγη τιμωρίας, ὀφλήσας τοῖς νόμοις, ἄλλος D
 συκοφαντίαν διέφυγε, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθὼν κινδύνου,
 τιμῆς δὲ ἔτυχον καὶ ἀρχῆς μυρίοι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἔστιν ὅστις ἐμὲ ψεύδεσθαι τῶν ἀπάντων φήσει, εἰ
 καὶ ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴ καταλέγοιμι. ἀλλ'
 ὁκνῶ, μή τιςιν ἐξονειδίζειν δόξω τὰς συμφορὰς
 καὶ οὐκ ἔπαινον τῶν ταύτης ἀγαθῶν, κατάλογον
 δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων συγγράφειν ἀτυχημάτων.
 τοσοῦτων δὲ ἔργων μηδὲν παρασχέσθαι μηδὲ εἰς
 τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἄγειν τεκμήριον κενόν πως εἶναι δοκεῖ 116
 καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν ἄγει¹ τὸν ἔπαινον. οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνα
 παραιτησάμενος, ὅποσα γ' ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν ἀνεπί-
 φθονον ταύτῃ τε ἀκούειν καλὰ λέγοιμ' ἂν ἤδη.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ γήμαντος εὐνοίαν τηλαυ-
 γέστατον πρόσωπον, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Πίνδαρον,
 ἀρχομένη τῶν ἔργων ἔθετο, γένος τε ἅπαν καὶ
 ξυγγενεῖς εὐθὺς ἐνέπλησε τιμῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἤδη
 γνωρίμους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐπὶ μειζόνων τάτ-
 τουσα πράξεων καὶ ἀποφήνασα μακαρίους καὶ
 ζηλωτοὺς βασιλεῖ τ' ἐποίησε φίλους καὶ τῆς
 εὐτυχίας τῆς παρούσης ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ B

¹ ἄγει Cobet, ἄγειν MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

confers and has conferred, and on whom, I would gladly recount in as many cases as possible, and report them one by one, how for instance this man, thanks to her, enjoys his ancestral estate, and that man has been saved from punishment, though he was guilty in the eyes of the law, how a third escaped a malicious prosecution, though he came within an ace of the danger, how countless persons have received honour and office at her hands. And on this subject there is no one of them all who will assert that I speak falsely, even though I should not give a list of those persons by name. But this I hesitate to do, lest I should seem to some to be reproaching them with their sufferings, and to be composing not so much an encomium of her good deeds as a catalogue of the misfortunes of others. And yet, not to cite any of these acts of hers, and to bring no proof of them before the public seems perhaps to imply that they are lacking, and brings discredit on my encomium. Accordingly, to deprecate that charge, I shall relate so much as it is not invidious for me to speak or for her to hear.

When she had, in the beginning, secured her husband's good-will for her actions like a "frontage shining from afar," to use the words of the great poet Pindar,¹ she forthwith showered honours on all her family and kinsfolk, appointing to more important functions those who had already been tested and were of mature age, and making them seem fortunate and enviable, and she won for them the Emperor's friendship and laid the foundation of their present

¹ *Olympian Ode* 6. 4. Pindar says that, as though he were building the splendid forecourt of a house, he will begin his Ode with splendid words.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

γὰρ εἴ τῳ δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀληθές, δι' αὐτοὺς
 τίμιοι, ταύτῃ γε οἶμαι προσθήσει τὸν ἔπαινον· δῆ-
 λον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ τῇ τοῦ γένους κοινῳνίᾳ μόνον,
 πολὺ δὲ πλεον ἄρετῇ φαίνεται νέμουσα· οὐ μείζον
 οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως τις ἐγκώμιον ἐρεῖ. περὶ μὲν τούσδε
 γέγονε τοιάδε. ὅσοι δὲ ἀγνώτες ἔτι διὰ νεότητα
 τοῦ γνωρισθῆναι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐδέοντο, τούτοις C
 ἐλάττονας διένειμε τιμάς. ἀπέλιπε δὲ οὐδὲν εὐερ-
 γετοῦσα ξύμπαντας. καὶ οὐ τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς μόνον
 τοσαῦτα ἔδρασεν ἀγαθὰ, ξενίαν δὲ ὅτῳ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐκείνης πατέρας ὑπάρξασαν ἔγνω, οὐκ ἀνόνητον
 ἀφῆκε τοῖς κτησαμένοις, τιμᾷ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ τούτους
 καθάπερ ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ ὅσους τοῦ πατρὸς ἐνόμισε
 φίλους, ἅπασιν ἔνειμε τῆς φιλίας ἔπαθλα θαν- D
 μαστά.

Ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπειδὴ μοι τεκμηρίων καθάπερ ἐν
 δικαστηρίῳ τὸν λόγον ὀρῶ δεόμενον, αὐτὸς ὑμῖν
 ἐμαυτὸν τούτων ἐκείνῳ¹ μάρτυρα καὶ ἐπαινέτην
 παρέξομαι· ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ ποτε ὑπιδόμενοι
 τὴν μαρτυρίαν πρὶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν λόγων δια-
 ταράττησθε, ὁμνυμι ὑμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲν ψεῦδος οὐδὲ
 πλάσμα ἐρῶ· ὑμεῖς δὲ κἂν ἀνωμότῳ ἐπιστεύσατε
 πάντα οὐ κολακείας ἔνεκα λέγειν.² ἔχω γὰρ ἤδη 117
 τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἅπαντα τὰ
 ἀγαθὰ, αὐτῆς γε οἶμαι καὶ ταύτης³ ξυμπροθυμου-
 μένης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν τις κολακεύων ἅπαντα ἀφείη

¹ ἐκείνῳ Hertlein suggests, ἐκείνων MSS.

² κἂν—ἐπιστεύσατε πάντα—λέγειν Cobet, καὶ—πιστεύσετε
 πάντα—λέγοντι MSS., πάντως V, Hertlein, πιστεύσατε V.

³ αὐτῆς γε—ταύτης Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ τε—αὐτῆς MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

prosperity. And if anyone thinks, what is in fact true, that on their own account they are worthy of honour, he will applaud her all the more. For it is evident that it was their merit, far more than the ties of kinship, that she rewarded; and one could hardly pay her a higher compliment than that. Such then was her treatment of these. And to all who, since they were still obscure on account of their youth, needed recognition of any sort, she awarded lesser honours. In fact she left nothing undone to help one and all. And not only on her kinsfolk has she conferred such benefits, but whenever she learned that ties of friendship used to exist with her ancestors, she has not allowed it to be unprofitable to those who owned such ties, but she honours them, I understand, no less than her own kinsfolk, and to all whom she regards as her father's friends she dispensed wonderful rewards for their friendship.

But since I see that my account is in need of proofs, just as in a law-court, I will offer myself to bear witness on its behalf to these actions and to applaud them. But lest you should mistrust my evidence and cause a disturbance before you have heard what I have to say, I swear that I will tell you no falsehood or fiction; although you would have believed, even without an oath, that I am saying all this without intent to flatter. For I already possess, by the grace of God and the Emperor, and because the Empress too was zealous in my behalf, all those blessings to gain which

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ῥήματα, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν πρὸ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἴσως
 ἐχρῆν ὀρρωδεῖν τὴν ἄδικον ὑποψίαν· νῦν δὲ ἐν
 ταύτῃ γεγονῶς τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἀπομνημονεύων τῶν
 ἐκείνης εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ἔργων παρέξομαι ὑμῖν εὐγνω-
 μοσύνης μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ σημεῖον, μαρτύριον δὲ B
 ἀληθὲς τῶν ἐκείνης ἔργων. πυνθάνομαι γάρ
 δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον, ἕως ἔτι δορυφόρος ἦν τοῦ
 Περσῶν μονάρχου, τῷ Σαμίῳ ξένῳ περὶ τὴν
 Αἴγυπτον συμβαλεῖν φεύγοντι τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 λαβόντα φοινικίδα τινὰ δῶρον, οὗ σφόδρα
 ἐπεθύμει, τὴν Σαμίῳ ὕστερον ἀντιδοῦναι τυραν-
 νίδα, ὅπηνίκα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης κύριος
 κατέστη. εἰ δὴ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ μὲν παρ'
 αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἔτι ζῆν ἐξῆν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τὰ μέγιστα δὲ
 δι' αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ γεναίου καὶ μεγαλόφρονος C
 βασιλέως λαβὼν ὁμολογοίην τοῦ μὲν ἀντιδοῦναι
 τὴν ἴσῃν λείπεσθαι· ἔχει γάρ, οἶμαι, ξύμπαντα
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ ἡμῖν χαρισαμένου λαβοῦσα·
 τῷ βούλεσθαι δὲ τὴν μνήμην ἀθάνατον αὐτῇ τῶν
 ἔργων γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλειν
 τυχὸν οὐκ ἀγνωμονέστερος φανοῦμαι τοῦ Πέρσου,
 εἴπερ εἰς τὴν γνώμην ὀρώντα χρὴ κρίνειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ
 ὅτῳ παρέσχεεν ἡ τύχη πολλαπλᾶσιον ἀποτίσαι
 τὸ εὐεργέτημα.

Τί ποτε οὖν ἐγὼ τοσοῦτον εὖ παθεῖν φημι καὶ D
 ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὑπόχρεων ἑμαυτὸν

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

a flatterer would leave nothing unsaid, so that, if I were speaking before obtaining these, perhaps I should have to dread that unjust suspicion. But as it is, since this is the state of my fortunes, I will recall her conduct to me, and at the same time give you a proof of my own right-mindedness and truthful evidence of her good deeds. I have heard that Darius, while he was still in the bodyguard of the Persian monarch,¹ met, in Egypt, a Samian stranger² who was an exile from his own country, and accepted from him the gift of a scarlet cloak to which Darius had taken a great fancy, and that later on, in the days when, I understand, he had become the master of all Asia, he gave him in return the tyranny of Samos. And now suppose that I acknowledge that, though I received many kindnesses at Eusebia's hands, at a time when I was still permitted to live in peaceful obscurity, and many also, by her intercession, from our noble and magnanimous Emperor, I must needs fall short of making an equal return; for as I know, she possesses everything already, as the gift of him who was so generous to myself; yet since I desire that the memory of her good deeds should be immortal, and since I am relating them to you, perhaps I shall not be thought less mindful of my debt than the Persian, seeing that in forming a judgment it is to the intention that one must look, and not to an instance in which fortune granted a man the power to repay his obligation many times over.

Why, then, I say that I have been so kindly treated, and in return for what I acknowledge that I am her

¹ Cambyzes.

² Syloson, Herodotus 3. 139; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 29; Themistius 67 A, 109 D.

εἶναι χάριτος ὁμολογῶ τῇδε, σφόδρα ὥρμησθε
 ἀκούειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ
 βασιλεὺς οὕτοσὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ παιδὸς νηπίου
 γεγονὼς ἥπιος πᾶσαν ὑπερεβάλλετο φιλοτιμίαν,
 κινδύνων τε ἐξαρπάσας τηλικούτων, οὓς οὐδ'
 ἂν ἡβῶν ἀνὴρ εὖ μάλα διαφύγοι, μὴ θείας 118
 τινὸς καὶ ἀμηχάνου σωτηρίας τυχών, εἴτα τὴν
 οἰκίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καθάπερ ἐπ' ἐρημίας παρά
 του τῶν δυναστῶν ἀφείλετο ξὺν δίκη καὶ ἀπέ-
 φηνεν αὐθις πλούσιον. καὶ ἄλλα ἂν ἔχοιμι
 περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ἔργα
 πολλῆς ἄξια χάριτος, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 εὖνουν ἑμαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ καὶ πιστὸν παρέχων
 οὐκ οἶδα ἐκ τίνος αἰτίας τραχυτέρως ἔχοντας B
 ἡσθόμην ἔναγχος. ἡ δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον
 ἤκουσεν ἀδικήματος μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄνομα, ματαίας
 δὲ ἄλλως ὑποψίας, ἡξίου διελέγχειν καὶ μὴ
 πρότερον προσέσθαι μηδὲ ἐνδέξασθαι ψευδῇ καὶ
 ἄδικον διαβολήν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκε ταῦτα δεομένη
 πρὶν ἐμὲ ἡγαγεν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως καὶ τυχεῖν
 ἐποίησε λόγου· καὶ ἀπολυομένῳ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν
 ἄδικον συνήσθη, καὶ οἵκαδε ἐπιθυμοῦντι πάλιν C
 ἀπιέναι πομπὴν ἀσφαλῇ παρέσχευ, ἐπιτρέψαι
 πρῶτον τὸν βασιλέα ξυμπείσασα. δαίμονος δέ,
 ὅσπερ οὖν ἐώκει μοι τὰ πρόσθεν μηχανήσασθαι,
 ἢ τινος ξυντυχίας ἀλλοκότου τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην
 ὑποτεμομένης, ἐποψόμενον πέμπει τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 ταύτην αἰτήσασα παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ
 ἀποδημοῦντος ἤδη τὴν χάριν, ἐπειδὴ με λόγοις
 ἐπέπυστο χαίρειν καὶ παιδείᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἐπι-
 τήδειον εἶναι ξυννοοῦσα. ἐγὼ δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτῇ

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

debtor for all time, that is what you are eager to hear. Nor shall I conceal the facts. The Emperor was kind to me almost from my infancy, and he surpassed all generosity, for he snatched me from dangers so great that not even "a man in the strength of his youth"¹ could easily have escaped them, unless he obtained some means of safety sent by heaven and not attainable by human means, and after my house had been seized by one of those in power, as though there were none to defend it, he recovered it for me, as was just, and made it wealthy once more. And I could tell you of still other kindnesses on his part towards myself, that deserve all gratitude, in return for which I ever showed myself loyal and faithful to him; but nevertheless of late I perceived that, I know not why, he was somewhat harsh towards me. Now the Empress no sooner heard a bare mention, not of any actual wrong-doing but of mere idle suspicion, than she deigned to investigate it, and before doing so would not admit or listen to any falsehood or unjust slander, but persisted in her request until she brought me into the Emperor's presence and procured me speech with him. And she rejoiced when I was acquitted of every unjust charge, and when I wished to return home, she first persuaded the Emperor to give his permission, and then furnished me with a safe escort. Then when some deity, the one I think who devised my former troubles, or perhaps some unfriendly chance, cut short this journey, she sent me to visit Greece, having asked this favour on my behalf from the Emperor, when I had already left the country. This was because she had learned that I delighted in literature, and she knew that that place is the home of culture. Then

¹ *Iliad* 12. 382 ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ μάλ' ἡβῶν.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

καὶ πρῶτῳ γε, ὡς εἰκός, βασιλεῖ πολλὰ καὶ D
ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ἡνυχόμεν, ὅτι μοι τὴν
ἀληθινὴν ποθοῦντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντι πατρίδα παρ-
έσχον ἰδεῖν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἱ περὶ τὴν
Θράκην καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκοῦντες ἔγγονοι, καὶ
ὅστις ἡμῶν μὴ λίαν ἀγνώμων, ποθεῖ προσειπεῖν
τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτὴν ἀσπάσασθαι.
ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ πάλαι μὲν ἦν, ὡς εἰκός, ποθεινόν,
καὶ ὑπάρξαι μοι τοῦτο ἐβουλόμην μᾶλλον ἢ 119
πολὺ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ
ἀγαθῶν φημι ξυντυχίαν πρὸς χρυσίου πλήθος
ὅσονδηοῦν ἐξεταζομένην καθέλκειν τὸν ζυγὸν
καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ σώφρονι κριτῇ οὐδὲ ἐπ'
ὀλίγον ῥοπῆς ἐπιστῆσαι.

Παιδείας δὲ ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοσοφίας πέπονθεν
οἶμαι νῦν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραπλήσιόν τι
τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μυθολογήμασι καὶ λόγοις.
λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν Νεῖλον παρ' B
αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὰ τ' ἄλλα σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην
τῆς χώρας καὶ ἀπείργειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πυρὸς φθοράν, ὁπότεν ἥλιος διὰ μακρῶν τινων
περιόδων ἀστροῖς γενναίοις συνελθὼν ἢ συγγε-
νόμενος ἐμπλήσῃ τὸν αἶρα πυρὸς καὶ ἐπιφλέγῃ
τὰ σύμπαντα. οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει, φασίν, ἀφανί-
σαι οὐδὲ ἐξαναλῶσαι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς πηγάς. οὐκ-
ουν οὐδὲ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων παντελῶς οἴχεται φιλοσοφία, C
οὐδὲ ἐπέλιπε τὰς Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην οὐδὲ
τὴν Κόρινθον· ἥκιστα δέ ἐστι τούτων¹ τῶν πηγῶν
ἔκῃ τι τὸ Ἄργος πολυδίψιον· πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος
περὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκείνον Μάσητα· τὴν Πειρήνην

¹ τούτων Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

indeed I prayed first, as is meet, for the Emperor, and next for Eusebia, that God would grant them many blessings, because when I longed and desired to behold my true fatherland, they made it possible. For we who dwell in Thrace and Ionia are the sons of Hellas, and all of us who are not devoid of feeling long to greet our ancestors and to embrace the very soil of Hellas. So this had long been, as was natural, my dearest wish, and I desired it more than to possess treasures of gold and silver. For I consider that intercourse with distinguished men, when weighed in the balance with any amount whatever of gold, drags down the beam, and does not permit a prudent judge even to hesitate over a slight turn of the scale.

Now, as regards learning and philosophy, the condition of Greece in our day reminds one somewhat of the tales and traditions of the Egyptians. For the Egyptians say that the Nile in their country is not only the saviour and benefactor of the land, but also wards off destruction by fire, when the sun, throughout long periods, in conjunction or combination with fiery constellations, fills the atmosphere with heat and scorches everything. For it has not power enough, so they say, to evaporate or exhaust the fountains of the Nile. And so too neither from the Greeks has philosophy altogether departed, nor has she forsaken Athens or Sparta or Corinth. And, as regards these fountains, Argos can by no means be called "thirsty,"¹ for there are many in the city itself and many also south of the city, round about Mases,² famous of old. Yet Sicyon, not Corinth,

¹ *Iliad* 4. 171. ² The port of Argolis.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Σικυνὼν ἔχει καὶ οὐχ ἡ Κόρινθος. τῶν Ἀθηνῶν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐπιχώρια τὰ νάματα, πολλὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιρρεῖ καὶ ἐπιφέρεται τίμια τῶν ἔνδον οὐ μείον· οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶσι καὶ στέργουσι, πλουτεῖν ἐθέλοντες οὐ μόνου D
σχεδὸν ὁ πλοῦτος ζηλωτόν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ποτε ἄρα πεπόνθαμεν; καὶ τίνα νῦν περαίνειν διανοούμεθα¹ λόγον, εἰ μὴ τῆς φίλης Ἑλλάδος ἔπαινον, ἥς² οὐκ ἔστι μνησθέντα μὴ πάντα θαυμάζειν; ἀλλ' οὐ φήσει τις τυχὸν ὑπομνησθεῖς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ταῦτα ἐθέλειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διελθεῖν, καθάπερ δὲ τοὺς Κορυβαντιῶντας ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπεγειρομένους χορεύειν καὶ πηδᾶν οὐδενὶ ξὺν λόγῳ, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς μνήμης 120
τῶν παιδικῶν ἀνακινήθοντας ἄσαι τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγκώμιον. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον ἀπολογεῖσθαι χρεὼν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ τέχνης ἀληθῶς γενναίας ἡγεμῶν, σοφὸν μὲν χρήμα ἐπινοεῖς, οὐκ ἐφιεῖς οὐδὲ ἐπιτρέπων τῶν ἐπαινουμένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μεθίεσθαι, ἅτε αὐτὸς οἶμαι ξὺν τέχνῃ τοῦτο δρῶν. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον, ὃν σὺ φῆς αἷτιον εἶναι τῆς ἐν τοῖς B
λόγοις ἀταξίας, ἐπειδὴ προσγέγονεν, οἶμαι, παρακελεύεσθαι μὴ σφόδρα ὀκνεῖν μηδὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς αἰτίας. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοτρίων ἀπτόμεθα³ λόγων δεῖξαι ἐθέλοντες, ὅσων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία γέγονε τιμῶσα τὸ φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινὰ μοι τρόπον ἐπικείμενον ἀγαπήσαντι μὲν

¹ περαίνειν διανοούμεθα Hertlein suggests, διαπεραίνειν οἰόμεθα MSS.

² ἥς Horkel adds.

³ ἀπτόμεθα Cobet, ἡττώμεθα V, ἡψάμεθα MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

possesses Peirene itself. And Athens has many such streams, pure and springing from the soil, and many flow into the city from abroad, but no less precious than those that are native. And her people love and cherish them and desire to be rich in that which alone makes wealth enviable.

But as for me, what has come over me? And what speech do I intend to achieve if not a panegyric of my beloved Hellas, of which one cannot make mention without admiring everything? But perhaps someone, remembering what I said earlier, will say that this is not what I intended to discuss when I began, and that, just as Corybants when excited by the flute dance and leap without method, so I, spurred on by the mention of my beloved city, am chanting the praises of that country and her people. To him I must make excuse somewhat as follows: Good sir, you who are the guide to an art that is genuinely noble, that is a wise notion of yours, for you do not permit or grant one to let go even for a moment the theme of a panegyric, seeing that you yourself maintain your theme with skill. Yet in my case, since there has come over me this impulse of affection which you say is to blame for the lack of order in my arguments, you really urge me, I think, not to be too much afraid of it or to take precautions against criticism. For I am not embarking on irrevelant themes if I wish to show how great were the blessings that Eusebia procured for me because she honoured the name of philosophy. And yet the name of philosopher which has been, I

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

εὖ μάλα τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐρασθέντι δεινῶς τοῦ
 πράγματος, ἀπολειφθέντι δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινα C
 τρόπον ὄνομα ἐτύγχανε μόνον καὶ λόγος ἔργου
 στερόμενος. ἡ δὲ ἐτίμα καὶ τοῦνομα· αἰτίαν
 γὰρ δὴ ἄλλην οὔτε αὐτὸς εὕρισκω οὔτε ἄλλου
 του πυθέσθαι δύναμαι, δι' ἣν οὔτω μοι πρό-
 θυμος γέγονε βοηθὸς καὶ ἀλεξίκακος καὶ σώ-
 τειρα, τὴν τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως εὐνοίαν ἀκέ-
 ραιον ἡμῖν καὶ ἀσινῇ μένειν ξὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ
 πραγματευσάμενη, ἧς μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔποτε ἐγώ τι
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων νομίσας ἐάλων, οὐ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς
 καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸν ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ἀργύρου πλήθος, D
 ὁπόσος νῦν ἐστὶν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡλίου, καὶ εἴ ποτε
 ἄλλος προσγένειτο, τῶν μεγίστων ὁρῶν αὐταῖς,
 οἶμαι, πέτραις καὶ δένδρεσι μεταβαλλόντων εἰς
 τήνδε τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν μεγίστην οὐδὲ
 ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνης
 ταῦτά μοι γέγονε πολλὰ καὶ ὅσα οὔδεις ἂν
 ἤλπισεν, οὐ σφόδρα πολλῶν δεομένῳ γε οὐδὲ
 ἑμᾶντὸν ἐλπίσι τοιαύταις τρέφοντι.

Εὐνοίαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς χρυσίου ἀμεί-
 ψασθαι, οὐδὲ ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἐντεῦθεν πρίαιτο, θεία δέ 121
 τινι καὶ κρείττονι μοίρα ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν συμ-
 θυμουμένων παραγίγνεται.¹ ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐμοὶ παρὰ
 βασιλέως παιδὶ μὲν ὑπῆρχε κατὰ θεόν, ὀλίγου δὲ
 οἴχεσθαι δεῆσαν ἀπεσώθη πάλιν τῆς βασιλίδος
 ἀμυνούσης καὶ ἀπειργούσης τὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ ἄλλο-
 κότους ὑποψίας. ἃς ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ἐκείνη
 διέλυσεν, ἐναργεῖ τεκμηρίῳ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μῶ χρωμένη,

¹ παραγίγνεται Reiske, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

know not why, applied to myself, is really in my case nothing but a name and lacks reality, for though I love the reality and am terribly enamoured of the thing itself, yet for some reason I have fallen short of it. But Eusebia honoured even the name. For no other reason can I discover, nor learn from anyone else, why she became so zealous an ally of mine, and an averter of evil and my preserver, and took such trouble and pains in order that I might retain unaltered and unaffected our noble Emperor's good-will; and I have never been convicted of thinking that there is any greater blessing in this world than that good-will, since all the gold above the earth or beneath the earth is not worth so much, nor all the mass of silver that is now beneath the sun's rays or may be added thereto,¹ not though the loftiest mountains, let us suppose, stones and trees and all were to change to that substance, nor the greatest sovereignty there is, nor anything else in the whole world. And I do indeed owe it to her that these blessings are mine, so many and greater than anyone could have hoped for, for in truth I did not ask for much, nor did I nourish myself with any such hopes.

But genuine kindness one cannot obtain in exchange for money, nor could anyone purchase it by such means, but it exists only when men of noble character work in harmony with a sort of divine and higher providence. And this the Emperor bestowed on me even as a child, and when it had almost vanished it was restored again to me because the Empress defended me and warded off those false and monstrous suspicions. And when, using the evidence of my life as plain proof, she had completely

¹ *Iliad* 9. 380.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

καλοῦντός τε αὐθις τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλά- B
δος ὑπήκουον, ἄρα ἐνταῦθα κατέλιπεν, ὥς οὐκέτι
πολλῆς βοηθείας, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐν μέσῳ
δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲ ὑπόπτου, δεόμενον; καὶ πῶς ἂν
ὅσια δρώην οὕτως ἐναργῇ καὶ σεμνὰ σιωπῶν καὶ
ἀποκρύπτων; κυρουμένης τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ
Βασιλέως ταυτησὶ τῆς γνώμης διαφερόντως ηὐ-
φραίνεται καὶ συνεπήχει μουσικόν, θαρρεῖν κελεύ-
ουσα καὶ μήτε τὸ μέγεθος δείσαντα τῶν διδομένων
ἀρνείσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν, μήτε ἀγροίκῳ καὶ αὐθάδει¹ C
χρησάμενον παρρησίᾳ φαύλως ἀτιμάσαι τοῦ
τοσαῦτα ἐργασαμένου ἀγαθὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν
αἴτησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπήκουον οὔτι τοῦτό γε ἡδέως
σφόδρα ὑπομένων, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπειθεῖν χαλεπὸν
ὄν σφόδρα ἠπιστάμην. οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐξῇ πράττειν
ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλωσι σὺν βίᾳ, ἥ που δεόμενοι δυσωπεῖν
καὶ πείθειν ἀρκοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ μοι πεισθέντι
γέγονε καὶ μεταβαλόντι ἐσθῆτα καὶ θεραπείαν καὶ D
διατριβὰς τὰς συνήθεις καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν δὲ αὐτὴν
καὶ δίαιταν πάντα ὄγκου πλέα καὶ σεμνότητος ἐκ
μικρῶν, ὥς εἰκός, καὶ φαύλων τῶν πρόσθεν, ἐμοὶ
μὲν ὑπὸ ἀηθείας ἢ ψυχῇ διεταράττετο, οὔτι τὸ
μέγεθος ἐκπληττομένῳ τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν·
σχεδὸν γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδὲ μεγάλα ταῦτα
ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τινὰς χρωμένοις μὲν
ὀρθῶς σφόδρα ὠφελίμους, ἀμαρτάνουσι δὲ περὶ
τὴν χρήσιν βλαβεράς καὶ οἴκοις καὶ πόλεσι 122
πολλαῖς μυρίων αἰτίας ξυμφορῶν. παραπλήσια

¹ [Λιδάν] αὐθάδει Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

cleared me of them, and I obeyed once more the Emperor's summons from Greece, did she ever forsake me, as though, now that all enmity and suspicion had been removed, I no longer needed much assistance? Would my conduct be pious if I kept silence and concealed actions so manifest and so honourable? For when a good opinion of me was established in the Emperor's mind, she rejoiced exceedingly, and echoed him harmoniously, bidding me take courage and neither refuse out of awe to accept the greatness¹ of what was offered to me, nor, by employing a boorish and arrogant frankness, unworthily slight the urgent request of him who had shown me such favour. And so I obeyed, though it was by no means agreeable to me to support this burden, and besides I knew well that to refuse was altogether impracticable. For when those who have the power to exact by force what they wish condescend to entreat, naturally they put one out of countenance and there is nothing left but to obey. Now when I consented, I had to change my mode of dress, and my attendants, and my habitual pursuits, and my very house and way of life for what seemed full of pomp and ceremony to one whose past had naturally been so modest and humble, and my mind was confused by the strangeness, though it was certainly not dazzled by the magnitude of the favours that were now mine. For in my ignorance I hardly regarded them as great blessings, but rather as powers of the greatest benefit, certainly, to those who use them aright, but, when mistakes are made in their use, as being harmful to many houses and cities and the cause of countless disasters. So I felt

¹ The title of Caesar.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

δὲ ἐπεπονθὲν ἀνδρὶ σφόδρα ἀπείρως ἡνιοχικῆς
 ἔχοντι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐθέλησαντι ταύτης μεταλαβεῖν
 τῆς τέχνης, κατὰ ἀναγκαζομένῳ καλοῦ καὶ
 γενναίου κομίζειν ἄρμα ἡνιόχου, πολλὰς μὲν
 ξυνωρίδας, πολλὰ δέ, οἶμαι, τέτρωρα τρέφοντος
 καὶ ἅπασι μὲν ἐπιβεβηκότος, διὰ δὲ¹ γενναιο-
 τητα φύσεως καὶ ῥώμην ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἔχον- B
 τος οἶμαι τὰς ἡνίας πάντων ἐγκρατῶς, εἰ καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῆς μιᾶς ἀντυγος βαίνοι, οὐ μὴν αἰεὶ γε ἐπ'
 αὐτῆς μένοντος, μεταφερομένου δὲ πολλάκις
 ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε καὶ ἀμείβοντος δίφρον ἐκ δίφρου, εἴ
 ποτε τοὺς ἵππους πονουμένους ἢ καὶ ὑβρίσαντας
 αἰσθοίτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄρμασι τοῖσδε κεκτημένου
 τέτρωρον ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας καὶ θράσους ὑβρίζον,
 πιεζόμενον τῇ συνεχεῖ ταλαιπωρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ
 θράσους οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπιλαθόμενον, ἀγριαίνον
 δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ παροξυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἐπὶ C
 τὸ μᾶλλον ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν,
 οὐ δεχόμενον ἀμῶς γέ πη πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
 καὶ αὐτὸν ὁρῶν τὸν ἡνιόχον² διὰ τέλους χαλεπαίνουν
 ἢ, τό γε ἔλαττον, στολὴν γοῦν ἡνιοχικὴν ἀνθρωπον
 φοροῦντα.³ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀλόγιστον φύσει. ὁ δέ,
 οἶμαι, παραμυθούμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνοίαν ἀνδρα
 ἐπέστησε, δούς φορεῖν⁴ τοιαύτην ἐσθῆτα καὶ
 σχῆμα περιβαλὼν ἡνιόχου σεμνοῦ καὶ ἐπιστή- D
 μονος, ὃς εἰ μὲν ἄφρων εἴη παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητος,
 χαίρει καὶ γέγηθε καὶ μετέωρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἱματίων
 καθάπερ πτερῶν ἐπαίρεται, συνέσεως δὲ εἰ καὶ

¹ δὲ Hertlein adds.

² ἀμῶς γέ πη—τὸν ἡνιόχον Reiske, ἄλλως ἐπὶ τὸν ἡνιόχον MSS., Hertlein.

³ φοροῦντα Hertlein suggests, φέροντα MSS.

⁴ φορεῖν Hertlein suggests, φέρειν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

like a man who is altogether unskilled in driving a chariot,¹ and is not at all inclined to acquire the art, and then is compelled to manage a car that belongs to a noble and talented charioteer; one who keeps many pairs and many four-in-hands too, let us suppose, and has mounted behind them all, and because of his natural talent and uncommon strength has a strong grip on the reins of all of them, even though he is mounted on one chariot; yet he does not always remain on it, but often moves to this side or that and changes from car to car, whenever he perceives that his horses are distressed or are getting out of hand; and among these chariots he has a team of four that become restive from ignorance and high spirit, and are oppressed by continuous hard work, but none the less are mindful of that high spirit, and ever grow more unruly and are irritated by their distress, so that they grow more restive and disobedient and pull against the driver and refuse to go in a certain direction, and unless they see the charioteer himself or at least some man wearing the dress of a charioteer, end by becoming violent, so unreasoning are they by nature. But when the charioteer encourages some unskilful man, and sets him over them, and allows him to wear the same dress as his own, and invests him with the outward seeming of a splendid and skilful charioteer, then if he be altogether foolish and witless, he rejoices and is glad and is buoyed up and exalted by those robes, as though by wings, but, if he has

¹ To illustrate the skill and, at the same time, the difficult position of Constantius as sole Emperor, Julian describes an impossible feat. The restive teams are the provinces of the Empire, which had hitherto been controlled by two or more Emperors.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μετέχοι καὶ σώφρονος νοῦ, σφόδρα
εὐλαβεῖται,

μήπως αὐτόν τε τρώσῃ σύν θ' ἄρματα ἄξῃ,
καὶ τῷ μὲν ἡνιόχῳ ζημίας, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχροῦ καὶ
ἀδόξου συμφορᾶς αἴτιος γένηται. ταῦτα ἐγὼ
ἐλογιζόμεν ἐν νυκτὶ βουλευόμενος καὶ δι' ἡμέρας κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν ἐπισκοπούμενος, σύννοους ὦν ἀεὶ καὶ 123
σκυθρωπός. ὁ γενναῖος δὲ καὶ θεῖος ἀληθῶς αὐτο-
κράτωρ ἀφήρει τι πάντως τῶν ἀλγεῖνῶν, ἔργοις
καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος. τέλος δὲ τὴν
βασιλίδαν προσειπεῖν κελεύει, θάρσος τε ἡμῖν
ἐνδιδούς καὶ τοῦ σφόδρα πιστεύειν γενναῖον εἶ
μῦθον παρέχων γνώρισμα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον
ἐς ὄψιν ἐκείνης ἦλθον, ἐδόκουν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερῷ
καθιδρυμένον ἄγαλμα σωφροσύνης ὁρᾶν· αἰδώς δὲ B
ἐπέιχε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἐπέπηκτό μοι κατὰ γῆς τὰ
ὄμματα συχνὸν ἐπιεικῶς χρόνον, ἕως ἐκείνη
θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε. καὶ Τὰ μὲν, ἔφη, ἤδη παρ' ἡμῶν
ἔχεις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔξεις σὺν θεῷ, μόνον εἰ πιστὸς καὶ
δίκαιος εἰς ἡμᾶς γένοιο. τοσαῦτα ἤκουσα σχεδόν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴ πλείονα¹ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπισταμένη τῶν γενναίων ῥητόρων οὐδὲ ἐν φανλο-
τέρους ἀπαγγέλλειν λόγους. ταύτης ἐγὼ τῆς
ἐντεύξεως ἀπαλλαγείς σφόδρα ἐθαύμασα καὶ
ἐξεπεπλήγμην, ἐναργῶς δοκῶν ἀκηκοέναι σωφρο-
σύνης αὐτῆς φθεγγομένης· οὕτω πρῶτον ἦν αὐτῇ
φθέγμα καὶ μείλιχον, ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐγκαθιδρυ- C
μένον.

Βούλεσθε οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἔργα καὶ
ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λεπτοῦρ-

¹ πλείονα Hertlein suggests, πλεῖον MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

even a small share of common sense and prudent understanding, he is very much alarmed "Lest he both injure himself and shatter his chariot withal,"¹ and so cause loss to the charioteer and bring on himself shameful and inglorious disaster. On all this, then, I reflected, taking counsel with myself in the night season, and in the daytime pondering it with myself, and I was continually thoughtful and gloomy. Then the noble and truly godlike Emperor lessened my torment in every way, and showed me honour and favour both in deed and word. And at last he bade me address myself to the Empress, inspiring me with courage and giving me a very generous indication that I might trust her completely. Now when first I came into her presence it seemed to me as though I beheld a statue of Modesty set up in some temple. Then reverence filled my soul, and my eyes were fixed upon the ground² for some considerable time, till she bade me take courage. Then she said: "Certain favours you have already received from us and yet others you shall receive, if God will, if only you prove to be loyal and honest towards us." This was almost as much as I heard. For she herself did not say more, and that though she knew how to utter speeches not a whit inferior to those of the most gifted orators. And I, when I had departed from this interview, felt the deepest admiration and awe, and was clearly convinced that it was Modesty herself I had heard speaking. So gentle and comforting was her utterance, and it is ever firmly settled in my ears.

Do you wish then that I should report to you what she did after this, and all the blessings she

¹ *Iliad* 23. 341.

² *Iliad* 3. 217.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

γούντες ἀπαγγέλλωμεν; ἢ τά γε ἐντεῦθεν ἀθρόως
 ἐλόντες, καθάπερ ἔδρασεν αὐτή,¹ πάντα ὁμοῦ D
 διηγησώμεθα; ὅπόσους μὲν εὖ ἐποίησε τῶν ἐμοὶ
 γνωρίμων, ὅπως δὲ ἐμοὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν
 γάμον ἤρμωσεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσως ποθεῖτε καὶ τὸν
 κατάλογον ἀκούειν τῶν δώρων,

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τά-
 λαντα

καὶ λέβητας εἴκοσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ μοι σχολὴ περὶ
 τῶν τοιούτων ἀδολεσχεῖν· ἐνὸς δὲ ἴσως τῶν
 ἐκείνης δώρων τυχὸν οὐκ ἄχαρι καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς
 ἀπομνημονεύσαι, ὧ μοι δοκῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡσθῆναι²
 διαφερόντως· βίβλους γὰρ φιλοσόφων καὶ ξυγ- 124
 γραφῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν καὶ ποιη-
 τῶν, ἐπειδὴ παντελῶς ὀλίγας οἴκοθεν ἔφερον,
 ἐλπίδι καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ πάλιν οἴκαδε ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν
 ταχίστην ψυχαγωγούμενος, ἔδωκεν ἀθρόως τοσ-
 αύτας, ὥστε ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀποπλῆσαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 σφόδρα ἀκορέστως ἔχοντος τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνας³
 συνουσίας, μουσεῖον δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀποφῆναι
 βιβλίων ἑκτηὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ τὴν Κελτίδα.
 τούτοις ἐγὼ προσκαθήμενος συνεχῶς τοῖς δώροις,
 εἴ ποτε σχολὴν ἄγοιμι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἐπιλαν-
 θάνωμαι τῆς χαρισαμένης· ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατευ- B
 ομένῳ μοι ἔν γέ τι πάντως ἔπεται οἶον ἐφόδιον
 τῆς στρατείας πρὸς αὐτόπτου πάλαι ξυγκείμενον.
 πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν⁴ ἐμπειρίας
 ὑπομνήματα ξὺν τέχνῃ γραφέντα τοῖς ἀμαρτοῦσι

¹ αὐτὴ Hertlein suggests, αὐτῇ MSS.

² [σφόδρα] ἡσθῆναι Hertlein.

³ ἐκείνας Reiske, ἐκεῖνα MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ παλαιῶν [ἔργων] Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA .

conferred on me, and that I should give precise details one by one? Or shall I take up my tale concisely as she did herself, and sum up the whole? Shall I tell how many of my friends she benefited, and how with the Emperor's help she arranged my marriage? But perhaps you wish to hear also the list of her presents to me: "Seven tripods untouched by fire and ten talents of gold,"¹ and twenty caldrons. But I have no time to gossip about such subjects. Nevertheless one of those gifts of hers it would perhaps not be ungraceful to mention to you, for it was one with which I was myself especially delighted. For she gave me the best books on philosophy and history, and many of the orators and poets, since I had brought hardly any with me from home, deluding myself with the hope and longing to return home again, and gave them in such numbers, and all at once, that even my desire for them was satisfied, though I am altogether insatiable of converse with literature; and, so far as books went, she made Galatia² and the country of the Celts resemble a Greek temple of the Muses. And to these gifts I applied myself incessantly whenever I had leisure, so that I can never be unmindful of the gracious giver. Yes, even when I take the field one thing above all else goes with me as a necessary provision for the campaign, some one narrative of a campaign composed long ago by an eye-witness. For many of those records of the experience of men of old, written as they are with the greatest skill, furnish to those who, by reason of their

¹ *Iliad* 9. 122.

² Gaul.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τῆς θεᾶς ἐναργῆ καὶ λαμπρὰν
 εἰκόνα φέρει τῶν πάλαι πραχθέντων, ὑφ' ἧς ἤδη
 καὶ νέοι πολλοὶ γερόντων μυρίων πολιὸν μᾶλλον C
 ἐκτήσαντο τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν
 ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ γήρως ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 μόνον, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, δι' ἣν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔχει τι
 λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον, τοῖς οὐ ῥαθύμοις τῶν
 νέων ἔδωκεν. ἔστι δὲ οἷμαί τις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ
 παιδαγωγία πρὸς ἡθος γενναῖον, εἴ τις ἐπίσταιτο
 τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας καὶ λόγους καὶ πράξεις,
 οἷον ἀρχέτυπα προτιθέμενος δημιουργός, πλάτ-
 τειν ἤδη πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ
 ἀφομοιοῦν τοὺς¹ λόγους. ὦν εἰ μὴ παμπληθὲς
 ἀπολειφθεῖη, τυγχάνοι δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον τῆς D
 ὁμοιότητος, οὐ σμικρὰ ἂν ὄναιτο, εὖ ἴστε. ὁ δὲ
 καὶ αὐτὸς πολλάκις ξυννοῶν παιδιάν τε οὐκ
 ἄμουσον ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦμαι καὶ στρατευόμενος
 καθάπερ σιτία φέρειν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλω
 μέτρον δέ ἐστι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φερομένων ὁ
 καιρός.

Ἀλλὰ μή ποτε οὐκ ἐκείνων χρὴ νῦν τὸν
 ἔπαινον γράφειν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ γένοιτ' ἂν
 ἐνθένδε, ὅπόσου δὲ τὸ δῶρον ἄξιον καταμαθόντας 125
 χάριν ἀποτίνειν τυχὸν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίαν τοῦ δοθέν-
 τος τῇ χαρισαμένῃ. λόγων γὰρ ἀστείων καὶ
 παντοδαπῶν θησαυροὺς τὸν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις δεξά-

¹ Before τοὺς Klimek omits πρὸς.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

youth, have missed seeing such a spectacle, a clear and brilliant picture of those ancient exploits, and by this means many a tiro has acquired a more mature understanding and judgment than belongs to very many older men; and that advantage which people think old age alone can give to mankind, I mean experience (for experience it is that enables an old man "to talk more wisely than the young" ¹), even this the study of history can give to the young if only they are diligent. Moreover, in my opinion, there is in such books a means of liberal education for the character, supposing that one understands how, like a craftsman, setting before himself as patterns the noblest men and words and deeds, to mould his own character to match them, and make his words resemble theirs. And if he should not wholly fall short of them, but should achieve even some slight resemblance, believe me that would be for him the greatest good fortune. And it is with this idea constantly before me that not only do I give myself a literary education by means of books, but even on my campaigns I never fail to carry them like necessary provisions. The number that I take with me is limited only by particular circumstances.

But perhaps I ought not now to be writing a panegyric on books, nor to describe all the benefits that we might derive from them, but since I recognise how much that gift was worth, I ought to pay back to the gracious giver thanks not perhaps altogether different in kind from what she gave. For it is only just that one who has accepted clever discourses of all sorts laid up as treasure in books, should sound a

¹ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 532.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

μενον οὐκ ἄδικον διὰ σμικρῶν καὶ φαύλων ῥημά-
 των ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ ἀγροίκως ἄγαν ξυγκειμένων
 ἄδειν εὐφημίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ γεωργὸν φήσεις εὐγνώ-
 μονα, ὃς καταφυτεύειν μὲν τὴν φυταλιὰν ἀρχό-
 μενος κλήματα ἤτει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, εἶτα ἐκ-
 τρέφων τὰς ἀμπέλους δίκηλλαν καὶ αὖθις σμινύην,
 καὶ τέλος ἤδη κάλαμον, ᾧ χρὴ προσδεδεσθαι καὶ B
 ἐπικεῖσθαι τὴν ἀμπελον, ἵνα αὐτὴ τε ἀνέχεται
 καὶ οἱ βότρυες ἐξηρητημένοι μηδαμοῦ ψαύουσι τῆς
 βώλου, τυχόντα δὲ ὧν ἐδεῖτο μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι
 τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς χάριτος οὔτε τῶν βοτρυῶν οὔτε
 τοῦ γλεύκους μεταδιδόντα τοῖς,¹ ὧν πρὸς τὴν
 γεωργίαν ἔτυχε προθύμων. οὐκουν οὐδὲ νομέα
 ποιμνίων οὐδὲ βουκολίων οὐδὲ μὴν αἰπολίων
 ἐπιεικῇ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐγνώμονα φήσει τις, ὃς
 τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος, ὅτε αὐτῷ στέγης καὶ πόας
 ἐδεῖτο τὰ βοσκήματα, σφόδρα ἐτύγχανε προθύμων C
 τῶν φίλων, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ ξυμποριζόντων καὶ
 μεταδιδόντων τροφῆς ἀφθόνου καὶ καταγωγίων,
 ἥρος δὲ οἶμαι καὶ θέρους φανέντος μάλα γενναίως
 ἐπιλαθόμενον ὧν εὖ πάθοι, οὔτε τοῦ γάλακτος οὔτε
 τῶν τυρῶν οὔτε ἄλλου του μεταδιδόντα τοῖς² ὑφ' ὧν
 αὐτῷ διεσώθη ἀπολόμενα ἂν ἄλλως τὰ θρέμματα.
 "Οστις οὖν λόγους ὁποιοουσὺν τρέφων νέος
 μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ ἡγεμόνων πολλῶν δεόμενος, τροφῆς
 δὲ πολλῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν D
 γραμμάτων, εἶτα ἀθρόως πάντων στερηθεῖη³ ἄρα

¹ τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.

² τοῖς Naber, τούτοις MSS., Hertlein.

³ στερηθείη Cobet, δεηθείη MSS., Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

strain of eulogy if only in slight and unskilful phrases, composed in an unlearned and rustic fashion. For you would not say that a farmer showed proper feeling who, when starting to plant his vineyard, begs for cuttings from his neighbours, and presently, when he cultivates his vines, asks for a mattock and then for a hoe, and finally for a stake to which the vine must be tied and which it must lean against, so that it may itself be supported, and the bunches of grapes as they hang may nowhere touch the soil; and then, after obtaining all he asked for, drinks his fill of the pleasant gift of Dionysus, but does not share either the grapes or the must with those whom he found so willing to help him in his husbandry. Just so one would not say that a shepherd or neatherd or even a goatherd was honest and good and right-minded, who in winter, when his flocks need shelter and fodder, met with the utmost consideration from his friends, who helped him to procure many things, and gave him food in abundance, and lodging, and presently when spring and summer appeared, forgot in lordly fashion all those kindnesses, and shared neither his milk nor cheeses nor anything else with those who had saved his beasts for him when they would otherwise have perished.

And now take the case of one who cultivates literature of any sort, and is himself young and therefore needs numerous guides and the abundant food and pure nourishment that is to be obtained from ancient writings, and then suppose

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

ὑμῖν μικρὰς δεῖσθαι βοηθείας δοκεῖ ἢ μικρῶν αὐτῷ
 γεγονέναι ἄξιος ὁ πρὸς ταῦτα συλλαμβανόμενος;
 καὶ τυχὸν οὐ χρὴ πειρᾶσθαι χάριν ἀποτίνειν αὐτῷ
 τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων; ἀλλὰ μή ποτε τὸν
 Θαλῆν ἐκείνον, τῶν σοφῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον μιμητέον,¹
 οὐ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα ἀκηκόαμεν; ἐρομένου γάρ τινος·
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμαθεν ὅπόσον τινὰ χρὴ καταβαλεῖν 126
 μισθόν· ὁμολογῶν, ἔφη, τι² παρ' ἡμῶν μαθεῖν τὴν
 ἀξίαν ἡμῖν ἐκτίσεις. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος
 μὲν αὐτὸς οὐ γέγονε, πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅτι-
 οὖν συνηνέγκατο, ἀδικοῖτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τῆς
 χάριτος καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθείσιν ὁμολογίας, ἣν
 δὴ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ἀπαιτῶν φαίνεται. εἰεν. ἀλλὰ
 τοῦτο μὲν χαρίεν καὶ σεμνὸν τὸ δῶρον· χρυσίου δὲ
 καὶ ἀργύριον οὔτε ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ λαβεῖν οὔτε ὑμᾶς
 δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἡδέως ἂν ἐνοχλήσαιμι. B

Λόγον δὲ ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐθέλω μάλα δὴ τι³ ὑμῖν
 ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνομεν ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὸ
 μῆκος τῆς ἀδολεσχίας· τυχὸν δὲ⁴ οὐδὲ τῶν ῥηθέντων
 ἠκρόασθε ξὺν ἡδονῇ ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ σφόδρα
 ἀμαθοῦς λόγων, πλάττειν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τεχνάζειν
 εἰδότος, φράζοντος δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ ληθές· ὁ δὲ
 δὴ λόγος σχεδόν τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ.
 φήσουσι γάρ, οἶμαι, πολλοὶ παρὰ τῶν μακαρίων C

¹ μιμητέον Petavius adds. ² τι Horkel, τὸ MSS. Hertlein.

³ τι Cobet, τινος MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ δὲ MSS., Cobet, γὰρ V, M, Hertlein.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

that he should be deprived of all these all at once, is it, think you, slight assistance that he is asking? And is it slight payment that he deserves who comes to his aid? But perhaps he ought not even to attempt to make him any return for his zeal and kind actions? Perhaps he ought to imitate the famous Thales, that consummate philosopher, and that answer which we have all heard and which is so much admired? For when someone asked what fee he ought to pay him for knowledge he had acquired, Thales replied "If you let it be known that it was I who taught you, you will amply repay me." Just so one who has not himself been the teacher, but has helped another in any way to gain knowledge, would indeed be wronged if he did not obtain gratitude and that acknowledgement of the gift which even the philosopher seems to have demanded. Well and good. But this gift of hers was both welcome and magnificent. And as for gold and silver I neither asked for them nor, were they in question, should I be willing thus to wear out your patience.

But I wish to tell you a story very well worth your hearing, unless indeed you are already wearied by the length of this garrulous speech. Indeed it may be that you have listened without enjoyment to what has been said so far, seeing that the speaker is a layman and entirely ignorant of rhetoric, and knows neither how to invent nor how to use the writer's craft, but speaks the truth as it occurs to him. And my story is about something almost of the present time. Now many will say, I suppose,

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

σοφιστῶν ἀναπειθόμενοι, ὅτι ἄρα μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα
 πράγματα ἀναλεξάμενος ὥς δὴ τι σεμνὸν ὑμῖν
 ἀπαγγέλλω. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ φιλονεικοῦντες πρὸς
 τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ἐμὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφαι-
 ρεῖσθαι δόξης ἐθέλοντες ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν· ἴσασι
 γὰρ σαφῶς, ὅτι μήτε ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι βούλομαι
 τοῖς ἐκείνων λόγοις τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ παρατιθείς, μήτε
 ἄλλως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἐκείνοις ἐθέλω· ἀλλ' οὐκ
 οἶδα ὄντινα τρόπον τοῦ μεγάλα λέγειν ἐκ παντὸς D
 ὀρεγόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς μὴ τὰ κείνων
 ζηλοῦντας καὶ δι' αἰτίας ἄγουσιν ὥς καθαιροῦντας
 τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰσχύν. μόνα γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων
 ζηλωτά φασι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια καὶ πολλῶν
 ἐπαίνων ὅποσα διὰ μέγεθος ἤδη τισὶν ἄπιστα
 ἐφάνη, ὅποια δὴ τινα τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας
 ἐκείνης γυναικός, ἣ μεταβαλοῦσα καθάπερ ρεῖθρον
 εὐτελὲς τὸν διὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ποταμὸν ῥέοντα
 βασίλειά τε ὠκοδόμησεν ὑπὸ γῆς πάγκαλα καὶ 127
 μεθῆκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν χωμάτων αὐθις. ὑπὲρ γὰρ δὴ
 ταύτης πολλὸς μὲν λόγος, ὥς ἐναυμάχει ναυσὶ
 τρισχιλίαις, καὶ πεζῇ παρετάττετο μυριάδας
 ὀπλιτῶν τριακοσίας ἄγουσα, τό τε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι
 τεῖχος ὠκοδόμει πεντακοσίων σταδίων μικρὸν
 ἀποδέον, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρύγματα καὶ
 ἄλλα πολυτελῆ καὶ δαπανηρὰ κατασκευάσματα
 ἐκείνης ἔργα γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Νίτωκρις δὲ B
 ταύτης νεωτέρα καὶ Ῥοδογούνη καὶ Τώμυρις καὶ

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

persuaded by the accomplished sophists, that I have collected what is trivial and worthless, and relate it to you as though it were of serious import. And probably they will say this, not because they are jealous of my speeches, or because they wish to rob me of the reputation that they may bring. For they well know that I do not desire to be their rival in the art by setting my own speeches against theirs, nor in any other way do I wish to quarrel with them. But since, for some reason or other, they are ambitious of speaking on lofty themes at any cost, they will not tolerate those who have not their ambition, and they reproach them with weakening the power of rhetoric. For they say that only those deeds are to be admired and are worthy of serious treatment and repeated praise which, because of their magnitude, have been thought by some to be incredible, those stories for instance about that famous woman¹ of Assyria who turned aside as though it were an insignificant brook the river² that flows through Babylon, and built a gorgeous palace underground, and then turned the stream back again beyond the dykes that she had made. For of her many a tale is told, how she fought a naval battle with three thousand ships, and on land she led into the field of battle three million hoplites, and in Babylon she built a wall very nearly five hundred stades in length, and the moat that surrounds the city and other very costly and expensive edifices were, they tell us, her work. And Nitocris³ who came later than she, and Rhodogyne⁴

¹ Semiramis, Herodotus 1. 184.

² The Euphrates. ³ Herodotus 1. 185; *Oration* 2. 85 c.

⁴ Rhodopis ? wrongly supposed to have built the third pyramid.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

μυρίος δὴ τις ἐπιρρεῖ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀνδριζομέ-
 νων οὐ λίαν εὐπρεπῶς. τινὰς δὲ ἤδη διὰ τὸ
 κάλλος περιβλέπτους καὶ ὀνομαστὰς γενομένας
 οὐ σφόδρα εὐτυχῶς, ἐπειδὴ ταραχῆς αἵτιαι καὶ
 πολέμων μακρῶν ἔθνεσι μυρίοις καὶ ἀνδράσιν, ὅσους
 ἦν εἰκὸς ἐκ τοσαύτης χώρας ἀθροίζεσθαι, γενέσθαι
 δοκοῦσιν, ὡς μεγάλων αἰτίας ὑμνοῦσι πράξεων.
 ὅστις δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔχει, καταγέλαστος C
 εἶναι δοκεῖ ἅτε οὐκ ἐκπλήττειν οὐδὲ θαυματοποιεῖν
 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σφόδρα ἐπιχειρῶν. βούλεσθε οὖν
 ἐπανερωτῶμεν αὐτούς, εἴ τις αὐτῶν γαμετὴν ἢ
 θυγατέρα οἱ τοιαύτην εὐχεται γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
 τὴν Πηνελόπην; καίτοι ἐπὶ ταύτης οὐδὲν Ὅμηρος
 εἰπεῖν ἔσχε πλεον τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς
 φιλανδρίας καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν ἐκυρὸν ἐπιμελείας καὶ
 τὸν παῖδα· ἔμελε δὲ ἄρα οὔτε τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκείνη
 οὔτε τῶν ποιμνίων· στρατηγίαν δὲ ἢ δημηγορίαν
 οὐδὲ ὄναρ εἰκὸς¹ ἐκείνη παραστήναί ποτε· ἀλλὰ D
 καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν ἐχρῆν εἰς τὰ μεираκια,

ἅντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα
 πρῶτως ἐφθέγγετο. καὶ οὐκ ἀπορῶν Ὅμηρος
 οἶμαι τηλικούτων ἔργων οὐδὲ ὀνομαστῶν ἐπ'
 αὐτοῖς γυναικῶν ταύτην ὕμνησε διαφερόντως·
 ἐξῆν γοῦν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀμαζόνος φιλοτίμως
 πάνυ στρατείαν διηγησαμένῳ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν
 ἐμπλῆσαι τοιούτων διηγημάτων τέρπειν εἰ μάλ' α
 καὶ ψυχαγωγεῖν δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τείχους 128

¹ εἰκὸς Reiske adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

and Tomyris,¹ aye and a crowd of women beyond number who played men's parts in no very seemly fashion occur to my mind. And some of them were conspicuous for their beauty and so became notorious, though it brought them no happiness, but since they were the causes of dissension and long wars among countless nations and as many men as could reasonably be collected from a country of that size, they are celebrated by the orators as having given rise to mighty deeds. And a speaker who has nothing of this sort to relate seems ridiculous because he makes no great effort to astonish his hearers or to introduce the marvellous into his speeches. Now shall we put this question to these orators, whether any one of them would wish to have a wife or daughter of that sort, rather than like Penelope? And yet in her case Homer had no more to tell than of her discretion and her love for her husband and the good care she took of her father-in-law and her son. Evidently she did not concern herself with the fields or the flocks, and as for leading an army or speaking in public, of course she never even dreamed of such a thing. But even when it was necessary for her to speak to the young suitors, "Holding up before her face her shining veil"² it was in mild accents that she expressed herself. And it was not because he was short of such great deeds, or of women famous for them, that he sang the praises of Penelope rather than the others. For instance, he could have made it his ambition to tell the story of the Amazon's³ campaign and have filled all his poetry with tales of that sort, which certainly have a wonderful power to delight and charm. For

¹ Herodotus 1. 205. ² *Odyssey* 1. 334. ³ Penthesilea.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

μὲν αἵρεσιν, καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ναυμαχίαν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, τὸν πρὸς τοῖς νεωρίοις πόλεμον, ἀνδρός τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ποταμοῦ μάχην ἐπεισάγειν οἴκοθεν διανοεῖτο τῇ ποιήσει καινόν τι λέγειν ἐπιθυμῶν· τοῦτο δὲ εἵπερ ἦν, ὥσπερ οὖν φασι, σεμνότατον, ὀλιγώρως οὕτω παρέλιπε. τί ποτε οὖν ἂν τις αἴτιον λέγοι τοῦ 'κείνην μὲν ἐπαινεῖν προθύμως, τούτων δ' οὐδ'¹ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν μνημονεύειν; ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὴν ἐκείνης ἀρετὴν καὶ σωφρο- B
σύνην πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε² τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὰ συμβαίνει, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς τούτων φιλοτιμίας ὄφελος μὲν οὐδὲ ἔν, συμφοραὶ δὲ ἀνήκεστοι. ἅτε δὴ ὦν οἶμαι σοφὸς καὶ θεῖος ποιητὴς ταύτην ἔκρινεν ἀμείνω καὶ δικαιότεραν τὴν εὐφημίαν. ἂρ' οὖν ἔτι προσῆκον³ εὐλαβηθῆναι τοσοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιουμένοις, μή τις ἄρα μικροὺς ὑπολάβῃ καὶ φαύλους;

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸν γενναῖον ἐκείνον C
ρήτορα Περικλέα τὸν πάννυ, τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, μάρτυρα ἀγαθὸν ἤδη παρέξομαι. κολάκων γὰρ δὴ, φασί, ποτὲ τὸν ἄνδρα περιστῶς δῆμος διελάγχανον τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ὁ μὲν ὅτι τὴν Σάμον ἐξεῖλεν, ἄλλος δὲ ὅτι τὴν Εὐβοίαν, τινὲς δὲ ἤδη τὸ περιπλεῦσαι τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τῶν ψηφισμάτων μεμνημένοι, τινὲς δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα φιλοτιμίας, σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν πολίτην

¹ τούτων δ' οὐδ' Hertlein suggests, τούτων δὲ MSS.

² πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ τε Hertlein suggests, πολλά τε ἰδίᾳ MSS.

³ προσῆκον Hertlein suggests, προσῆκεν MSS.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

as to the taking of the wall and the siege, and that battle near the ships which in some respects seems to have resembled a sea-fight, and then the fight of the hero and the river,¹ he did not bring them into his poem with the desire to relate something new and strange of his own invention. And even though this fight was, as they say, most marvellous, he neglected and passed over the marvellous as we see. What reason then can anyone give for his praising Penelope so enthusiastically and making not the slightest allusion to those famous women? Because by reason of her virtue and discretion many blessings have been gained for mankind, both for individuals and for the common weal, whereas from the ambition of those others there has arisen no benefit whatever, but incurable calamities. And so, as he was, I think, a wise and inspired poet, he decided that to praise Penelope was better and more just. And since I adopt so great a guide, is it fitting that I should be afraid lest some person think me trivial or inferior?

But it is indeed a noble witness that I shall now bring forward, that splendid orator Pericles, the renowned, the Olympian. It is said² that once a crowd of flatterers surrounded him and were distributing his praises among them, one telling how he had reduced Samos,³ another how he had recovered Euboea,⁴ some how he had sailed round the Peloponnesus, while others spoke of his enactments, or of his rivalry with Cimon, who was reputed to be a most excellent citizen and a

¹ Achilles and the Scamander; *Iliad* 21. 234 foll., *Oration* 2. 60 c.

² Julian tells, incorrectly, the anecdote in Plutarch, *Pericles* 38. ³ 440 B.C. ⁴ 445 B.C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶναι δόξαντα γενναῖον. ὁ δὲ D
τούτοις μὲν οὔτε ἀχθόμενος οὔτε γανύμενος δῆλος
ἦν, ἐκείνο δὲ ἡξίου τῶν αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων
ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον χρόνον¹ ἐπιτροπεύσας τὸν
Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὐδενὶ θανάτου γέγονεν αἴτιος,
οὐδὲ ἰμάτιον μέλαν τῶν πολιτῶν τις περιβαλό-
μενος Περικλέα γενέσθαι ταύτης αἰτίου αὐτῷ τῆς
συμφορᾶς ἔφη. ἄλλου του, πρὸς φιλίου Διός,
δοκοῦμεν ὑμῖν μάρτυρος δεῖσθαι, ὅτι μέγιστον
ἀρετῆς σημεῖον καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐπαίνων 129
ἄξιον τὸ μηδένα κτείνειν τῶν πολιτῶν μηδὲ ἀφ-
ελέσθαι τὰ χρήματα μηδὲ ἀδίκῃ φυγῇ περιβαλεῖν;
ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αὐτὸν
ἀντιτάξας καθάπερ ἰατρὸς γενναῖος οὐδαμῶς
ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτῷ τὸ μηδενὶ νοσήματος
αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν
ἰῶτο καὶ θεραπεύοι, οὐδὲν ἄξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης
ἔργον ὑπέλαβεν, ἄρα ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τῶν ἴσων
ἐπαίνων ἐν δίκῃ τυγχάνειν; καὶ οὐδὲν προτιμή- B
σομεν οὔτε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑφ' ἧς
ἕξεσσι μὲν αὐτῇ δρᾶν ὅ,τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, θέλει δὲ ἅπασι
τάγαθά; τοῦτο ἐγὼ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἐπαίνου
ποιοῦμαι, οὐκ ἀπορῶν ἄλλων θαυμασίων εἶναι
δοκούντων καὶ λαμπρῶν διηγημάτων.

Εἰ γὰρ δὴ τις τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπὴν
ὑποπτεύσειεν ὥς ματαίαν οὔσαν προσποιήσιν καὶ
ἀλαζονείαν κενὴν καὶ αὐθάδη, οὔτι που καὶ τὴν
ἐναγχοῦς ἐπιδημίαν γενομένην αὐτῇ τὴν εἰς τὴν

¹ χρόνον Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

distinguished general. But Pericles gave no sign either of annoyance or exultation, and there was but one thing in all his political career for which he claimed to deserve praise, that, though he had governed the Athenian people for so long, he had been responsible for no man's death, and no citizen when he put on black clothes had ever said that Pericles was the cause of his misfortune. Now, by Zeus the god of friendship, do you think I need any further witness to testify that the greatest proof of virtue and one better worth praise than all the rest put together is not to have caused the death of any citizen, or to have taken his money from him, or involved him in unjust exile? But he who like a good physician tries to ward off such calamities as these, and by no means thinks that it is enough for him not to cause anyone to contract a disease, but unless he cures and cares for everyone as far as he can, considers that his work is unworthy of his skill, do you think that in justice such a one ought to receive no higher praise than Pericles? And shall we not hold in higher honour her character and that authority which enables her to do what she will, since what she wills is the good of all? For this I make the sum and substance of my whole encomium, though I do not lack other narratives such as are commonly held to be marvellous and splendid.

For if anyone should suspect that my silence about the rest is vain affectation and empty and insolent pretension, this at least he will not suspect, that the visit which she lately made to Rome,¹ when the Emperor was on his campaign and

¹ 357 A.D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, III

Ῥώμην, ὁπότε ἐστρατεύετο βασιλεὺς ζεύγμασι καὶ C
 ναυσὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διαβάς ἄγχου τῶν Γαλατίας ὀρίων,
 ψευδῇ καὶ πεπλασμένην ἄλλως ὑποπτεύσει. ἐξῆν
 δὴ οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, διηγουμένῳ ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου με-
 μνήσθαι καὶ τῆς γερουσίας, ὅπως αὐτὴν ὑπεδέχετο
 σὺν χαρμονῇ, προθύμως ὑπαντῶντες καὶ δεξιούμενοι
 καθάπερ νόμος βασιλίδα, καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ
 μέγεθος, ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τῆς
 παρασκευῆς τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ὅποσα τε ἐνειμε
 τῶν φυλῶν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ ἑκατοντάρχαις D
 τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαριθμήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τῶν
 τοιούτων οὔτε ἔδοξέ ποτε ζηλωτὸν οὐδέν, οὔτε
 ἐπαινεῖν ἐθέλω πρὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλούτου.
 καίτοι με¹ οὐ λέληθεν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλευθέριος
 δαπάνη μετέχουσά τινος ἀρετῆς· ἀλλ' οἶμαι κρεῖτ-
 τον ἐπιείκειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ
 ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς λέγων πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ
 ἄλλους, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' 130
 ἔμοι πραχθέντα παρῆχον μάρτυρα. εἰ δὴ οὖν
 καὶ ἄλλοι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ζηλοῦν ἐπι-
 χειρήσειαν, πολλοὺς ἔχει τε ἤδη καὶ ἔξει τοὺς
 ἐπαινέτας.

¹ με Cobet adds.

PANEGYRIC IN HONOUR OF EUSEBIA

had crossed the Rhine by bridges of boats near the frontiers of Galatia, is a false and vain invention. I could indeed very properly have given an account of this visit, and described how the people and the senate welcomed her with rejoicings and went to meet her with enthusiasm, and received her as is their custom to receive an Empress, and told the amount of the expenditure, how generous and splendid it was, and the costliness of the preparations, and reckoned up the sums she distributed to the presidents of the tribes and the centurions of the people. But nothing of that sort has ever seemed to me worth while, nor do I wish to praise wealth before virtue. And yet I am aware that the generous spending of money implies a sort of virtue. Nevertheless I rate more highly goodness and temperance and wisdom and all those other qualities of hers that I have described, bringing before you as witnesses not only many others but myself as well and all that she did for me. Now if only others also try to emulate my proper feeling, there are and there will be many to sing her praises.

ORATION IV

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

In the fourth century A.D. poetry was practically extinct, and hymns to the gods were almost always written in prose. Julian's Fourth Oration is, according to the definition of the rhetorician Menander, a φυσικὸς ὕμνος, a hymn that describes the physical qualities of a god. Julian was an uncritical disciple of the later Neo-Platonic school, and apparently reproduces without any important modification the doctrines of its chief representative, the Syrian Iamblichus, with whom begins the decadence of Neo-Platonism as a philosophy. Oriental superstition took the place of the severe spiritualism of Plotinus and his followers, and a philosophy that had been from the first markedly religious, is now expounded by theurgists and the devotees of strange Oriental cults. It is Mithras the Persian sun-god, rather than Apollo, whom Julian identifies with his "intellectual god" Helios, and Apollo plays a minor part among his manifestations. Mithras worship, which Tertullian called "a Satanic plagiarism of Christianity," because in certain of its rites it recalled the sacraments of the Christian church, first made its appearance among the Romans in the first century B.C.¹ Less

¹ Plutarch, *Pompeius* 24. For a full description of the origin and spread of Mithraism see Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 1896, 1899, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, 1902, and *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 1909 (English translation by G. Showerman, 1911).

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

hospitably received at first than the cults of Isis and Serapis and the Great Mother of Pessinus, it gradually overpowered them and finally dominated the whole Roman Empire, though it was never welcomed by the Hellenes. For the Romans it supplied the ideals of purity, devotion and self-control which the other cults had lacked. The worshippers of Mithras were taught to contend against the powers of evil, submitted themselves to a severe moral discipline, and their reward after death was to become as pure as the gods to whom they ascend. "If Christianity," says Renan, "had been checked in its growth by some deadly disease, the world would have become Mithraic." Julian, like the Emperor Commodus in the second century, had no doubt been initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras, and the severe discipline of the cult was profoundly attractive to one who had been estranged by early associations from the very similar teaching of the Christians.

Julian followed Plotinus and Iamblichus in making the supreme principle the One (ἐν) or the Good (τὸ ἀγαθόν) which presides over the intelligible world (νοητὸς κόσμος), where rule Plato's Ideas, now called the intelligible gods (νοητοὶ θεοί). Iamblichus had imported into the Neo-Platonic system the intermediary world of intellectual gods (νοεροὶ θεοί). On them Helios-Mithras, their supreme god and centre, bestows the intelligence and creative and unifying forces that he has received from his transcendental counterpart among the intelligible gods. The third member of the triad is the world of sense-perception governed by the sun, the visible counterpart of Helios. What distinguishes Julian's

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

triad¹ from other Neo-Platonic triads is this hierarchy of three suns in the three worlds: and further, the importance that he gives to the intermediary world, the abode of Helios-Mithras. He pays little attention to the remote intelligible world and devotes his exposition to Helios, the intellectual god, and the visible sun. Helios is the link that relates the three members of the triad. His "middleness" (*μεσότης*) is not only local: he is in every possible sense the mediator and unifier. *μεσότης* is the Aristotelian word for the "mean," but there is no evidence that it was used with the active sense of mediation before Julian. A passage in Plutarch however seems to indicate that the "middleness" of the sun was a Persian doctrine: "The principle of good most nearly resembles light, and the principle of evil darkness, and between both is Mithras; therefore the Persians called Mithras the Mediator" (*μεσίτης*).² Naville has pointed out the resemblance between the sun as mediator and the Christian Logos, which Julian may have had in mind. Julian's system results in a practically monotheistic worship of Helios, and here he probably parts company with Iamblichus.

But though deeply influenced by Mithraism, Julian was attempting to revive the pagan gods, and if he could not, in the fourth century, restore the ancient faith in the gods of Homer he nevertheless could not omit from his creed the numerous deities whose temples and altars he had rebuilt. Here he took advantage of the identification of Greek,

¹ On Julian's triad cf. Naville, *Julien l'Apostat et la philosophie du polythéisme*, Paris, 1877.

² Concerning *Isis and Osiris* 46.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION IV

Roman, and Oriental deities which had been going on for centuries. The old names, endeared by the associations of literature, could be retained without endangering the supremacy of Helios. Julian identifies Zeus, Helios, Hades, Oceanus and the Egyptian Serapis. But the omnipotent Zeus of Greek mythology is now a creative force which works with Helios and has no separate existence. Tradition had made Athene the child of Zeus, but Julian regards her as the manifestation of the intelligent forethought of Helios. Dionysus is the vehicle of his fairest thoughts, and Aphrodite a principle that emanates from him. He contrives that all the more important gods of Greece, Egypt and Persia shall play their parts as manifestations of Helios. The lesser gods are mediating demons as well as forces. His aim was to provide the Hellenic counterpart of the positive revealed religion of Christianity. Hence his insistence on the inspiration of Homer, Hesiod, and Plato, and his statement¹ that the allegorical interpretations of the mysteries are not mere hypotheses, whereas the doctrines of the astronomers deserve no higher title.

The Oration is dedicated to his friend and comrade in arms Sallust who is probably identical with the Neo-Platonic philosopher, of the school of Iamblichus, who wrote about 360 the treatise *On the Gods and the World*. Cumont calls this "the official catechism of the Pagan empire," and Wilamowitz regards it as the positive complement of Julian's pamphlet *Against the Christians*. Julian's Eighth Oration is a discourse of consolation, παραμυθητικός, for the departure of Sallust when Constantius recalled him from Gaul in 358.

¹ 148 B.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΗΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΝ

Προσθήκειν ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε μά- B
λιστα μὲν ἅπασιν,

ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει,¹
καὶ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ μετεί-
ληφεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐμαντῶ·
καὶ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ βασιλέως ὁπαδὸς Ἑλίου. τούτου C
δὲ ἔχω μὲν οἴκοι παρ' ἐμαντῶ τὰς πίστεις ἀκρι-
βεστέρας· ὃ δέ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀνεμέσητον,
ἐντέτηκέ μοι δεινὸς ἐκ παίδων τῶν αὐγῶν τοῦ
θεοῦ πόθος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς οὕτω δὴ τὸ αἰθέριον
ἐκ παιδαρίου κομιδῇ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξιστάμην,
ὥστε οὐκ εἰς αὐτὸν μόνον ἀτενὲς ὁρᾶν ἐπεθύμουν,
ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ ποτε νύκτωρ ἀνεφέλου καὶ καθαρᾶς
αἰθρίας οὔσης προέλθοιμι, πάντα ἀθρόως ἀφείς D
τοῖς οὐρανίοις προσείχον κάλλεσιν, οὐκέτι ξυνιεὶς
οὐδὲν εἴ τις λέγοι τι πρὸς με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὃ τι
πράττοιμι προσέχων. ἐδόκουν τε περιεργότερον
ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πολυπράγμων τις εἶναι, καί

¹ *Iliad* 17. 447.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS DEDICATED TO SALLUST

WHAT I am now about to say I consider to be of the greatest importance for all things "That breathe and move upon the earth," and have a share in existence and a reasoning soul¹ and intelligence, but above all others it is of importance to myself. For I am a follower of King Helios. And of this fact I possess within me, known to myself alone, proofs more certain than I can give.² But this at least I am permitted to say without sacrilege, that from my childhood an extraordinary longing for the rays of the god penetrated deep into my soul; and from my earliest years my mind was so completely swayed by the light that illumines the heavens that not only did I desire to gaze intently at the sun, but whenever I walked abroad in the night season, when the firmament was clear and cloudless, I abandoned all else without exception and gave myself up to the beauties of the heavens; nor did I understand what anyone might say to me, nor heed what I was doing myself. I was considered to be over-curious about these matters

¹ As opposed to the unreasoning soul, *ἄλογος ψυχή*, that is in animals other than man. Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Porphyry allowed some form of soul to plants, but this was denied by Iamblichus, Julian, and Sallust.

² He refers to his initiation into the cult of Mithras.

μέ τις ἤδη ἀστρόμαντιν ὑπέλαβεν ἄρτι γενειήτην. 131
καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐποτε τοιαύτη βίβλος εἰς
ἐμὰς ἀφίκτο χεῖρας, οὐδὲ ἠπιστάμην ὃ τί ποτέ
ἐστι τὸ χρῆμά πω τότε.¹ ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἐγώ
φημι, μείζω ἔχων εἰπεῖν, εἰ φράσαιμι ὅπως
ἐφρόνουν τὸ τηνικαῦτα περὶ θεῶν; λήθη δὲ ἔστω
τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνου. τοῦ² δὲ ὅτι με τὸ οὐράνιον
πάντη περιήστραπτε φῶς ἡγειρέ τε καὶ παρώξυνεν
ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὴν
ἐναντίαν πρὸς τὸ πᾶν αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ κίνησιν
ξυνεῖδον, οὐδενί πω ξυντυχῶν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα B
φιλοσοφούντων, ἔστω μοι τὰ ῥηθέντα σημεῖα.
ζηλῶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε τῆς εὐποτμίας καὶ εἴ τῳ τὸ
σῶμα παρέσχε θεὸς ἐξ ἱεροῦ καὶ προφητικοῦ
συμπαγὲν σπέρματος ἀναλαβόντι σοφίας ἀνοῖξαι
θησαυρούς· οὐκ ἀτιμάζω δὲ ταύτην, ἥς ἡξιώθην
αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε μερίδος, ἐν τῷ
κρατοῦντι καὶ βασιλεύοντι τῆς γῆς γένει τοῖς κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν χρόνοις γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι,³ εἴπερ C
χρὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοφοῖς, ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων
εἶναι τοῦτον κοινὸν πατέρα. λέγεται γὰρ ὀρθῶς
ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾶν καὶ ἥλιος,⁴ ψυχὰς οὐκ
ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων
θεῶν σπείρων⁵ εἰς γῆν,⁶ ἐφ' ὃ τι δὲ χρῆμα δηλοῦσιν

¹ πω τότε Cobet, πώποτε MSS, Hertlein.

² τοῦ Reiske, τὸ MSS, Hertlein.

³ ἡγοῦμαι Petavius, ἡγοῦμαι κοινότερον μὲν MSS, Hertlein.

⁴ Aristotle, *Physics* 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 151 D.

⁵ σπείρων Hertlein suggests, σπείρειν MSS.

⁶ Plato, *Timaeus* 42 D.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

and to pay too much attention to them, and people went so far as to regard me as an astrologer when my beard had only just begun to grow. And yet, I call heaven to witness, never had a book on this subject come into my hands; nor did I as yet even know what that science was. But why do I mention this, when I have more important things to tell, if I should relate how, in those days, I thought about the gods? However let that darkness¹ be buried in oblivion. But let what I have said bear witness to this fact, that the heavenly light shone all about me, and that it roused and urged me on to its contemplation, so that even then I recognised of myself that the movement of the moon was in the opposite direction to the universe, though as yet I had met no one of those who are wise in these matters. Now for my part I envy the good fortune of any man to whom the god has granted to inherit a body built of the seed of holy and inspired ancestors, so that he can unlock the treasures of wisdom; nor do I despise that lot with which I was myself endowed by the god Helios, that I should be born of a house that rules and governs the world in my time; but further, I regard this god, if we may believe the wise, as the common father of all mankind.² For it is said with truth that man and the sun together beget man, and that the god sows this earth with souls which proceed not from himself alone but from the other gods also; and for what purpose, the souls reveal by

¹ When he was still a professed Christian.

² i.e. not only prophets and emperors but all men are related to Helios.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

αὐται τοῖς βίοις, οὓς προαιροῦνται. κάλλιστον
 μὲν οὖν, εἴ τῳ ξυνηνέχθη καὶ πρὸ τριγωνίας ἀπὸ
 πολλῶν πάνυ προπατόρων ἐφεξῆς τῷ θεῷ δου-
 λεύσαι, μεμπτὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅστις, ἐπεγνωκὼς ἑαυτὸν D
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε θεράποντα φύσει, μόνος ἐξ ἀπάν-
 των ἢ ξὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ
 τοῦ δεσπότου.

Φέρε οὖν, ὅπως ἂν οἰοί τε ὦμεν, ὑμνήσωμεν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἣν ἡ βασιλεύουσα πόλις ἐπετη-
 σίοις ἀγάλλει θυσίαις. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδα,
 χαλεπὸν καὶ τὸ ξυνεῖναι περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνον, ὁπόσος
 τίς ἐστίν ὁ ἀφανὴς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λογισαμένῳ, 132
 φράσαι δὲ ἴσως ἀδύνατον, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἔλατ-
 τον ἐθελήσειέ τις. ἐφικέσθαι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πρὸς
 ἀξίαν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναίτο,
 τοῦ μετρίου δὲ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸ
 κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι
 φράζειν δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τούτου παρα-
 σταίῃ βοηθὸς ὃ τε λόγιος¹ Ἑρμῆς ξὺν ταῖς
 Μούσαις ὃ τε Μουσηγέτης Ἀπόλλων,² ἐπεὶ καὶ B
 αὐτῷ προσήκει τῶν λόγων, καὶ δοῖεν δὲ εἰπεῖν
 ὁπόσα τοῖς θεοῖς φίλα λέγεσθαι τε καὶ πιστεῦ-
 εσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται
 τῶν ἐπαίνων; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι περὶ τῆς οὐσίας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅθεν προήλθε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ
 τῶν ἐνεργειῶν διελθόντες, ὁπόσαι φανεραὶ ὅσαι τ'
 ἀφανεῖς, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσεως, ἣν
 κατὰ πάντας ποιεῖται τοὺς κόσμους, οὐ παντά-

¹ cf. *Oration* 7. 237 c.

² cf. 144 A, 149 C.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

the kind of lives that they select. Now far the best thing is when anyone has the fortune to have inherited the service of the god, even before the third generation, from a long and unbroken line of ancestors; yet it is not a thing to be disparaged when anyone, recognising that he is by nature intended to be the servant of Helios, either alone of all men, or in company with but few, devotes himself to the service of his master.

Come then, let me celebrate, as best I may, his festival which the Imperial city¹ adorns with annual sacrifices.² Now it is hard, as I well know, merely to comprehend how great is the Invisible, if one judge by his visible self,³ and to tell it is perhaps impossible, even though one should consent to fall short of what is his due. For well I know that no one in the world could attain to a description that would be worthy of him, and not to fail of a certain measure of success in his praises is the greatest height to which human beings can attain in the power of utterance. But as for me, may Hermes, the god of eloquence, stand by my side to aid me, and the Muses also and Apollo, the leader of the Muses, since he too has oratory for his province, and may they grant that I utter only what the gods approve that men should say and believe about them. What, then, shall be the manner of my praise? Or is it not evident that if I describe his substance and his origin, and his powers and energies, both visible and invisible, and the gift of blessings which he bestows throughout all the worlds,⁴ I shall compose an

¹ Rome. ² At the beginning of January; cf. 156 c.

³ Julian distinguishes the visible sun from his archetype, the offspring of the Good.

⁴ i.e. the intelligible world, *νοητός*, comprehended only by pure reason; the intellectual, *νοερός*, endowed with intelli-

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

πασιν ἀπάδοντα ποιησόμεθα τῷ θεῷ τὰ ἐγκώμια;
ἀρκτέον δὲ ἐνθένδε.

C

‘Ο θεῖος οὗτος καὶ πάγκαλος κόσμος ἀπ’ ἄκρας
ἀψίδος οὐρανοῦ μέχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλύτου
συνεχόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἐξ αἰδίου γέγονεν
ἀγέννητος¹ ἔς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον αἰδίας, οὐχ
ὑπ’ ἄλλου του φρουρούμενος ἢ προσεχῶς μὲν ὑπὸ
τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος, οὐ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν
ἀκτὶς ἀελίου,² βαθμῷ δὲ ὥσπερ δευτέρῳ τοῦ νοητοῦ
κόσμου, πρεσβυτέρως δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὸν πάντων
βασιλέα, περὶ ὃν πάντα ἐστίν. οὗτος τοίνυν, εἴτε D
τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ νοῦ καλεῖν αὐτὸν θέμις εἴτε ιδέαν
τῶν ὄντων, ὃ δὴ φημι τὸ νοητὸν ξύμπαν, εἴτε ἔν,
ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ πως πρεσβύτατον, εἴτε
ὃ Πλάτων εἶωθεν ὀνομάζειν τὰγαθόν, αὕτη δὴ οὖν
ἡ μονοειδὴς τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν
ἐξηγουμένη κάλλους τε καὶ τελειότητος ἐνώσεώς
τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμηχανου, κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ
μένουσαν πρωτουργὸν οὐσίαν μέσον ἐκ μέσων τῶν
νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν αἰτιῶν Ἡλίον θεὸν 133
μέγιστον ἀνέφηνεν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ·
καθάπερ καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος οἶεται Πλάτων, “Τοῦτον
τοίνυν,” λέγων, “ἦν δ’ ἐγώ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

¹ ἀγέννητος Hertlein suggests, ἀγεννήτως MSS.

² Pindar *fr.* 107, and Sophocles, *Antigone* 100 ἀκτὶς ἀελίου.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

encomium not wholly displeasing to the god? With these, then, let me begin.

This divine and wholly beautiful universe, from the highest vault of heaven to the lowest limit of the earth, is held together by the continuous providence of the god, has existed from eternity ungenerated, is imperishable for all time to come, and is guarded immediately by nothing else than the Fifth Substance¹ whose culmination is the beams of the sun; and in the second and higher degree, so to speak, by the intelligible world; but in a still loftier sense it is guarded by the King of the whole universe, who is the centre of all things that exist. He, therefore, whether it is right to call him the Supra-Intelligible, or the Idea of Being, and by Being I mean the whole intelligible region, or the One, since the One seems somehow to be prior to all the rest, or, to use Plato's name for him, the Good; at any rate this uncompounded cause of the whole reveals to all existence beauty, and perfection, and oneness, and irresistible power; and in virtue of the primal creative substance that abides in it, produced, as middle among the middle and intellectual, creative causes, Helios the most mighty god, proceeding from itself and in all things like unto itself. Even so the divine Plato believed, when he writes, "Therefore (said I) when I spoke of this,

gence; and thirdly the world of sense-perception *αἰσθητός*. The first of these worlds the Neo-Platonists took over from Plato, *Republic* 508 foll.; the second was invented by Iamblichus.

¹ Though Aristotle did not use this phrase, it was his theory of a fifth element superior to the other four, called by him "aether" or "first element," *De Coelo* 1. 3 270 B, that suggested to Iamblichus the notion of a fifth substance or element; cf. *Theologumena Arithmeticae* 35, 22 Ast, where he calls the fifth element "aether."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, ὃν τὰγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον
 ἑαυτῷ, ὅτιπερ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τε νοῦν
 καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτο τοῦτον ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρὸς τε
 ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα.”¹ ἔχει μὲν δὴ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ
 ταύτην οἶμαι τὴν ἀναλογίαν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατόν,
 ἥνπερ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν ἀλήθεια.² αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ξύμ-
 πας, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου τῆς ιδέας B
 τὰγαθοῦ γεγονὼς ἔκγονος, ὑποστὰς αὐτοῦ περὶ
 τὴν μόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ αἰδίου καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
 νοεροῖς θεοῖς παρεδέξατο δυναστείαν, ὧν τὰγαθὸν
 ἐστὶ τοῖς νοητοῖς αἷτιον, ταῦτα αὐτὸς τοῖς νοεροῖς
 νέμων. ἐστὶ δ’ αἷτιον οἶμαι τὰγαθὸν τοῖς νοητοῖς
 θεοῖς κάλλους, οὐσίας, τελειότητος, ἐνώσεως,
 συνέχον αὐτὰ καὶ περιλάμπον ἀγαθοειδεῖ δυνάμει·
 ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς “Ἡλιος δίδωσιν, ἄρχειν C
 καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τὰγαθοῦ τεταγμένος, εἰ
 καὶ συμπροῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ συννυέστησαν, ὅπως
 οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς ἀγαθοειδῆς αἰτία
 προκαθηγουμένη τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσιν ἅπαντα κατὰ
 νοῦν εὐθύνη.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτος ὁ φαινόμενος οὗτος δίσκος
 ἐναργῶς αἷτιός ἐστι τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς τῆς σωτηρίας,
 καὶ ὅσων ἔφαμεν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς τὸν μέγαν

¹ Republic 508 B.

² ἀλήθεια Hertlein suggests, ἀλήθεια MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

understand that I meant the offspring of the Good which the Good begat in his own likeness, and that what the Good is in relation to pure reason and its objects in the intelligible world, such is the sun in the visible world in relation to sight and its objects." Accordingly his light has the same relation to the visible world as truth has to the intelligible world. And he himself as a whole, since he is the son of what is first and greatest, namely, the Idea of the Good, and subsists from eternity in the region of its abiding substance, has received also the dominion among the intellectual gods, and himself dispenses to the intellectual gods those things of which the Good is the cause for the intelligible gods. Now the Good is, I suppose, the cause for the intelligible gods of beauty, existence, perfection, and oneness, connecting these and illuminating them with a power that works for good. These accordingly Helios bestows on the intellectual gods also, since he has been appointed by the Good to rule and govern them, even though they came forth and came into being together with him, and this was, I suppose, in order that the cause which resembles the Good may guide the intellectual gods to blessings for them all, and may regulate all things according to pure reason.

But this visible disc also, third¹ in rank, is clearly, for the objects of sense-perception the cause of preservation, and this visible Helios² is the cause

¹ Julian conceives of the sun in three ways; first as transcendental, in which form he is indistinguishable from the Good in the intelligible world, secondly as Helios-Mithras, ruler of the intellectual gods, thirdly as the visible sun.

² 133 D-134 A is a digression on the light of the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ἡλιον, τοσούτων αἴτιος¹ καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος ὃδε
 τοῖς φανεροῖς. τούτων δ' ἐναργεῖς αἱ πίστεις ἐκ
 τῶν φαινομένων τὰ ἀφανῆ σκοποῦντι.² φέρε δὴ D
 πρῶτον αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς οὐκ εἰδός ἐστιν ἀσώματόν τι
 θεῖον τοῦ κατ' ἐνέργειαν διαφανοῦς; αὐτὸ δὲ ὅ, τί
 ποτέ ἐστι τὸ διαφανές, πᾶσι μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν
 συννυποκείμενον τοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ὃν αὐτῶν προσ-
 εχές εἶδος, οὐ σωματοειδές οὐδὲ συμμιγνύμενον
 οὐδὲ τὰς οἰκείας σώματι προσιέμενον ποιότητος.
 οὐκ οὐν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ θέρμην ἐρεῖς,³ οὐ τὴν ἐναντίαν
 αὐτῇ ψυχρότητα, οὐ τὸ σκληρόν, οὐ τὸ μαλακὸν
 ἀποδώσεις, οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀφῆν 134
 διαφορῶν, οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ γεῦσιν οὐδὲ ὀσμῇ, ὅφει δὲ
 μόνον ὑποπίπτει πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἢ
 τοιαύτη φύσις ἀγομένη. τὸ δὲ φῶς εἰδός ἐστι
 ταύτης οἷον ὕλης ὑπεστρωμένης καὶ παρεκτεινο-
 μένης τοῖς σώμασιν. αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ὄντος
 ἀσωμάτου ἀκρότης ἂν εἴη τις καὶ ὥσπερ ἄνθος
 ἀκτῖνες. ἢ μὲν οὖν τῶν Φοινίκων δόξα, σοφῶν
 τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐπιστημόνων, ἄχραντον εἶναι ἐνέρ-
 γειαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθαροῦ νοῦ τὴν ἀπανταχῇ B
 προΐουσιν αὐγὴν ἔφη· οὐκ ἀπάδει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ
 λόγος, εἴπερ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀσώματον, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ
 μηδὲ τὴν πηγὴν ὑπολάβοι σῶμα, νοῦ δὲ ἐνέργειαν
 ἄχραντον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἔδραν ἐλλαμπομένην, ἢ

¹ After *τοσούτων* Hertlein suggests *αἴτιος*.

² cf. 138 B.

³ Aristotle, *De Anima* 418 A.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

for the visible gods¹ of just as many blessings as we said mighty Helios bestows on the intellectual gods. And of this there are clear proofs for one who studies the unseen world in the light of things seen. For in the first place, is not light itself a sort of incorporeal and divine form of the transparent in a state of activity? And as for the transparent itself, whatever it is, since it is the underlying basis, so to speak, of all the elements, and is a form peculiarly belonging to them, it is not like the corporeal or compounded, nor does it admit qualities peculiar to corporeal substance.² You will not therefore say that heat is a property of the transparent, or its opposite cold, nor will you assign to it hardness or softness or any other of the various attributes connected with touch or taste or smell; but a nature of this sort is obvious to sight alone, since it is brought into activity by light. And light is a form of this substance, so to speak, which is the substratum of and coextensive with the heavenly bodies. And of light, itself incorporeal, the culmination and flower, so to speak, is the sun's rays. Now the doctrine of the Phoenicians, who were wise and learned in sacred lore, declared that the rays of light everywhere diffused are the undefiled incarnation of pure mind. And in harmony with this is our theory, seeing that light itself is incorporeal, if one should regard its fountain-head, not as corporeal, but as the undefiled activity of mind³ pouring light into its own abode: and this is

¹ *i.e.* the stars.

² *De Anima* 419 A; Aristotle there says that light is the actualisation or positive determination of the transparent medium. Julian echoes the whole passage.

³ Mind, *νοῦς*, is here identified with Helios; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 19. 9. *Sol mundi mens est*, "the sun is the

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ τὸ μέσον εἵληχεν, ὅθεν ἐπι-
 λάμπουσα πάσης μὲν εὐτονίας πληροῖ τοὺς οὐ-
 ρανίους κύκλους, πάντα δὲ περιλάμπει θείῳ καὶ
 ἀχράντῳ φωτί. τὰ μέντοι ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργα
 προϊόντα παρ' αὐτοῦ μετρίως γε¹ ἡμῖν ὀλίγῳ
 πρότερον εἴρηται² καὶ ῥηθήσεται μετ' ὀλίγον. ὅσα C
 δὲ ὁρῶμεν αὐτῇ πρῶτον ὄψει ὄνομα μόνον ἐστὶν
 ἔργου τητῶμενον, εἰ μὴ προσλάβοι τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς
 ἡγεμονικὴν βοήθειαν. ὁρατὸν δὲ ὅλως εἴη ἂν τί
 μὴ φωτὶ πρῶτον ὥσπερ ὕλη τεχνίτῃ προσαχθέν,
 ἵν' οἶμαι τὸ εἶδος δέξηται; καὶ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον
 ἀπλῶς οὕτως κεχυμένον ἔστι μὲν χρυσίον, οὐ
 μὴν ἄγαλμα οὐδὲ εἰκὼν, πρὶν ἂν ὁ τεχνίτης αὐτῷ
 περιθῇ τὴν μορφήν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅσα πέφυκεν D
 ὁρᾶσθαι μὴ ξὺν φωτὶ τοῖς ὁρώσι προσαγόμενα
 τοῦ ὁρατὰ εἶναι παντάπασιν ἐστέρηται. διδούς
 οὖν τοῖς τε ὁρώσι τὸ ὁρᾶν τοῖς τε ὁρωμένοις τὸ
 ὁρᾶσθαι δύο φύσεις ἐνεργεῖα μιᾷ τελειοῖ, ὅψιν καὶ
 ὁρατόν· αἱ δὲ τελειότητες εἶδη τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐσία.

Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως λεπτότερον· ᾧ δὲ
 παρακολουθοῦμεν ξύμπαντες, ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶ-
 ται, φιλόσοφοι καὶ λόγιοι, τίνα ἐν τῷ παντὶ
 δύναμιν ἀνίσχων ἔχει καὶ καταδύομενος ὁ θεός;
 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἐργάζεται καὶ μεθίστησι
 φανερώς καὶ τρέπει τὸ πᾶν. καίτοι τίνι τοῦτο 135

¹ γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.

² 133 B.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

assigned to the middle of the whole firmament, whence it sheds its rays and fills the heavenly spheres with vigour of every kind and illumines all things with light divine and undefiled. Now the activities proceeding from it and exercised among the gods have been, in some measure at least, described by me a little earlier and will shortly be further spoken of. But all that we see merely with the sight at first is a name only, deprived of activity, unless we add thereto the guidance and aid of light. For what, speaking generally, could be seen, were it not first brought into touch with light in order that, I suppose, it may receive a form, as matter is brought under the hand of a craftsman? And indeed molten gold in the rough is simply gold, and not yet a statue or an image, until the craftsman give it its proper shape. So too all the objects of sight, unless they are brought under the eyes of the beholder together with light, are altogether deprived of visibility. Accordingly by giving the power of sight to those who see, and the power of being seen to the objects of sight, it brings to perfection, by means of a single activity, two faculties, namely vision and visibility.¹ And in forms and substance are expressed its perfecting powers.

However, this is perhaps somewhat subtle; but as for that guide whom we all follow, ignorant and unlearned, philosophers and rhetoricians, what power in the universe has this god when he rises and sets? Night and day he creates, and before our eyes changes and sways the universe. But to which of

mind of the universe"; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 21, 115; Ammianus Marcellinus, 21. 1. 11.

¹ Julian echoes Plato, *Republic* 507, 508.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ὑπάρχει; πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐκ
 τούτων ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων πιστεύομεν,
 ὥς ἄρα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφανῆ καὶ θεῖα
 νοερῶν θεῶν γένη τῆς ἀγαθοειδοῦς ἀποπληροῦται
 παρ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως, ᾧ πᾶς μὲν ὑπέκει χορὸς
 ἀστέρων, ἔπεται δὲ ἡ γένεσις ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου
 κυβερνωμένη προμηθείας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλάνητες¹ B
 ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ βασιλέα χορεύοντες ἔν-
 τισιν ὠρισμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν διαστήμασιν ἁρμο-
 διώτατα φέρονται κύκλῳ, στηριγμούς τινας
 ποιούμενοι καὶ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω πορεύαν, ὥς οἱ
 τῆς σφαιρικῆς ἐπιστήμονες θεωρίας ὀνομάζουσι τὰ
 περὶ αὐτοὺς φαινόμενα, καὶ ὥς τὸ τῆς σελήνης
 αὔξεται καὶ λήγει φῶς, πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν
 ἡλίου πάσχον, πᾶσί που δῆλον. πῶς οὖν οὐκ
 εἰκότως καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν σωμάτων ἐν
 τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς διακόσμησιν ὑπολαμβάνομεν C
 ἀνάλογον ἔχειν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τάξει;

Λάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸ μὲν τελεσιουργὸν
 ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀποφαίνειν ὁρᾶν τὰ ὁρατικά·
 τελειοὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τοῦ φωτός· τὸ δὲ δημιουρ-
 γικὸν καὶ γόνιμον² ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ξύμπαν μετα-
 βολῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐνὶ πάντων συνεκτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
 περὶ τὰς κινήσεις πρὸς ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμφωνίας,
 τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ³ μέσον, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς
 αὐτὸν ἐνιδρῦσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανω-
 μένοις μέσης τάξεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα περὶ τινα D

¹ cf. 146 D.

² 157 C.

³ αὐτοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐαυτοῦ MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

the other heavenly bodies does this power belong? How then can we now fail to believe, in view of this, in respect also to things more divine that the invisible and divine tribes of intellectual gods above the heavens are filled with power that works for good by him, even by him to whom the whole band of the heavenly bodies yields place, and whom all generated things follow, piloted by his providence? For that the planets dance about him as their king, in certain intervals, fixed in relation to him, and revolve in a circle with perfect accord, making certain halts, and pursuing to and fro their orbit,¹ as those who are learned in the study of the spheres call their visible motions; and that the light of the moon waxes and wanes varying in proportion to its distance from the sun, is, I think, clear to all. Then is it not natural that we should suppose that the more venerable ordering of bodies among the intellectual gods corresponds to this arrangement?

Let us therefore comprehend, out of all his functions, first his power to perfect, from the fact that he makes visible the objects of sight in the universe, for through his light he perfects them; secondly, his creative and generative power from the changes wrought by him in the universe; thirdly, his power to link together all things into one whole, from the harmony of his motions towards one and the same goal; fourthly, his middle station we can comprehend from himself, who is midmost; and fifthly, the fact that he is established as king among the intellectual gods, from his middle station among the planets. Now if we see that these powers, or

¹ i.e. the stationary positions and the direct and retrograde movements of the planets.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν ὀρώμεν θεῶν ἢ τοσαῦτα ἕτερα, μὴ τοι τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγεμονίαν προσνείμωμεν· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξω τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας, ἥς καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδίδωσι τοῖς πᾶσι, μαρτυράμενοι τοὺς τε Κυπρίων ἱερέας, οἱ κοινούς ἀποφαίνουσι βωμοὺς Ἑλίῳ καὶ Δίῳ, πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἀπόλλω¹ συνεδρεύοντα τῷ θεῷ τῷδε παρακαλέσαντες μάρτυρα· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπισ· 136
κοινὴν ὑπολάβωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ μίαν Ἥλιου καὶ Διὸς ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς δυναστείαν· ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἀπεικότως φρόνιμον θεὸν Ἀΐδην ὀνομάσαι. καλοῦμεν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ Σάραπιν, τὸν αἰδῆ δηλονότι καὶ νοερόν, πρὸς ὃν φησιν² ἄνω πορεύεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἄριστα βιωσάντων καὶ δικαιοτάτα. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τις ὑπολάβῃ τοῦτον, ὃν οἱ μῦθοι πείθουσι φρίττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ μέλιχον, ὃς ἀπολύει παντελῶς τῆς γενέσεως τὰς ψυχὰς, οὐχὶ δὲ λυθείσας αὐτὰς σώμασιν ἑτέροις προσηλοῖ³ κολάζων καὶ πραττόμενος δίκας, ἀλλὰ πορεύων ἄνω καὶ ἀνατείνων τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ νεαρὰ παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα, προύλαβον δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν ποιητῶν, B

¹ 144 A, B, 149 C.

² *Cratylus* 403 B.

³ *Phaedo* 83 D.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

powers of similar importance, belong to any one of the other visible deities, let us not assign to Helios leadership among the gods. But if he has nothing in common with those other gods except his beneficent energy, and of this too he gives them all a share, then let us call to witness the priests of Cyprus who set up common altars to Helios and Zeus; but even before them let us summon as witness Apollo, who sits in council with our god. For this god declares: "Zeus, Hades, Helios Serapis, three gods in one godhead!"¹ Let us then assume that, among the intellectual gods, Helios and Zeus have a joint or rather a single sovereignty. Hence I think that with reason Plato called Hades a wise god.² And we call this same god Hades Serapis also, namely the Unseen³ and Intellectual, to whom Plato says the souls of those who have lived most righteously and justly mount upwards. For let no one conceive of him as the god whom the legends teach us to shudder at, but as the mild and placable, since he completely frees our souls from generation: and the souls that he has thus freed he does not nail to other bodies, punishing them and exacting penalties, but he carries aloft and lifts up our souls to the intelligible world. And that this doctrine is not wholly new, but that

¹ This oracular verse is quoted as Orphic by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 18. 18; but Julian, no doubt following Iamblichus, substitutes Serapis for Dionysus at the end of the verse. The worship of Serapis in the Graeco-Roman world began with the foundation of a Serapeum by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria. Serapis was identified with Osiris, the Egyptian counterpart of Dionysus.

² *Phaedo* 80 D; in *Cratylus* 403 Plato discusses, though not seriously, the etymology of the word "Hades."

³ Ἄδης, "Unseen."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

"Ομηρός τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, εἴτε καὶ νοοῦντες οὕτως
 εἴτε καὶ ἐπιπνοία θεία καθάπερ οἱ μάντις ἐνθου-
 σιώντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐνθένδ' ἂν γίγνοιτο C
 γνῶριμον. ὁ μὲν γενεαλογῶν αὐτὸν Ὑπερίονος
 ἔφη καὶ Θείας, μόνον οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττόμενος
 τοῦ πάντων ὑπερέχοντος αὐτὸν ἔκγονον¹ γνήσιον
 φῦναι· ὁ γὰρ Ὑπερίων τίς ἂν ἕτερος εἴη παρὰ
 τούτου; ἡ Θεία δὲ αὐτὴ τρόπον ἕτερον οὐ τὸ
 θειότατον τῶν ὄντων λέγεται; μὴ δὲ συνδυασμὸν
 μηδὲ γάμους ὑπολαμβάνωμεν, ἄπιστα καὶ παρά-
 δοξα ποιητικῆς μούσης ἀθύρματα. πατέρα δὲ D
 αὐτοῦ καὶ γεννήτορα νομίζωμεν τὸν θειότατον καὶ
 ὑπέρτατον· τοιοῦτος δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος² εἴη τοῦ
 πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ περὶ ὃν πάντα καὶ οὐ ἕνεκα
 πάντα ἐστίν; Ὁμηρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 Ὑπερίονα καλεῖ,³ καὶ δείκνυσί γε αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτε-
 ξοῦσιον καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης κρεῖττον. ὁ γὰρ τοι
 Ζεὺς, ὥς ἐκεῖνός φησιν, ἀπάντων ὢν κύριος τοὺς
 ἄλλους προσαναγκάζει· ἐν δὲ τῷ μύθῳ τοῦ θεοῦ
 τοῦδε λέγοντος,⁴ ὅτι ἄρα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῶν
 Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρων ἀπολείψει τὸν Ὀλυμπον, 137
 οὐκέτι φησὶν

Αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ,
 οὐδὲ ἀπειλεῖ δεσμὸν οὐδὲ βίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δίκην
 φησὶν ἐπιθήσειν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀξιοῖ
 φαίνειν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς. ἄρ' οὐχὶ διὰ τούτων πρὸς
 τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ τελεσιουργὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν

¹ ἔκγονον MSS, ἔγγονον V, Hertlein.

² δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλος Hertlein suggests, δέ τις ἂν εἴη MSS.

³ *Iliad* 8. 480; *Odyssey* 1. 8. ⁴ *Odyssey* 12. 383.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Homer and Hesiod the most venerable of the poets held it before us, whether this was their own view or, like seers, they were divinely inspired with a sacred frenzy for the truth, is evident from the following. Hesiod, in tracing his genealogy, said¹ that Helios is the son of Hyperion and Thea, intimating thereby that he is the true son of him who is above all things. For who else could Hyperion² be? And is not Thea herself, in another fashion, said to be most divine of beings? But as for a union or marriage, let us not conceive of such a thing, since that is the incredible and paradoxical trifling of the poetic Muse. But let us believe that his father and sire was the most divine and supreme being; and who else could have this nature save him who transcends all things, the central point and goal of all things that exist? And Homer calls him Hyperion after his father and shows his unconditioned nature, superior to all constraint. For Zeus, as Homer says, since he is lord of all constrains the other gods. And when, in the course of the myth, Helios says that on account of the impiety of the comrades of Odysseus³ he will forsake Olympus, Zeus no longer says, "Then with very earth would I draw you up and the sea withal,"⁴ nor does he threaten him with fetters or violence, but he says that he will inflict punishment on the guilty and bids Helios go on shining among the gods. Does he not thereby declare that besides being uncon-

¹ *Theogony* 371; cf Pindar, *Isthmian* 4. 1.

² Hyperion means "he that walks above."

³ They had devoured the oxen of the sun; *Odyssey* 12. 352 foll.

⁴ *Iliad*. 8. 24; Zeus utters this threat against the gods if they should aid either the Trojans or the Greeks.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

Ἡλιον; ἐπὶ τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ θεοὶ δέονται, πλὴν εἰ
μὴ πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀφανῶς ἐναστράπ- B
των ὧν ἔφαμεν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπληρωτικὸς τυγχάνοι;
τὸ γὰρ

Ἡελίον τ' ἀκάμαντα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
Πέμφεν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς ἀέκοντα νέεσθαι¹

πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ φησι νομισθῆναι τὴν νύκτα διὰ
τινα χαλεπὴν ὁμίχλην. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ θεὸς που,
καὶ ἄλλοθι τῆς ποιήσεώς φησιν,²

ἡέρα δ' Ἥρη

Πίτνα πρόσθε βαθεῖαν.

C

ἅλλα τὰ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν χαίρειν ἐάσωμεν· ἔχει
γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ θείου πολὺ καὶ τὰνθρώπινον· ἃ δὲ
ἡμᾶς ἔοικεν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκειν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐκεῖνα ἤδη διέλωμεν.

Ὁ περὶ γῆν τόπος ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι τὸ εἶναι ἔχει.
τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν αἰδιότητα δωρούμενος αὐτῷ;
ἂρ' οὐχ ὁ ταῦτα μέτροις ὠρισμένοις συνέχων;
ἄπειρον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι φύσιν σώματος οὐχ οἶόν τ' D
ἦν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἀγέννητός ἐστι μηδὲ αὐθυπόστατος·
ἐκ δὲ τῆς οὐσίας εἰ πάντως ἐγένετό τι συνεχῶς,
ἀνελύετο δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν μηδέν, ἐπέλειπεν ἂν τῶν
γιγνομένων ἡ οὐσία. τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην φύσιν ὁ
θεὸς ὅδε μέτρῳ κινούμενος προσιὼν μὲν ὀρθοῖ καὶ
ἐγείρει, πόρρω δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐλαττοῖ καὶ φθείρει,
μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸς αἰὲ ζωοποιεῖ κινῶν καὶ ἐποχε-
τεύων αὐτῇ τὴν ζωὴν· ἡ δὲ ἀπόλειψις αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἡ πρὸς θάτερα μετὰστασις αἰτία γίνεται φθορᾶς 138

¹ *Iliad* 18. 239.

² *Iliad* 21. 6.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

ditioned, Helios has also the power to perfect? For why do the gods need him unless by sending his light, himself invisible, on their substance and existence, he fulfils for them the blessings of which I spoke? For when Homer says that "Ox-eyed Hera, the queen, sent unwearied Helios to go, all unwilling, to the streams of Oceanus," he means that, by reason of a heavy mist, it was thought to be night before the proper time. And this mist is surely the goddess herself, and in another place also in the poem he says, "Hera spread before them a thick mist." But let us leave the stories of the poets alone. For along with what is inspired they contain much also that is merely human. And let me now relate what the god himself seems to teach us, both about himself and the other gods.

The region of the earth contains being in a state of becoming. Then who endows it with imperishability? Is it not he¹ who keeps all together by means of definite limits? For that the nature of being should be unlimited was not possible, since it is neither uncreated nor self-subsistent. And if from being something were generated absolutely without ceasing and nothing were resolved back into it, the substance of things generated would fail. Accordingly this god, moving in due measure, raises up and stimulates this substance when he approaches it, and when he departs to a distance he diminishes and destroys it; or rather he himself continually revivifies it by giving it movement and flooding it with life. And his departure and turning in the

¹ Julian now describes the substance or essential nature, οὐσία, of Helios, 137 D-142 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τοῖς φθίνουσιν. αἰεὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν δόσις ἴση κάτεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ἄλλοτε
 γὰρ ἄλλη δέχεται τὰ τοιαῦτα χώρα πρὸς τὸ μήτε
 τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιλείπειν μήτε τοῦ συνήθους ποτὲ
 τὸν θεὸν ἔλαττον ἢ πλεον εὖ ποιῆσαι τὸν παθητὸν
 κόσμον. ἡ γὰρ ταυτότης ὥσπερ τῆς οὐσίας, οὕτω
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πρό γε τῶν
 ἄλλων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὄλων Ἡλίῳ, ὃς καὶ
 τὴν κίνησιν ἀπλουστάτην ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας ποιεῖται
 τοὺς τῷ παντὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν φερομένους· ὃ δὲ καὶ B
 αὐτὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπεροχῆς αὐτοῦ
 σημεῖον ποιεῖται ὁ κλεινὸς Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀλλὰ
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων νοερῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἀμυδραὶ
 καθήκουσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τόνδε δυνάμεις. εἴτα
 τί τοῦτο; μὴ γὰρ ἀποκλείομεν τοὺς ἄλλους τούτῳ
 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁμολογοῦντες δεδόσθαι; πολὺν δὲ
 πλεον ἐκ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀξιούμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν C
 πιστεύειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰς ἐνδιδομένας ἅπασιν
 ἐκεῖθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν γῆν οὗτος φαίνεται
 τελεσιουργῶν καὶ συναρμόζων πρὸς τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ
 τὸ πᾶν, οὕτω δὲ νομιστέον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀφανέσιν
 αὐτῶν τὰς συνουσίας ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ἡγε-
 μόνα μὲν ἐκείνην, συμφωνούσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν
 τὰς ἄλλας ἅμα. ἐπεὶ καί, εἰ μέσον ἔφαμεν ἐν
 μέσοις ἰδρῦσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς,
 ποταπὴ τις ἡ μεσότης ἐστὶν ὧν αὐτὸν χρὴ μέσον

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

other direction is the cause of decay for things that perish. Ever does his gift of blessings descend evenly upon the earth. For now one country now another receives them, to the end that becoming may not cease nor the god ever benefit less or more than is his custom this changeful world. For sameness, as of being so also of activity, exists among the gods, and above all the others in the case of the King of the All, Helios; and he also makes the simplest movement of all the heavenly bodies¹ that travel in a direction opposite to the whole. In fact this is the very thing that the celebrated Aristotle makes a proof of his superiority, compared with the others. Nevertheless from the other intellectual gods also, forces clearly discernible descend to this world. And now what does this mean? Are we not excluding the others when we assert that the leadership has been assigned to Helios? Nay, far rather do I think it right from the visible to have faith about the invisible.² For even as this god is seen to complete and to adapt to himself and to the universe the powers that are bestowed on the earth from the other gods for all things, after the same fashion we must believe that among the invisible gods also there is intercourse with one another; his mode of intercourse being that of a leader, while the modes of intercourse of the others are at the same time in harmony with his. For since we said that the god is established midmost among the midmost intellectual gods, may King Helios himself grant to us to tell what is the nature of that middleness

¹ i.e. The sun, moon and planets; the orbits of the planets are complicated by their direct and retrograde movements.

² cf. 133 D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

αὐτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰπεῖν
 "Ἥλιος δοίη.

Μεσότητα μὲν δὴ φαμεν οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις D
 θεωρουμένην ἴσον ἀφесτώσαν τῶν ἄκρων, οἷον ἐπὶ
 χρωμάτων τὸ ξανθὸν ἢ φαιόν, ἐπὶ δὲ θερμοῦ καὶ
 ψυχροῦ τὸ χλιαρόν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 ἐνωτικὴν καὶ συνάγουσαν τὰ διεστώτα, ὁποῖαν
 τινὰ φησιν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐξορίζων
 αὐτῆς παντελῶς τὸ νεῖκος. τίνα οὖν ἐστίν, ἃ
 συνάγει, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ μέσος; φημὶ δὴ οὖν ὅτι
 τῶν τε ἐμφανῶν καὶ περικοσμίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν
 αὐλῶν καὶ νοητῶν, οἱ περὶ τὰγαθόν εἰσιν, ὥσπερ 139
 πολυπλασιαζομένης ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἄνευ προσθήκης
 τῆς νοητῆς καὶ θείας οὐσίας. ὥς μὲν οὖν ἐστι
 μέση τις, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων κραθεῖσα, τελεία δὲ
 καὶ ἀμιγῆς ἀφ' ὅλων τῶν θεῶν ἐμφανῶν τε καὶ
 ἀφανῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν καὶ νοητῶν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως
 Ἑλίου νοερὰ καὶ πάγκαλος οὐσία, καὶ ὁποῖαν τινὰ
 χρὴ τὴν μεσότητα νομίζειν, εἴρηται. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ
 τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἵν' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ'
 εἶδη τὸ μέσον τῆς οὐσίας, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς τε τὰ
 πρῶτα καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα,¹ τῷ νῷ κατίδωμεν, εἰ καὶ B

¹ τὰ τελευταῖα Hertlein suggests, τελευταῖα MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

among things of which we must regard him as the middle.

Now "middleness"¹ we define not as that mean which in opposites is seen to be equally remote from the extremes, as, for instance, in colours, tawny or dusky, and warm in the case of hot and cold, and the like, but that which unifies and links together what is separate; for instance the sort of thing that Empedocles² means by Harmony when from it he altogether eliminates Strife. And now what does Helios link together, and of what is he the middle? I assert then that he is midway between the visible gods who surround the universe and the immaterial and intelligible gods who surround the Good—for the intelligible and divine substance is as it were multiplied without external influence and without addition. For that the intellectual and wholly beautiful substance of King Helios is middle in the sense of being unmixed with extremes, complete in itself, and distinct from the whole number of the gods, visible and invisible, both those perceptible by sense and those which are intelligible only, I have already declared, and also in what sense we must conceive of his middleness. But if I must also describe these things one by one, in order that we may discern with our intelligence how his intermediary nature, in its various forms, is related both to the highest and the lowest, even though it is

¹ Julian defines the ways in which Helios possesses μεσότης, or middleness; he is mediator and connecting link as well as locally midway between the two worlds and the centre of the intellectual gods; see Introduction, p. 350.

² cf. Empedocles, *fr.* 18; 122, 2; 17, 19 Diels.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

μη̄ πάντα διελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἀλλ' οὖν τὰ δυνατὰ φράσαι πειραθῶμεν.

Ἐν παντελῶς τὸ νοητὸν ἀεὶ προϋπάρχον, τὰ¹ δὲ πάντα ὁμοῦ συνειληφὸς ἐν τῷ ἐνί. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἐν ἔστι ζῶον ὅλον δι' ὅλου ψυχῆς καὶ νοῦ πλήρες, τέλειον ἐκ μερῶν τελείων;² ταύτης οὖν τῆς διπλῆς ἐνοειδοῦς τελειότητος· φημὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ νοητῷ πάντα ἐν ἐνὶ συνεχοῦσης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν C
τελείαν συναγομένης ἐνώσεως· ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου μέση τελειότης ἐνοειδής ἐστιν, ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἰδρυμένη θεοῖς. ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο συνοχή τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεῶν κόσμῳ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἐν συντάττουσα. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν φαίνεται κύκλῳ πορευομένη τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐσία,³ ἥ πάντα συνέχει τὰ μέρη καὶ σφίγγει πρὸς αὐτὰ συνέχουσα τὸ φύσει σκεδαστὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων; δύο δὴ ταύτας τὰς⁴ οὐσίας συνοχῆς αἰτίας, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς D
φαινομένην ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡλῖος εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάπτει, τῆς μὲν μιμούμενος τὴν συνεκτικὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς, ἅτε ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθῶν, τῆς δὲ τελευταίας προκατάρχων, ἡ περὶ τὸν ἐμφανῆ θεωρεῖται κόσμον. μή ποτε οὖν καὶ τὰ

¹ τὰ Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.

² Plato, *Timaeus* 33 A.

³ cf. 139 c; *Oration* 5. 165 c, 166 d, 170 c.

⁴ τὰς Hertlein suggests.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

not easy to recount it all, yet let me try to say what can be said.

Wholly one is the intelligible world, pre-existent from all time, and it combines all things together in the One. Again is not our whole world also one complete living organism, wholly throughout the whole of it full of soul and intelligence, "perfect, with all its parts perfect"? Midway then between this uniform two-fold perfection—I mean that one kind of unity holds together in one all that exists in the intelligible world, while the other kind of unity unites in the visible world all things into one and the same perfect nature—between these, I say, is the uniform perfection of King Helios, established among the intellectual gods. There is, however, next in order, a sort of binding force in the intelligible world of the gods, which orders all things into one. Again is there not visible in the heavens also, travelling in its orbit, the nature of the Fifth Substance, which links and compresses¹ together all the parts, holding together things that by nature are prone to scatter and to fall away from one another? These existences, therefore, which are two causes of connection, one in the intelligible world, while the other appears in the world of sense-perception, King Helios combines into one, imitating the synthetic power of the former among the intellectual gods, seeing that he proceeds from it, and subsisting prior to the latter which is seen in the visible world. Then must not the

¹ cf. 167 D. In *Timaeus* 58 A it is the revolution of the whole which by constriction compresses all matter together, but Julian had that passage in mind. In Empedocles it is the Titan, Aether, i.e. the Fifth Substance, that "binds the globe." *fr.* 38 Diels.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

αὐθυπόστατον πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ὑπάρ-
 χον, τελευταῖον δ' ἐν τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινο- 140
 μένοις μέσσην ἔχει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐσίαν
 αὐθυπόστατον Ἑλίου, ἀφ' ἧς κάτεισιν οὐσίας
 πρωτουργοῦ εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἢ περιλάμ-
 πουσα τὰ σύμπαντα αὐγή; πάλιν δὲ κατ'
 ἄλλο σκοποῦντι εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργός,
 πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν περιπολοῦντες δημιου-
 ρικοὶ θεοί. μέσσην ἄρα καὶ τούτων τὴν ἀφ'
 Ἑλίου καθήκουσαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον δημιουργίαν
 θετέον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς πολὺ μὲν B
 καὶ ὑπέρπληρες ἐν τῷ νοητῷ, φαίνεται δὲ ζωῆς
 γονίμου καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὧν πλήρης. πρόδηλον οὖν
 ὅτι καὶ τὸ γόνιμον τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑλίου τῆς ζωῆς
 μέσον ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ
 φαινόμενα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τελειοῖ τῶν εἰδῶν, τὰ δὲ
 ἐργάζεται, τὰ δὲ κοσμεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀνεγείρει, καὶ ἐν οὐ-
 δέν ἐστιν, ὃ δίχα τῆς ἀφ' Ἑλίου δημιουργικῆς δυνά-
 μεως εἰς φῶς πρόεισι καὶ γένεσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις C
 εἰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν αὐλον
 οὐσίαν νοήσαιμεν, οὐδενὸς ἔξωθεν αὐτῇ προσιόντος
 οὐδὲ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἀλλοτρίου, πλήρη δὲ τῆς
 οἰκείας ἀχράντου καθαρότητος, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

unconditioned also, which exists primarily in the intelligible world, and finally among the visible bodies in the heavens, possess midway between these two the unconditioned substance of King Helios, and from that primary creative substance do not the rays of his light, illumining all things, descend to the visible world? Again, to take another point of view, the creator of the whole is one, but many are the creative gods¹ who revolve in the heavens. Midmost therefore of these also we must place the creative activity which descends into the world from Helios. But also the power of generating life is abundant and overflowing in the intelligible world; and our world also appears to be full of generative life. It is therefore evident that the life-generating power of King Helios also is midway between both the worlds: and the phenomena of our world also bear witness to this. For some forms he perfects, others he makes, or adorns, or wakes to life, and there is no single thing which, apart from the creative power derived from Helios, can come to light and to birth. And further, besides this, if we should comprehend the pure and undefiled and immaterial substance² among the intelligible gods—to which nothing external is added, nor has any alien thing a place therein, but it is filled with its own unstained

¹ Plato in *Timaeus* 41 A, distinguishes "the gods who revolve before our eyes" from "those who reveal themselves so far as they will." Julian regularly describes, as here, a triad; every one of his three worlds has its own unconditioned being (αὐθυπόστατον); its own creative power (δημιουργία); its own power to generate life (γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς); and in every case, the middle term is Helios as a connecting link in his capacity of thinking or intellectual god (νοερός).

² Julian now describes the three kinds of substance (οὐσία) and its three forms (εἶδη) in the three worlds.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

κόσμῳ περὶ τὸ κύκλῳ φερόμενον σῶμα πρὸς πάντα
 ἁμιγῇ τὰ στοιχεῖα λίαν εἰλικρινῇ καὶ καθαρὰν
 φύσιν ἁχράντου καὶ δαιμονίου σώματος, εὐρή-
 σομεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου λαμπρὰν καὶ D
 ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν ἁμφοῖν μέσσην, τῆς τε ἐν τοῖς
 νοητοῖς αὐλοῦ καθαρότητος καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς αἰσ-
 θητοῖς ἁχράντου καὶ ἁμιγοῦς πρὸς γένεσιν καὶ
 φθορὰν καθαρᾶς εἰλικρινείας. μέγιστον δὲ τού-
 του τεκμήριον, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ φῶς, ὃ μάλιστα
 ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ γῆν φέρεται, συμμίνγνυταί τινι μηδὲ
 ἀναδέχεται ῥύπον καὶ μίασμα, μένει δὲ πάντως
 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὐσιν ἁχραντον καὶ ἀμόλυντον καὶ
 ἀπαθές.

Ἔτι δὲ προσεκτέον τοῖς αὐλοῖς εἶδεσι καὶ
 νοητοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ὅσα περὶ τὴν
 ὕλην ἐστὶν ἢ περὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἀναφανήσεται 141
 πάλιν ἐνταῦθα μέσον τὸ νοερὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν
 μέγαν Ἡλίον εἰδῶν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν
 ὕλην εἶδη βοηθεῖται μήποτε ἂν δυνηθέντα μήτε
 εἶναι μήτε σώζεσθαι μὴ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς
 τὴν οὐσίαν συνεργούμενα. τί γάρ; οὐχ οὗτός
 ἐστὶ τῆς διακρίσεως τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ συγκρίσεως
 τῆς ὕλης αἷτιος, οὐ νοεῖν ἡμῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέ-
 χων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶν ὅμμασιν; ἢ γάρ τοι τῶν

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

purity—and if we should comprehend also the pure and unmixed nature of unstained and divine substance, whose elements are wholly unmixed, and which, in the visible universe, surrounds the substance that revolves,¹ here also we should discover the radiant and stainless substance of King Helios, midway between the two; that is to say, midway between the immaterial purity that exists among the intelligible gods, and that perfect purity, unstained and free from birth and death, that exists in the world which we can perceive. And the greatest proof of this is that not even the light which comes down nearest to the earth from the sun is mixed with anything, nor does it admit dirt and defilement, but remains wholly pure and without stain and free from external influences among all existing things.

But we must go on to consider the immaterial and intelligible forms,² and also those visible forms which are united with matter or the substratum. Here again, the intellectual will be found to be midmost among the forms that surround mighty Helios, by which forms in their turn the material forms are aided; for they never could have existed or been preserved, had they not been brought, by his aid, into connection with being. For consider: is not he the cause of the separation of the forms, and of the combination of matter, in that he not only permits us to comprehend his very self, but also to behold him with our eyes? For the distribution of

¹ *i.e.* the visible heavenly bodies.

² Helios connects the forms (Plato's Ideas) which exist in the intelligible world, with those which in our world ally themselves with matter; cf. *Oration* 5. 171 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀκτίνων εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον διανομὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἔνωσις τὴν δημιουργικὴν ἐνδείκνυται διὰ- B
κρισιν τῆς ποιήσεως.

Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ἔτι περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ δὴ ὅτι μέσος ἐστὶ τῶν τε νοητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν παρίστησιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ μετίωμεν ἐμφανῆ λήξιν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν τελευταῖον κόσμον ἡ τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων οἶον ἐν παραδείγματι τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσα· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἡ τῶν αἰσθητῶν γεννητικὴ, ἥς τὸ μὲν C
τιμιώτερον οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστέρων ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ ὑποδεέστερον ἐπιτροπεύει τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ αἰδίου περιέχον αὐτῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν. ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε διελθεῖν οὐδὲ εἴ τῳ δοίῃ νοῆσαι αὐτὰ¹ ὁ θεὸς οὗτος δυνατόν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ πάντα περιλαβεῖν τῷ νῷ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ἀδύνατον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ διεληλύθαμεν, ἐπιθετέον ὥσπερ σφραγίδα τῷ λόγῳ τῷδε μέλλοντας ἐφ' ἕτερα μεταβαίνειν οὐκ ἐλάττονος τῆς θεωρίας δεόμενα. τίς D
οὖν ἡ σφραγὶς καὶ οἶον ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τὰ πάντα περιλαμβάνουσα ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ νόησις, αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐπὶ νοῦν θείῃ βουλομένοις ἐν βραχεὶ συνελεῖν τὴν τε αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἥς προῆλθε,

¹ αὐτὰ V, αὐτὸς MSS, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

his rays over the whole universe, and the unifying power of his light, prove him to be the master workman who gives an individual existence to everything that is created.

Now though there are many more blessings connected with the substance of the god and apparent to us, which show that he is midway between the intelligible and the mundane gods¹ let us proceed to his last visible province. His first province then in the last of the worlds is, as though by way of a pattern, to give form and personality to the sun's angels.² Next is his province of generating the world of sense-perception, of which the more honourable part contains the cause of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, while the inferior part guides this our world of becoming, and from eternity contains in itself the uncreated cause of that world. Now to describe all the properties of the substance of this god, even though the god himself should grant one to comprehend them, is impossible, seeing that even to grasp them all with the mind is, in my opinion, beyond our power.

But since I have already described many of them, I must set a seal, as it were, on this discourse, now that I am about to pass to other subjects that demand no less investigation. What then that seal is, and what is the knowledge of the god's substance that embraces all these questions, and as it were sums them up under one head, may he himself suggest to my mind, since I desire to describe in a

¹ i.e. the heavenly bodies.

² These angels combine, as does a model, the idea and its hypostatisation; cf. 142 A, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B. Julian nowhere defines angels, but Porphyry as quoted by Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 10, 9, distinguished them from daemons and placed them in the aether.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

καὶ αὐτὸς ὅστις ἐστί, τίνων τε ἀποπληροῖ τὸν
ἐμφανῆ κόσμον. ῥητέον οὖν ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν προ-
ῆλθε τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἀφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου
βασιλεὺς Ἡλῖος, τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν μέσος ἐν μέσοις 142
τεταγμένος κατὰ παντοίαν μεσότητα, τὴν ὁμό-
φρονα καὶ φίλην καὶ τὰ διεστῶτα συνάγουσαν,
εἰς ἔνωσιν ἄγων τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς πρώτοις,
τελειότητος καὶ συνοχῆς καὶ γονίμου ζωῆς καὶ
τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς οὐσίας τὰ μέσα ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ
τε αἰσθητῷ κόσμῳ παντοίων ἀγαθῶν προηγου-
μένος,¹ οὐ μόνον δι' ἧς αὐτὸς αὐγῆς περιλάμπει
κοσμοῶν καὶ φαιδρύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν
ἡλιακῶν ἀγγέλων² ἑαυτῷ συνυποστήσας καὶ τὴν
ἀγέννητον αἰτίαν τῶν γινομένων περιέχων, ἔτι τε B
πρὸ ταύτης τῶν αἰδίων σωμάτων τὴν ἀγήρω καὶ
μόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς αἰτίαν.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν τοῦ
θεοῦ τοῦδε, καίτοι τῶν πλείστων παραλειφθέντων,
εἴρηται ὅμως οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν δυνάμεων
αὐτοῦ πλήθος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν κάλλος τοσοῦ-
τόν ἐστιν, ὥστε εἶναι τῶν περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ
θεωρουμένων ὑπερβολήν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πέφυκε τὰ θεία
προϊόντα εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς πληθύνεσθαι διὰ τὸ
περιὸν καὶ γόνιμον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅρα τί δράσομεν, οἷ C

¹ προηγούμενος V, προκαθηγούμενος MSS, Hertlein.

² cf. 141 B.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

brief summary both the cause from which he proceeded, and his own nature, and those blessings with which he fills the visible world. This then we must declare, that King Helios is One and proceeds from one god, even from the intelligible world which is itself One ; and that he is midmost of the intellectual gods, stationed in their midst by every kind of mediateness that is harmonious and friendly, and that joins what is sundered ; and that he brings together into one the last and the first, having in his own person the means of completeness, of connection, of generative life and of uniform being : and that for the world which we can perceive he initiates blessings of all sorts, not only by means of the light with which he illumines it, adorning it and giving it its splendour, but also because he calls into existence, along with himself, the substance of the Sun's angels ; and that finally in himself he comprehends the ungenerated cause of things generated, and further, and prior to this, the ageless and abiding cause of the life of the imperishable bodies.¹

Now as for what it was right to say about the substance of this god, though the greater part has been omitted, nevertheless much has been said. But since the multitude of his powers and the beauty of his activities is so great that we shall now exceed the limit of what we observed about his substance,—for it is natural that when divine things come forth into the region of the visible they should be multiplied, in virtue of the superabundance of life and life-generating power in them,—consider what I have to do. For now I must strip for a plunge into this

¹ i.e. the heavenly bodies ; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 295 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

πρὸς ἄχανές πέλαγος ἀποδυνόμεθα, μόγῃς καὶ ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι λόγου. τολμητέον δ' ὅμως τῷ θεῷ θαρροῦντα καὶ πειρατέον ἄψασθαι τοῦ λόγου.

Κοινῶς μὲν δὴ τὰ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντα περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ταῖς δυνάμεσι προσήκειν ὑποληπτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο μὲν ἐστὶν οὐσία θεοῦ, δύναμις δὲ ἄλλο, καὶ μὰ Δία τρίτον παρὰ ταῦτα ἐνέργεια. D πάντα γὰρ ἅπερ βούλεται, ταῦτα ἐστὶ καὶ δύνανται καὶ ἐνεργεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ὃ μὴ ἐστὶ βούλεται, οὔτε ὃ βούλεται δρᾶν οὐ σθένει, οὔθ' ὃ μὴ δύνανται ἐνεργεῖν ἐθέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει· διττὴ γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη φύσις εἰς ἓν κεκραμένη ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, τῆς μὲν θείας, τοῦ δὲ σκοτεινοῦ τε καὶ ζοφώδους· εἰσὶν τε εἶναι μάχη τις καὶ στάσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ¹ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο μήτε τὰς ἡδονὰς ὁμολογεῖν μήτε τὰς λύπας ἀλλήλαις ἐν ἡμῖν· τὸ γὰρ θατέρω, φησί, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν φύσεων ἡδὺ τῇ πρὸς ταύτην ἀντικειμένη πέφυκεν ἀλγεινόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον.² οὐσία γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει τὰγαθὰ καὶ διηνεκῶς, οὐ ποτὲ μὲν, ποτὲ δ' οὔ. πρῶτον οὖν ὅσαπερ ἔφαμεν, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ παραστήσαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἰρησθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν νομιστέον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ λόγος εἰσὶν ἀντιστρέφειν, ὅσα καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἐφεξῆς σκοποῦμεν, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔργα B μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίαν νομιστέον. εἰσὶ γάρ τοι

¹ *Nicomachean Ethics* 7. 14. 1154 b.

² τοιοῦτον Hertlein suggests, τοῦτων MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

fathomless sea, though I have barely, and as best I might, taken breath, after the first part of this discourse. Venture I must, nevertheless, and putting my trust in the god endeavour to handle the theme.

We must assume that what has just been said about his substance applies equally to his powers.¹ For it cannot be that a god's substance is one thing, and his power another, and his activity, by Zeus, a third thing besides these. For all that he wills he is, and can do, and puts into action. For he does not will what is not, nor does he lack power to do what he wills, nor does he desire to put into action what he cannot. In the case of a human being, however, this is otherwise. For his is a two-fold contending nature of soul and body compounded into one, the former divine, the latter dark and clouded. Naturally, therefore, there is a battle and a feud between them. And Aristotle also says that this is why neither the pleasures nor the pains in us harmonise with one another. For he says that what is pleasant to one of the natures within us is painful to the nature which is its opposite. But among the gods there is nothing of this sort. For from their very nature what is good belongs to them, and perpetually, not intermittently. In the first place, then, all that I said when I tried to show forth his substance, I must be considered to have said about his powers and activities also. And since in such cases the argument is naturally convertible, all that I observe next in order concerning his powers and activities must be considered to apply not to his activities only, but to his substance also. For verily there

¹ The powers and activities of Helios are now described, 142 D-152 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

θεοὶ συγγενεῖς Ἡλίῳ καὶ συμφυεῖς, τὴν ἄχραντον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κορυφούμενοι, πληθυνόμενοι μὲν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, περὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνοειδῶς ὄντες. ἄκουε δὴ πρῶτον ὅσα φασὶν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἵπποι καὶ βόες ὀρώντες ἢ τι τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφανῆ πολυπραγμονοῦντες φύσιν· ἔτι δὲ πρὸ τούτων, εἴ σοι φίλον, περὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ C καὶ ἐνεργειῶν, καὶ ἐκ μυρίων τὸ πλήθος ὀλίγα θέασαι.

Πρώτη δὴ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς ὅλην δι' ὅλης τὴν νοερὰν οὐσίαν, τὰς ἀκρότητας αὐτῆς εἰς ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸ συνάγων, ἀποφαίνει μίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ περὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἐστὶ κόσμον ἑναργῶς κατανοῆσαι, πυρὸς καὶ γῆς εἰλημμένον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν μέσῳ, τῶν ἄκρων σύνδεσμον, τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων D αἰτίας κεχωρισμένης, ἢ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχουσα τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔστι γενεαί, οὕτω διατετάχθαι νομίσαιεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὰς ἄκρας αἰτίας κεχωρισμένας πάντη τῶν σωμάτων ὑπὸ τινων μεσοτήτων εἰς ταὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου συναγομένας ἐνοῦσθαι περὶ αὐτόν ; συντρέχει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Διὸς δημιουργικὴ δύναμις, δι' ἣν ἔφαιμεν καὶ πρότερον ἰδρῦσθαι τε αὐτοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἀποδεδείχθαι κοινῇ τὰ τεμένη· καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 144 δὲ αὐτὸν ἐμαρτυρόμεθα τῶν λόγων, ὃν εἰκὸς δῆπουθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἄμεινον εἰδέναι·

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

are gods related to Helios and of like substance who sum up the stainless nature of this god, and though in the visible world they are plural, in him they are one. And now listen first to what they assert who look at the heavens, not like horses and cattle, or some other unreasoning and ignorant animal,¹ but from it draw their conclusions about the unseen world. But even before this, if you please, consider his supra-mundane powers and activities, and out of a countless number, observe but a few.

First, then, of his powers is that through which he reveals the whole intellectual substance throughout as one, since he brings together its extremes. For even as in the world of sense-perception we can clearly discern air and water set between fire and earth,² as the link that binds together the extremes, would one not reasonably suppose that, in the case of the cause which is separate from elements and prior to them—and though it is the principle of generation, is not itself generation—it is so ordered that, in that world also, the extreme causes which are wholly separate from elements are bound together into one through certain modes of mediation, by King Helios, and are united about him as their centre? And the creative power of Zeus also coincides with him, by reason of which in Cyprus, as I said earlier, shrines are founded and assigned to them in common. And Apollo himself also we called to witness to our statements, since it is certainly likely that he knows better than we about his own nature. For he too abides with

¹ cf. 148 c, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 529 B, where Plato distinguishes mere star-gazing from astronomy.

² *Timaeus* 32 B; Plato says that to make the universe solid, "God set air and water between fire and earth."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

σύνεστι γὰρ καὶ οὗτος Ἡλῖφ καὶ ἐπικοινωνεῖ διὰ τὴν¹ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων καὶ τὸ μόνιμον τῆς οὐσίας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ὃν τῆς ἐνεργείας.²

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουργίαν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται χωρίζων ὁ θεὸς Ἡλίου· τούτῳ δὲ αὐτὴν ὑποτάττων αἰεὶ καὶ ἀποφαίνων σύνθρονον ἐξηγητῆς ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καλλίστων διανοημάτων. πάσας δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχων ὁ θεὸς B ὅδε τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς καλλίστης νοερᾶς συγκράσεως Ἡλῖος Ἀπόλλων ἐστὶ Μουσηγέτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς εὐταξίας ζωὴν συμπληροῖ, γεννᾷ μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, ἔχει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου παρ' ἑαυτῷ.

Ἀλλὰ πολλὰς μὲν ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τὸν θεὸν τόνδε δυνάμεις θεωρῶν οὐποτ' ἂν ἐφίκοιτο πασῶν· ἀπόχρη δὲ τῆς μὲν χωριστῆς καὶ πρὸ τῶν • σωμάτων ἐπ' αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν αἰτιῶν, αἱ κεχωρισμέναι τῆς φανερᾶς προϋπάρχουσι δημιουργίας, ἴσην Ἡλῖφ καὶ Διὶ τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μίαν C ὑπάρχουσιν τεθεωρηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἀπλότητα τῶν νοήσεων μετὰ τοῦ διαιωνίου καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ μόνιμον ξὺν Ἀπόλλωνι τεθεαμένοις, τὸ δὲ μεριστὸν τῆς

¹ διὰ τὴν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὴν MSS.

² cf. 144 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Helios and is his colleague by reason of the singleness of his thoughts and the stability of his substance and the consistency of his activity.

But Apollo too in no case appears to separate the dividing creative function of Dionysus¹ from Helios. And since he always subordinates it to Helios and so indicates that Dionysus² is his partner on the throne, Apollo is the interpreter for us of the fairest purposes that are to be found with our god. Further Helios, since he comprehends in himself all the principles of the fairest intellectual synthesis, is himself Apollo the leader of the Muses. And since he fills the whole of our life with fair order, he begat Asclepios³ in the world, though even before the beginning of the world he had him by his side.

But though one should survey many other powers that belong to this god, never could one investigate them all. It is enough to have observed the following: That there is an equal and identical dominion of Helios and Zeus over the separate creation which is prior to substances, in the region, that is to say, of the absolute causes which, separated from visible creation, existed prior to it; secondly we observed the singleness of his thoughts which is bound up with the imperishableness and abiding sameness that he shares with Apollo; thirdly, the dividing

¹ cf. 144 C. 179 A; Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 203 E, says that because Dionysus was torn asunder by the Titans, his function is to divide wholes into their parts and to separate the forms (εἶδη).

² Julian calls Dionysus the son of Helios 152 C, D, and the son of Zeus, *Oration* 5. 179 B.

³ cf. 153 B, where Asclepios is called "the saviour of the All," and *Against the Christians* 200 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δημιουργίας μετὰ τοῦ τὴν μεριστὴν ἐπιτροπεύον-
τος οὐσίαν Διονύσου, τὸ δὲ τῆς καλλίστης
συμμετρίας καὶ νοερᾶς κράσεως περὶ τὴν τοῦ
Μουσηγέτου δύναμιν τεθεωρηκόσι, τὸ συμπλη-
ροῦν δὲ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς ὅλης ζωῆς ξὺν Ἀσκλη-
πιῷ νοοῦσι.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν προκοσμίων αὐτοῦ D
δυνάμεων, ἔργα δὲ ὁμοταγῇ ταύταις ὑπὲρ τὸν
ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀποπλήρωσις.
ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι γνήσιος ἔκγονος¹ τὰγαθοῦ, παρα-
δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ τελείαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν μοῖραν,
αὐτὸς ἅπασι τοῖς νοεροῖς διανέμει θεοῖς, ἀγαθο-
εργὸν καὶ τελείαν αὐτοῖς διδούς τὴν οὐσίαν. ἐν
μὲν δὴ τουτί. δεύτερον δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ
τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς καὶ ἀσωμάτοις 145
εἵδεσι τελειοτάτῃ διανομῇ. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει
φαινομένης οὐσίας γονίμου γεννᾶν ἐφιεμένης ἐν τῷ
καλῷ καὶ ὑπεκτίθεσθαι τὸν τόκον, ἔτι ἀνάγκη
προηγέισθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ κάλλει τοῦτο αὐτὸ
διαϊωνίως καὶ αἰεὶ ποιούσαν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν,
εἰσαῦθις δὲ οὐ, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν γεννῶσαν, αὖθις δὲ
ἄγονον. ὅσα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ καλὰ, ταῦτα ἐν
τοῖς νοητοῖς αἰεὶ. ῥητέον τοίνυν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐν τοῖς
φαινομένοις αἰτίας γονίμου προκαθηγέισθαι τὸν ἐν B
τῷ νοερῷ καὶ διαϊωνίῳ κάλλει τόκον ἀγέννητον, ὃν
ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑποστήσας, ᾧ καὶ
τὸν τέλειον νοῦν διανέμει, καθάπερ ὄμμασιν ἐνδι-

¹ ἔκγονος MSS, ἔγγονος V, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

part of his creative function which he shares with Dionysus who controls divided substance; fourthly we have observed the power of the leader of the Muses, revealed in fairest symmetry and blending of the intellectual; finally we comprehended that Helios, with Asclepius, fulfils the fair order of the whole of life.

So much then in respect to those powers of his that existed before the beginning of the world; and co-ordinate with these are his works over the whole visible world, in that he fills it with good gifts. For since he is the genuine son of the Good and from it has received his blessed lot in fulness of perfection, he himself distributes that blessedness to the intellectual gods, bestowing on them a beneficent and perfect nature. This then is one of his works. And a second work of the god is his most perfect distribution of intelligible beauty among the intellectual and immaterial forms. For when the generative substance¹ which is visible in our world desires to beget in the Beautiful² and to bring forth offspring, it is further necessary that it should be guided by the substance that, in the region of intelligible beauty, does this very thing eternally and always and not intermittently, now fruitful now barren. For all that is beautiful in our world only at times, is beautiful always in the intelligible world. We must therefore assert that the ungenerated offspring in beauty intelligible and eternal guides the generative cause in the visible world; which offspring³ this god⁴ called into existence and keeps at his side, and to it he assigns also perfect reason.

¹ The sun. ² Plato, *Symposium* 206 B τὸ καλὸν ἐν καλῷ.

³ i.e. Intellectual Helios. ⁴ i.e. Intelligible Helios.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δους διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὄψιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 νοητοῖς¹ διὰ τοῦ νοεροῦ παραδείγματος, ὃ προτείνει
 πολὺ φανότερον τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς, πᾶσιν οἶμαι
 τοῖς νοεροῖς τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ νοεῖσθαι παρέχει.
 ἑτέρα πρὸς ταύταις ἐνέργεια θαυμαστὴ φαίνεται C
 περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων "Ἡλιον ἢ τοῖς κρείτ-
 τοσι γένεσιν ἐνδιδομένη μοῖρα βελτίων, ἀγγέλοις,²
 δαίμοσιν, ἥρωσι ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς, ὁπόσαι
 μένουσιν ἐν παραδείγματος καὶ ιδέας λόγῳ,
 μήποτε ἑαυτὰς διδοῦσαι σώματι. τὴν μὲν οὖν
 προκόσμιον οὐσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεις τε αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ἔργα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑμνοῦντες "Ἡλιον,
 ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν οἶόν τε ἦν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν D
 εὐφημίας σπεύδοντες, διεληλύθαμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ὄμματα, φησὶν, ἀκοῆς ἐστι πιστότερα, καίτοι τῆς
 νοήσεως ὄντα γε ἀπιστότερα καὶ ἀσθενέστερα,
 φέρε καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ δημιουργίας
 αἰτησάμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν
 πειραθῶμεν.

Ὑπέστη μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ φαινόμενος ἐξ
 αἰῶνος κόσμος, ἔδραν δὲ ἔχει τὸ περικόσμιον φῶς
 ἐξ αἰῶνος, οὐχὶ νῦν μὲν, τότε δὲ οὐ, οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε
 ἄλλως, ἀεὶ δὲ ὡσαύτως. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ταύτην τὴν

¹ νοητοῖς Petavius adds.

² cf. 141 B, *Letter to the Athenians* 275 B.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

For just as through his light he gives sight to our eyes, so also among the intelligible gods through his intellectual counterpart—which he causes to shine far more brightly than his rays in our upper air—he bestows, as I believe, on all the intellectual gods the faculty of thought and of being comprehended by thought. Besides these, another marvellous activity of Helios the King of the All is that by which he endows with superior lot the nobler races—I mean angels, daemons,¹ heroes, and those divided souls² which remain in the category of model and archetype and never give themselves over to bodies. I have now described the substance of our god that is prior to the world and his powers and activities, celebrating Helios the King of the All in so far as it was possible for me to compass his praise. But since eyes, as the saying goes, are more trustworthy than hearing—although they are of course less trustworthy and weaker than the intelligence—come, let me endeavour to tell also of his visible creative function; but let first me entreat him to grant that I speak with some measure of success.

From eternity there subsisted, surrounding Helios, the visible world, and from eternity the light that encompasses the world has its fixed station, not shining intermittently, nor in different ways at different times, but always in the same manner. And

¹ Plato, *Laws* 713 D defines daemons as a race superior to men but inferior to gods; they were created to watch over human affairs; Julian, *Letter to Themistius* 258 B echoes Plato's description; cf. Plotinus 3. 5. 6; pseudo-Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 1. 20. 61; Julian 2. 90 B.

² i.e. the individual souls; by using this term, derived from the Neo-Platonists and Iamblichus, Julian implies that there is an indivisible world soul; cf. Plotinus 4. 8. 8 ἡ μὲν ὅλη (ψυχὴ) . . . αἱ δὲ ἐν μέρει γενόμεναι.

διαιώνιον φύσιν ἄχρισ ἐπινοίας ἐβελήσειε χρονι-
 κῶς κατανοῆσαι, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων Ἕλιον 146
 ἀθρόως καταλάμποντα ῥᾶστα ἂν γνοίη, πόσων
 αἰτίος ἐστι δι' αἰῶνος ἀγαθῶν τῷ κόσμῳ. οἶδα
 μὲν οὖν καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον
 ἄνδρα τοῖς χρόνοις, οὔτι μὴν τῇ φύσει κατα-
 δεέστερον· τὸν Χαλκιδέα φημί, τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον·
 ὃς ἡμᾶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ δὴ
 καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐμύνησεν, ἄχρισ ὑπο-
 θέσεως τῷ γεννητῷ προσχρωμένους καὶ οἰονεὶ
 χρονικὴν τινα τὴν ποίησιν ὑποτιθεμένους, ἵνα τὸ B
 μέγεθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένων ἔργων ἐπι-
 νοηθείη. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπολει-
 πομένῳ παντάπασι δυνάμεως οὐδαμῶς ἐστι παρα-
 κινδυνευτέον, ἐπεὶ περ ἀκίνδυνον οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μέχρι
 ψιλῆς ὑποθέσεως χρονικὴν τινα περὶ τὸν κόσμον
 ὑποθέσθαι ποίησιν ὁ κλεινὸς ἥρως ἐνόμισεν Ἰάμ-
 βλιχος. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ ὁ θεὸς ἐξ αἰωνίου
 προῆλθεν αἰτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ προήγαγε πάντα
 ἐξ αἰῶνος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφανῶν τὰ φανερά βουλήσει C
 θεία καὶ ἀρρήτῳ τάχει καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει
 πάντα ἀθρόως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἀπογεννήσας χρόνῳ,
 ἀπεκληρώσατο μὲν οἶον οἰκειοτέραν ἔδραν τὸ
 μέσον οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἴσα διανέμῃ
 τὰ γαθὰ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ προελθοῦσι
 θεοῖς, ἐπιτροπεύῃ δὲ τὰς ἐπτά καὶ τὴν ὀγδόην

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

if one desired to comprehend, as far as the mind may, this eternal nature from the point of view of time, one would understand most easily of how many blessings for the world throughout eternity he is the cause, even Helios the King of the All who shines without cessation. Now I am aware that the great philosopher Plato,¹ and after him a man who, though he is later in time, is by no means inferior to him in genius—I mean Iamblichus² of Chalcis, who through his writings initiated me not only into other philosophic doctrines but these also—I am aware, I say, that they employed as a hypothesis the conception of a generated world, and assumed for it, so to speak, a creation in time in order that the magnitude of the works that arise from Helios might be recognised. But apart from the fact that I fall short altogether of their ability, I must by no means be so rash; especially since the glorious hero Iamblichus thought it was not without risk to assume, even as a bare hypothesis, a temporal limit for the creation of the world. Nay rather, the god came forth from an eternal cause, or rather brought forth all things from everlasting, engendering by his divine will and with untold speed and unsurpassed power, from the invisible all things now visible in present time. And then he assigned as his own station the mid-heavens, in order that from all sides he may bestow equal blessings on the gods who came forth by his agency and in company with him; and that he may guide the seven spheres³ in the heavens and the eighth

¹ *Timaeus* 37 c; when the Creator had made the universe, he invented Time as an attribute of "divided substance."

² For Julian's debt to Iamblichus cf. 150 D, 157 B, c.

³ Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Helios, Aphrodite, Hermes, Selene are the seven planets; cf. 149 D. Though Helios guides the others he is counted with them.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

οὐρανοῦ κυκλοφορίαν, ἐνάτην τε οἶμαι δημιουργίαν τὴν ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ συνεχεῖ διαιωνίως ἀνακυκλούμενην γένεσιν. οἷ τε γὰρ πλάνητες εὐδηλον ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν χορεύοντες μέτρον ἔχουσι D τῆς κινήσεως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τόνδε τοιάνδε περὶ τὰ σχήματα συμφωνίαν, ὃ τε ὅλος οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα συναρμοζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μέρη θεῶν ἐστιν ἐξ Ἡλίου πλήρης. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὃδε πέντε μὲν κύκλων ἀρχῶν κατ' οὐρανόν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιῶν ἐν τρισὶ· τρεῖς γεννᾷ τὰς χάριτας· οἱ λειπόμενοι δὲ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης εἰσὶ πλάστιγγες. ἀξύνετον 147 ἴσως λέγω τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥσπερ δέον μόνον τὰ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα λέγειν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὥς ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, παντελῶς ξένον. οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὧ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι; οὐχ ἑτερήμεροι¹ λέγονται, διότι μὴ θέμις ὀρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; ὑμεῖς ὅπως ἀκούετε εὐδηλον ὅτι τῆς χθὲς καὶ τήμερον. εἴτα τί νοεῖ τοῦτο, πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων; ἐφαρμόσωμεν αὐτὸ φύσει

¹ *Odyssey* 11, 303; Philo Judaeus, *De Decalogo* 2. 190, τὸν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίρια τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς τὸ δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκούρους ἐκάλεσαν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἑτερημέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

sphere¹ also, yes and as I believe the ninth creation, too, namely our world which revolves for ever in a continuous cycle of birth and death. For it is evident that the planets, as they dance in a circle about him, preserve as the measure of their motion a harmony between this god and their own movements such as I shall now describe; and that the whole heaven also, which adapts itself to him in all its parts, is full of gods who proceed from Helios. For this god is lord of five zones in the heavens; and when he traverses three of these he begets in those three the three Graces.² And the remaining zones are the scales of mighty Necessity.³ To the Greeks what I say is perhaps incomprehensible—as though one were obliged to say to them only what is known and familiar. Yet not even is this altogether strange to them as one might suppose. For who, then, in your opinion, are the Dioscuri,⁴ O ye most wise, ye who accept without question so many of your traditions? Do you not call them “alternate of days,” because they may not both be seen on the same day? It is obvious that by this you mean “yesterday” and “to-day.” But what does this mean, in the name of those same Dioscuri? Let me apply it to some

¹ i.e. the fixed stars; cf. Iamblichus, *Theologumena arithmeticae* 56. 4 ἡ περιέχουσα τὰ πάντα σφαῖρα ὀγδόη, “the eighth sphere that encompasses all the rest.”

² The Graces are often associated with Spring; Julian seems to be describing obscurely the annual course of the sun.

³ Necessity played an important part in the cult of Mithras and was sometimes identified with the constellation Virgo who holds the scales of Justice.

⁴ For the adoption of the Dioscuri into the Mithraic cult see Cumont. Julian does not give his own view, though he rejects that of the later Greek astronomers. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 21. 22 identifies them with the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τινὶ καὶ πράγματι, κενὸν¹ ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόητον B
λέγωμεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εὖροιμεν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετά-
ζοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρῆσθαί τινες πρὸς
τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο
λόγον ἔχει τινά· πῶς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἑτερήμερον αὐτῶν
ἕκαστον οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥάδιον, ἡμέρας ἐκάστης
ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν
παραυξήσεως γινομένης. σκεψώμεθα δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ
ὧν αὐτοὶ καινοτομεῖν ἴσως τῷ δοκοῦμεν. τῆς
αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνοι μετέχειν ὀρθῶς ἂν ῥηθεῖεν, C
ὁπόσοις ἴσος ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡλίου πορείας
χρόνος ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί. ὁράτω τις οὖν, εἰ
μὴ τὸ ἑτερήμερον τοῖς κύκλοις ἐφαρμόζει τοῖς τε
ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς τροπικοῖς. ὑπολήψεται τις· οὐκ
ἴσον ἐστὶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ φαίνονται, καὶ τοῖς
τὴν ἀντίσκιον οἰκοῦσι γῆν ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφότεροι,
τῶν δὲ οἱ θάτερον ὀρῶντες οὐδαμῶς ὀρῶσι θάτερον.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ πλείω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων D
διατρίβω, τὰς τροπὰς ἐργαζόμενος, ὥσπερ ἴσμεν,
πατὴρ ὡρῶν ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀπολείπων δὲ οὐδαμῶς
τοὺς πόλους Ὡκεανὸς ἂν εἴη, διπλῆς ἡγεμὼν
οὐσίας. μὴν ἀσαφές τι καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν,
ἐπείπερ πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔφη·

Ὡκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται,²

θνητῶν τε θεῶν θ', ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς φαίη, μακάρων;

¹ κενὸν Hertlein suggests, καινὸν Mb, κοινὸν MSS.

² *Iliad* 14. 246.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

natural object, so that I may not say anything empty and senseless. But no such object could one find, however carefully one might search for it. For the theory that some have supposed to be held by the theogonists, that the two hemispheres of the universe are meant, has no meaning. For how one could call each one of the hemispheres "alternate of days" is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light in each separate day is imperceptible. But now let us consider a question on which some may think that I am innovating. We say correctly that those persons for whom the time of the sun's course above the earth is the same in one and the same month share the same day. Consider therefore whether the expression "alternate of days" cannot be applied both to the tropics and the other, the polar, circles. But some one will object that it does not apply equally to both. For though the former are always visible, and both of them are visible at once to those who inhabit that part of the earth where shadows are cast in an opposite direction,¹ yet in the case of the latter those who see the one do not see the other.

However, not to dwell too long on the same subject; since he causes the winter and summer solstice, Helios is, as we know, the father of the seasons; and since he never forsakes the poles, he is Oceanus, the lord of two-fold substance. My meaning here is not obscure, is it, seeing that before my time Homer said the same thing? "Oceanus who is the father of all things": yes, for mortals and for the

¹ *i.e.* the torrid zone. On the equator in the winter months shadows fall due north at noon, in the summer months due south; this is more or less true of the whole torrid zone; cf. ἀμφίσκιος which has the same meaning.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀληθῶς. ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ 148
τῆς Ὀκκεανοῦ πέφυκεν οὐσίας ἔκγονον. ἀλλὰ τί
τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς πόλους; βούλει σοι φράσω;
καίτοι σιωπᾶσθαι κρεῖσσον ἢν· εἰρήσεται δὲ
ὅμως.

Λέγεται γοῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐτοίμως ἀποδέ-
χονται, ὃ δίσκος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάστρου φέρεσθαι πολὺ
τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ὑψηλότερος· καὶ οὕτω δὴ¹ τῶν μὲν
πλανωμένων οὐχ ἔξει τὸ μέσον, τριῶν δὲ τῶν κό-
σμων κατὰ τὰς τελεστικὰς ὑποθέσεις, εἰ χρή τὰ B
τοιαῦτα καλεῖν ὑποθέσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ ταῦτα μὲν
δόγματα, τὰ δὲ τῶν σφαιρικῶν ὑποθέσεις. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων μεγάλων δὴ τινων ἀκού-
σαντές φασιν, οἱ δὲ ὑποτίθενται τὸ πιθανὸν ἐκ τῆς
πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα συμφωνίας. αἰνεῖν μὲν οὖν
ἄξιον καὶ τούσδε, πιστεύειν δὲ ἐκείνοις ὅτῃ
βέλτιον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ παίζων καὶ σπου-
δάζων ἄγαμαί τε καὶ τεθαύμακα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν
δὴ ταύτη, φασί.

Πολὺ δὲ πρὸς οἷς ἔφην πληθὸς ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν C
οὐρανὸν θεῶν, οὓς κατενόησαν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν μὴ
παρέργως μηδὲ ὥσπερ τὰ βοσκήματα θεωροῦντες.²
τοὺς τρεῖς γὰρ τετραχῇ τέμνων διὰ τῆς τοῦ ζωο-

¹ δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

² cf. 143 B and note.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

blessed gods too, as he himself would say ; and what he says is true. For there is no single thing in the whole of existence that is not the offspring of the substance of Oceanus. But what has that to do with the poles ? Shall I tell you ? It were better indeed to keep silence¹ ; but for all that I will speak.

Some say then, even though all men are not ready to believe it, that the sun travels in the starless heavens far above the region of the fixed stars. And on this theory he will not be stationed midmost among the planets but midway between the three worlds : that is, according to the hypothesis of the mysteries, if indeed one ought to use the word "hypothesis" and not rather say "established truths," using the word "hypothesis" for the study of the heavenly bodies. For the priests of the mysteries tell us what they have been taught by the gods or mighty daemons, whereas the astronomers make plausible hypotheses from the harmony that they observe in the visible spheres. It is proper, no doubt, to approve the astronomers as well, but where any man thinks it better to believe the priests of the mysteries, him I admire and revere, both in jest and earnest. And so much for that, as the saying is.²

Now besides those whom I have mentioned, there is in the heavens a great multitude of gods who have been recognised as such by those who survey the heavens, not casually, nor like cattle. For as he divides the three spheres by four through the zodiac,³

¹ For the affectation of mystery cf. 152 B, 159 A, 172 D.

² Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 4, quotes this phrase as peculiarly Platonic ; cf. Plato, *Laws* 676 A.

³ Literally "life-bringer," Aristotle's phrase for the zodiac.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

φόρου κύκλου πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν κοινωνίας τοῦ-
 τον αὐθις τὸν ζωοφόρον εἰς δώδεκα θεῶν δυνάμεις
 διαιρεῖ, καὶ μέντοι τούτων ἕκαστον εἰς τρεῖς, ὥστε
 ποιεῖν ἕξ ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα. ἔνθεν οἶμαι καθήκει D
 ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν ἕξ οὐρανῶν τριπλῇ χαρίτων δόσις, ἐκ
 τῶν κύκλων, οὓς ὁ θεὸς ὅδε τετραχῇ τέμνων τὴν
 τετραπλὴν ἐπιπέμπει τῶν ὥρῶν ἀγλαΐαν, αἱ δὲ
 τὰς τροπὰς ἔχουσι τῶν καιρῶν. κύκλον τοι καὶ
 αἱ Χάριτες ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων μιμοῦνται.
 χαριτοδότης¹ δέ ἐστιν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐς ταὐτὸ λεγόμε-
 νος Ἡλίῳ συμβασιλεύειν. τί οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸν
 Ὀρον λέγω καὶ τὰλλα θεῶν ὀνόματα, τὰ πάντα
 Ἡλίῳ προσήκοντα; συνῆκαν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θεὸν
 ἐξ ὧν ὁ θεὸς ὅδε ἐργάζεται, τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανὸν 149
 τοῖς νοεροῖς ἀγαθοῖς τελειωσάμενος καὶ μεταδούς
 αὐτῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ κάλλους, ἀρξάμενοί τε ἐκείθεν
 ὅλον τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ μέρη τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀδρᾶ²
 δόσει. πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐπιτροπεύει³ κίνησιν ἄχρι τῆς
 τελευταίας τοῦ κόσμου λήξεως· φύσιν τε καὶ
 ψυχὴν καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τι ποτέ ἐστι, πάντα πανταχοῦ
 τελειοῦται. τὴν δὲ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν τῶν θεῶν
 εἰς μίαν ἡγεμονικὴν ἔνωσιν συντάξας Ἀθηναῖ B
 Προνοία παρέδωκεν, ἣν ὁ μὲν μῦθός φησιν ἐκ τῆς

¹ χαριτοδότης Spanheim, χαριδότης Hertlein, MSS.

² ἀδρᾶ Hertlein suggests, ἀνδρῶν MSS.

³ ἐπιτροπεύει Wright, ἐπιτροπεύουσι Hertlein, MSS, lacuna Petavius.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

which is associated with every one of the three, so he divides the zodiac also into twelve divine powers; and again he divides every one of these twelve by three, so as to make thirty-six gods in¹ all. Hence, as I believe, there descends from above, from the heavens to us, a three-fold gift of the Graces: I mean from the spheres, for this god, by thus dividing them by four, sends to us the four-fold glory of the seasons, which express the changes of time. And indeed on our earth the Graces imitate a circle² in their statues. And it is Dionysus who is the giver of the Graces, and in this very connection he is said to reign with Helios. Why should I go on to speak to you of Horus³ and of the other names of gods, which all belong to Helios? For from his works men have learned to know this god, who makes the whole heavens perfect through the gift of intellectual blessings, and gives it a share of intelligible beauty; and taking the heavens as their starting-point, they have learned to know him both as a whole and his parts also, from his abundant bestowal of good gifts. For he exercises control over all movement, even to the lowest plane of the universe. And everywhere he makes all things perfect, nature and soul and everything that exists. And marshalling together this great army of the gods into a single commanding unity, he handed it over to Athene Pronoia⁴ who,

¹ cf. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* III. 2^a p. 753, notes.

² There is a play on the word κύκλος, which means both "sphere" and "circle."

³ The Egyptian sun-god, whose worship was introduced first into Greece and later at Rome.

⁴ Athene as goddess of Forethought was worshipped at Delphi, but her earlier epithet was *πρόνοια* "whose statue is

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τοῦ Διὸς γενέσθαι κορυφῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑλίου προβληθῆναι συνεχομένην ἐν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ διαφέροντες τοῦ μύθου, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκροτάτου μέρους, ὅλην δὲ ἐξ ὅλου· ἐπεὶ τὰλλά γε οὐδὲν διαφέρειν Ἑλίου Δία νομίζοντες ὁμολογοῦμεν τῇ παλαιᾷ φήμῃ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ Πρόνοιαν Ἀθηναῖν λέγοντες οὐ καινοτομοῦμεν, εἵπερ ὀρθῶς ἀκούομεν·

Ἰκετο δ' ἐς Πυθῶνα καὶ ἐς Γλαυκῶπα Προνοίην. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηναῖ C
Πρόνοια σύνθρονος Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ νομιζομένῳ μὴδὲν Ἑλίου διαφέρειν. μή ποτε οὖν καὶ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ τοῦτο Ὀμηρος· ἦν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, θεόληπτος· ἀπεμαντεύσατο πολλαχοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως·

Τιοίμην δ' ὡς τίετ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων,¹
ὑπὸ Διὸς δῆπουθεν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἑλίῳ;
καθάπερ δ' ² ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων ἐπικοινωνεῖ
διὰ τῆς ἀπλότητος τῶν νοήσεων Ἑλίῳ, οὕτω δὲ
καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖν νομιστέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεξα- D
μένην τὴν οὐσίαν οὐσάν τε αὐτοῦ τελείαν νόησιν
συνάπτειν μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἑλίον θεοὺς αὖ τῷ
βασίλει τῶν ὅλων Ἑλίῳ δίχᾳ συγχύσεως εἰς

¹ *Iliad* 8. 538 ; 13. 827.

² δ' Hertlein adds.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

as the legend says, sprang from the head of Zeus, but I say that she was sent forth from Helios whole from the whole of him, being contained within him; though I disagree with the legend only so far as I assert that she came forth not from his highest part, but whole from the whole of him. For in other respects, since I believe that Zeus is in no wise different from Helios, I agree with that ancient tradition. And in using this very phrase Athene Pronoia, I am not innovating, if I rightly understand the words: "He came to Pytho and to grey-eyed Pronoia."¹ This proves that the ancients also thought that Athene Pronoia shared the throne of Apollo, who, as we believe, differs in no way from Helios. Indeed, did not Homer by divine inspiration—for he was, we may suppose, possessed by a god—reveal this truth, when he says often in his poems: "May I be honoured even as Athene and Apollo were honoured"—by Zeus, that is to say, who is identical with Helios? And just as King Apollo, through the singleness of his thoughts, is associated with Helios, so also we must believe that Athene² has received her nature from Helios, and that she is his intelligence in perfect form: and so she binds together the gods who are assembled about Helios and brings them without confusion into unity with Helios, the King of the All: and she distributes and in front of the temple"; cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 21, Herodotus 8. 37; late writers often confuse these forms. Julian applies the epithet *πρόνοια* to the mother of the gods 179 A, and to Prometheus 182 D; cf. 131 C.

¹ This verse was quoted from an unknown source by Eustathius on *Iliad* 1. p. 83. "The Grey-eyed" is a name of Athene.

² On Athene cf. *Oration* 7. 230 A; *Against the Christians* 235 C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἔνωσιν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὰν ζώην
 ἀπ' ἄκρας ἀψίδος οὐρανοῦ διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ κύκλων
 ἄχρι τῆς Σελήνης νέμουσιν ἐποχετεύειν, ἣν ἡ θεὸς 150
 ἦδε τῶν κυκλικῶν οὖσαν σωμάτων ἐσχάτην ἐπλή-
 ρωσε τῆς φρονήσεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἡ Σελήνη τά τε ὑπὲρ
 τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρεῖ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτὴν
 κοσμοῦσα τὴν ὕλην τοῖς εἶδεσιν ἀναιρεῖ τὸ θηρι-
 ῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ παραχῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον. ἀνθρώ-
 ποις δὲ ἀγαθὰ δίδωσιν Ἀθηνᾶ σοφίαν τό¹ τε
 νοεῖν καὶ τὰς δημιουργικὰς τέχνας. κατοικεῖ δὲ
 τὰς ἀκροπόλεις αὕτη δῆπουθεν καταστησαμένη
 τὴν πολιτικὴν διὰ σοφίας κοινωνίαν. ὀλίγα ἔτι B
 περὶ Ἀφροδίτης, ἣν συνεφέαπτεσθαι τῆς δημιουρ-
 γίας τῷ θεῷ Φοινίκων ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ
 ἐγὼ πείθομαι. ἔστι δὴ οὖν αὕτη σύγκρασις τῶν
 οὐρανίων θεῶν, καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτῶν ἔτι φιλία
 καὶ ἔνωσις. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὖσα καὶ συμπερι-
 θέουσα καὶ πλησιάζουσα πληροὶ μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν
 εὐκрасίας, ἐνδίδωσι δὲ τὸ γόνιμον τῇ γῇ, προμη-
 θουμένη καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς ἀειγενείας τῶν ζώων, ἧς ὁ
 μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἡλῖος ἔχει τὴν πρωτουργὸν αἰτίαν,
 Ἀφροδίτη δὲ αὐτῷ συναίτιος, ἡ θέλγουσα μὲν τὰς C
 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ, καταπέμπουσα δὲ
 εἰς γῆν ἐξ αἰθέρος αὐγὰς ἡδίστας καὶ ἀκηράτους

¹ τὸ Hertlein adds.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

is the channel for stainless and pure life throughout the seven spheres, from the highest vault of the heavens as far as Selene the Moon :¹ for Selene is the last of the heavenly spheres which Athene fills with wisdom : and by her aid Selene beholds the intelligible which is higher than the heavens, and adorns with its forms the realm of matter that lies below her, and thus she does away with its savagery and confusion and disorder. Moreover to mankind Athene gives the blessings of wisdom and intelligence and the creative arts. And surely she dwells in the capitol of cities because, through her wisdom, she has established the community of the state. I have still to say a few words about Aphrodite, who, as the wise men among the Phoenicians affirm, and as I believe, assists Helios in his creative function. She is, in very truth, a synthesis of the heavenly gods, and in their harmony she is the spirit of love and unity.² For she³ is very near to Helios, and when she pursues the same course as he and approaches him, she fills the skies with fair weather and gives generative power to the earth : for she herself takes thought for the continuous birth of living things. And though of that continuous birth King Helios is the primary creative cause, yet Aphrodite is the joint cause with him, she who enchants our souls with her charm and sends down to earth from the upper air rays of light most sweet and stainless, aye,

¹ cf. 152 D. Julian derives his theory of the position and functions of the moon from Iamblichus ; cf. Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 258 f.

² cf. 154 A, and Proclus on Plato, *Timaeus* 155 F, 259 B, where Aphrodite is called "the binding goddess" *συνδετικήν*, and "harmoniser" *συναρμωστικήν*.

³ i.e. as the planet Venus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσίου στιλπνοτέρας. ἔτι ἐπιμετ-
 ρῆσαι¹ βούλομαι τῆς Φοινίκων θεολογίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ
 μάτην, ὁ λόγος προῖὼν δείξει. οἱ τὴν Ἑμεσαν²
 οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἥλιου χωρίον, Μό-
 νιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀξιζον συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίτ- D
 τεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλικος, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὰλλα
 πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος
 μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἶη, Ἀξιζος δὲ Ἀρης, Ἥλιου πάρεδροι,
 πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες
 τόπῳ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ
 τοιαῦτά ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐπιτελούμενα μέχρι
 τῶν τῆς γῆς προήκει τελευταίων ὄρων· ὅσα δὲ
 ὑπὸ τὴν Σελήνην ἐργάζεται, μακρὸν ἂν εἶη τὰ
 πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι. πλὴν ὡς ἐν κεφαλῇ καὶ
 ταῦτα ῥητέον. οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πρότερον 151
 μνημονεύσας, ὅπηνίκα ἡξίου ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων
 τὰ ἀφανῆ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σκοπεῖν οὐσίας, ὁ
 λόγος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖ με καὶ νῦν ἐν τάξει περὶ αὐτῶν
 δηλῶσαι.

Καθάπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἔχειν ἔφαμεν τὴν
 ἡγεμονίαν Ἥλιον, πολὺ περὶ τὴν ἀμέριστον οὐσίαν
 ἑαυτοῦ πλήθος ἐνοειδῶς ἔχοντα τῶν θεῶν, ἔτι δὲ
 ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς, ἃ δὴ τὴν κύκλῳ διαιωνίαν B

¹ ἐπιμετρήσαι Hertlein suggests, μετριάσαι MSS.

² Ἑμεσαν Spanheim, cf. 154 B, Ἑδεσσαν MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

more lustrous than gold itself. I desire to mete out to you still more of the theology of the Phoenicians, and whether it be to some purpose my argument as it proceeds will show. The inhabitants of Emesa,¹ a place from time immemorial sacred to Helios, associate with Helios in their temples Monimos and Azizos.² Iamblichus, from whom I have taken this and all besides, a little from a great store, says that the secret meaning to be interpreted is that Monimos is Hermes and Azizos Ares, the assessors of Helios, who are the channel for many blessings to the region of our earth.

Such then are the works of Helios in the heavens, and, when completed by means of the gods whom I have named, they reach even unto the furthest bounds of the earth. But to tell the number of all his works in the region below the moon would take too long. Nevertheless I must describe them also in a brief summary. Now I am aware that I mentioned them earlier when I claimed³ that from things visible we could observe the invisible properties of the god's substance, but the argument demands that I should expound them now also, in their proper order.

I said then that Helios holds sway among the intellectual gods in that he unites into one, about his own undivided substance, a great multitude of the gods: and further, I demonstrated that among the gods whom we can perceive, who revolve

¹ cf. *Caesars* 313 A, *Misopogon* 357 c. Emesa in Syria was famous for its temple to Baal, the sun-god. The Emperor Heliogabalus (218-222 A.D.) was born at Emesa and was, as his name indicates, a priest of Baal, whose worship he attempted to introduce at Rome.

² The "strong god," identified with the star Lucifer.

³ 133 D, 138 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

πορεύεται μάλα εὐδαίμονα πορείαν, ἀπεδείκνυμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ κύριον, ἐνδιδόντα μὲν τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει,¹ πληροῦντα δὲ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ὥσπερ τῆς φαινομένης αὐγῆς οὕτω δὲ καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν ἀφανῶν ἄλλων, τελειούμενα δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμφανῶν θεῶν ἀγαθὰ χορηγούμενα, καὶ πρό γε τούτων αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ θείας αὐτοῦ τελειουμένου ἐνεργείας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐν γενέσει τόπον θεοῦ τινὰς ἐπιβεβηκέναι νομιστέον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου C
 συνεχομένους, οἱ τὴν τετραπλὴν τῶν στοιχείων κυβερνῶντες φύσιν, περὶ ἃς ἐστήρικται ταῦτα ψυχὰς μετὰ τῶν τριῶν κρειττόνων ἐνοικοῦσι γενῶν. αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς μερισταῖς ψυχαῖς ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν αἷτιος, κρίσιν τε αὐταῖς προτείνων καὶ δίκη κατευθύνων καὶ ἀποκαθαίρων λαμπρότητι; τὴν ὅλην δὲ οὐχ οὗτος φύσιν, ἐνδιδούς ἄνωθεν αὐτῇ τὸ γόνιμον, κινεῖ καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖ; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μερισταῖς φύσεσιν οὐ τῆς εἰς τέλος πορείας οὗτός D
 ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς αἷτιος; ἄνθρωπον γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου γεννᾶσθαι φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ἡλίου.² ταῦτόν δὴ οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅσα τῶν μεριστῶν ἐστὶ φύσεων ἔργα, περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡλίου προσήκει διανοεῖσθαι. τί δέ; οὐχ ἡμῖν ὄμβρους καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μεταρσίοις γινόμενα τῷ διττῷ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως οἶον ὕλη χρώμενος ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἐργάζεται; θερμαίνων γὰρ 152
 τὴν γῆν ἀτμίδα καὶ καπνὸν ἔλκει, γίνεται δὲ ἐκ

¹ τὸ γόνιμον τῇ φύσει Marcilius, cf. 150 B, 151 C, lacuna MSS., Hertlein.

² *Physics* 2. 2. 194 b; cf. 131 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

eternally in their most blessed path, he is leader and lord; since he bestows on their nature its generative power, and fills the whole heavens not only with visible rays of light but with countless other blessings that are invisible; and, further, that the blessings which are abundantly supplied by the other visible gods are made perfect by him, and that even prior to this the visible gods themselves are made perfect by his unspeakable and divine activity. In the same manner we must believe that on this our world of generation certain gods have alighted who are linked together with Helios: and these gods guide the four-fold nature of the elements, and inhabit, together with the three higher races,¹ those souls which are upborne by the elements. But for the divided souls² also, of how many blessings is he the cause! For he extends to them the faculty of judging, and guides them with justice, and purifies them by his brilliant light. Again, does he not set in motion the whole of nature and kindle life therein, by bestowing on it generative power from on high? But for the divided natures also, is not he the cause that they journey to their appointed end?³ For Aristotle says that man is begotten by man and the sun together. Accordingly the same theory about King Helios must surely apply to all the other activities of the divided souls. Again, does he not produce for us rain and wind and the clouds in the skies, by employing, as though it were matter, the two kinds of vapour? For when he heats the earth he draws up steam and smoke, and from these there arise not only the

¹ cf. 145 c.

² cf. 145 c.

³ i.e. their ascent after death to the gods.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τούτων οὐ τὰ μετάρσια μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ γῆς πάθη, σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα.

Τί οὖν περὶ¹ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπέξειμι μακρότερα, ἔξον ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ ἤδη βαδίζειν ὑμνήσαντα πρότερον ὅσα ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις Ἥλιος ἀγαθὰ; γινόμενοι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρεφόμεθα παρ' ἐκείνου. τὰ B
μὲν οὖν θεϊότερα καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ψυχαῖς δίδωσιν ἀπολύων αὐτὰς τοῦ σώματος, εἴτα ἐπανάγων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ συγγενεῖς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸ λεπτόν καὶ εὐτονον τῆς θείας αὐγῆς οἶον ὄχημα τῆς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ἀσφαλοῦς διδόμενον καθόδου ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμνείσθω τε ἄλλοις ἀξίως καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πιστευέσθω μᾶλλον ἢ δεικνύσθω· τὰ δὲ ὅσα γνώριμα πέφυκε τοῖς πᾶσιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον ἐπεξελθεῖν. οὐρανόν φησι Πλάτων² ἡμῖν γενέσθαι σοφίας διδάσκαλον. ἐνθένδε γὰρ ἀριθμοῦ κατενοήσαμεν C
φύσιν, ἧς τὸ διαφέρουν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἡλίου περιόδου κατενοήσαμεν. φησί τοι καὶ αὐτὸς Πλάτων ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πρότερον. εἴτα ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς σελήνης, ὃ δὴ δίδεται τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ παρ' ἡλίου, μετὰ τοῦτο προήλθομεν ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς τοιαύτης συνέσεως, ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον στοχαζόμενοι συμφωνίας. ὅπερ αὐτὸς πού φησιν,³ ὥς ἄρα τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐπίπουνον ὃν φύσει θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες ἔδωκαν ἡμῖν τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ D
τὰς Μούσας συγχορευτάς. ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν Ἥλιος

¹ περὶ Hertlein suggests, ἐπὶ MSS.

² *Republic* 529, 530; *Epinomis* 977 A.

³ *Iaous* 653 C, D, 665 A.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

clouds but also all the physical changes on our earth, both great and small.

But why do I deal with the same questions at such length, when I am free at last to come to my goal, though not till I have first celebrated all the blessings that Helios has given to mankind? For from him are we born, and by him are we nourished. But his more divine gifts, and all that he bestows on our souls when he frees them from the body and then lifts them up on high to the region of those substances that are akin to the god; and the fineness and vigour of his divine rays, which are assigned as a sort of vehicle for the safe descent of our souls into this world of generation; all this, I say, let others celebrate in fitting strains, but let me believe it rather than demonstrate its truth. However, I need not hesitate to discuss so much as is known to all. Plato says that the sky is our instructor in wisdom. For from its contemplation we have learned to know the nature of number, whose distinguishing characteristics we know only from the course of the sun. Plato himself says that day and night were created first.¹ And next, from observing the moon's light, which was bestowed on the goddess by Helios, we later progressed still further in the understanding of these matters: in every case conjecturing the harmony of all things with this god. For Plato himself says somewhere that our race was by nature doomed to toil, and so the gods pitied us and gave us Dionysus and the Muses as playfellows. And we recognised that Helios is their common lord,

i.e. as a unit of measurement; *Timaeus* 39 B, 47 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

τούτων κοινὸς ἡγεμὼν, Διονύσου μὲν πατὴρ
 ὑμνούμενος, ἡγεμὼν δὲ Μουσῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ
 συμβασιλεύων Ἀπόλλων οὐ πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνῆκε
 τῆς γῆς χρηστήρια, σοφίαν δὲ ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις
 ἔνθεον, ἐκόσμησε δὲ ἱεροῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς τὰς
 πόλεις θεσμοῖς; οὗτος ἡμέρωσε μὲν διὰ τῶν
 Ἑλληνικῶν ἀποικιῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 παρεσκεύασε δὲ ῥᾶον ὑπακούσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔχουσι 153
 καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐ γένος μόνον Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 θεσμοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐπιστίαν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος Ἑλληνικὴν καταστησαμένοις τε
 καὶ φυλάξασι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν
 πόλιν κόσμον οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄριστα πολιτευσαμέ-
 νων πόλεων καταστησαμένοις φαυλότερον, εἰ μὴ
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν, ὅσαι γε ἐν χρήσει γεγό-
 νασι πολιτεῖαι, κρείσσονα· ἀνθ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἔγνω τὴν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα γένος τε καὶ
 πολιτεῖαν.

Τί ἔτι σοι λέγω, πῶς τῆς ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας B
 πάντων προυνόησε τὸν σωτήρα τῶν ὅλων ἀπογεν-
 νήσας Ἀσκληπιόν, ὅπως δὲ ἀρετὴν ἔδωκε παν-
 τοίαν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀθηνᾶ συγκαταπέμψας ἡμῖν,
 κηδεμόνα μόνον οὐχὶ νόμον θέμενος, πρὸς μηδὲν
 ἕτερον χρῆσθαι τῇ μίξει ἢ πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν¹ τοῦ
 ὁμοίου; διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους
 αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φύόμενα καὶ τὰ παντοδαπῶν
 ζώων φύλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὁμοίου. C
 τί χρή τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμνύναι;

¹ γένιητιν Mau, γένεσιν MSS, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

since he is celebrated as the father of Dionysus and the leader of the Muses. And has not Apollo, who is his colleague in empire, set up oracles in every part of the earth, and given to men inspired wisdom, and regulated their cities by means of religious and political ordinances? And he has civilised the greater part of the world by means of Greek colonies, and so made it easier for the world to be governed by the Romans. For the Romans themselves not only belong to the Greek race, but also the sacred ordinances and the pious belief in the gods which they have established and maintain are, from beginning to end, Greek. And beside this they have established a constitution not inferior to that of any one of the best governed states, if indeed it be not superior to all others that have ever been put into practice. For which reason I myself recognise that our city is Greek, both in descent and as to its constitution.

Shall I now go on to tell you how Helios took thought for the health and safety of all men by begetting Asclepios¹ to be the saviour of the whole world? and how he bestowed on us every kind of excellence by sending down to us Aphrodite together with Athene, and thus laid down for our protection what is almost a law, that we should only unite to beget our kind? Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light? For surely

¹ cf. 144 c: *Against the Christians* 200, 235 B.C. Asclepios plays an important part in Julian's religion, and may have been intentionally opposed, as the son of Helios-Mithras and the "saviour of the world," to Jesus Christ.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

νύξ γοῦν ἀσέληνός τε καὶ ἄναστρος ὅπως ἐστὶ φοβερὰ, ἄρα ἐννοεῖ τις, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν, ὅποσον ἔχομεν ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἡλίου τὸ φῶς, τεκμήρηται; τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ συνεχὲς παρέχων καὶ ἀμεσολάβητον νυκτὶ ἐν οἷς χρή τόποις ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης τοῖς ἄνω, ἐκεχειρίαν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν πόνων δίδωσιν. οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο πέρας τοῦ λόγου, εἰ πάντα ἐπεξιέναι τις ἐθελήσειε τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὃ μὴ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε λαβόντες ἔχομεν, ἥτοι παρὰ μόνου τέλειον, ἢ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τελειούμενον.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τῆς πόλεως. οἰκεῖ γοῦν αὐτῆς οὐ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μόνον μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων πατὴρ ὑμνούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπὶ τῷ Παλλαντίῳ λόφῳ καὶ Ἥλιος αὐτὸς τοῦτο τὸ¹ κοινὸν ὄνομα πᾶσι καὶ γνώριμον. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ πάντῃ καὶ πάντα προσήκομεν οἱ Ῥωμυλῖδαι τε καὶ Αἰνεάδαι, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἐρῶ βραχέα τὰ γνωριμώτατα. γέγονε, φασίν, ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνεΐας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὑπουργὸς Ἠλίῳ καὶ συγγενής. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κτίστην ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως Ἀρεως ἢ φήμη παρέδωκε παῖδα, πιστουμένη τὸ παράδοξον τῶν λόγων διὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπακολουθησάντων σημείων. ὑπέσχε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί, μαζὸν θήλεια λύκος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἀρης Ἀξιζος λεγόμενος.

¹ τὸ Hertlein suggests.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

everyone knows how terrible is night without a moon or stars, so that from this he can calculate how great a boon for us is the light of the sun? And this very light he supplies at night, without ceasing, and directly, from the moon in those upper spaces where it is needed, while he grants us through the night a truce from toil. But there would be no limit to the account if one should endeavour to describe all his gifts of this sort. For there is no single blessing in our lives which we do not receive as a gift from this god, either perfect from him alone, or, through the other gods, perfected by him.

Moreover he is the founder of our city.¹ For not only does Zeus, who is glorified as the father of all things, inhabit its citadel² together with Athene and Aphrodite, but Apollo also dwells on the Palatine Hill, and Helios himself under this name of his which is commonly known to all and familiar to all. And I could say much to prove that we, the sons of Romulus and Aeneas, are in every way and in all respects connected with him, but I will mention briefly only what is most familiar. According to the legend, Aeneas is the son of Aphrodite, who is subordinate to Helios and is his kinswoman. And the tradition has been handed down that the founder of our city was the son of Ares, and the paradoxical element in the tale has been believed because of the portents which later appeared to support it. For a she-wolf, they say, gave him suck. Now I am aware that Ares, who is called

¹ Rome. ² This refers to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline; cf. *Oration* I. 29 D. The three shrines in this temple were dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva and Juno, but Julian ignores Juno because he wishes to introduce Aphrodite in connection with Aeneas.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἑμεσαν¹ Σύρων Ἑλίου B
 προπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδὼς καὶ προειπὼν ἀφήσειν
 μοι δοκῶ. τοῦ χάριν δὲ ὁ λύκος Ἄρει μάλλον, οὐχὶ
 δὲ Ἑλίῳ προσήκει; καίτοι λυκάβαντά φασιν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ λύκου τὸν ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον· ὀνομάζει δὲ
 αὐτὸν οὐχ' Ὀμηρος μόνον οὐδὲ οἱ γνώριμοι τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός·
 διανύων γάρ φησιν

Ὁρχηθμῷ λυκάβαντα δυωδεκάμηνα κέλευθα.

βούλει οὖν ἔτι σοι φράσω μεῖζον τεκμήριον, C
 ὅτι ἄρα ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν οἰκιστὴς οὐχ ὑπ'
 Ἀρεως κατεπέμφθη μόνον, ἀλλ' ἴσως αὐτῷ τῆς
 μὲν τοῦ σώματος κατασκευῆς συνεπελάβετο δαί-
 μων ἀρήσιος καὶ γενναῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιφοιτῆσαι
 τῇ Σιλβία λουτρὰ τῇ θεῷ φερούσῃ, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐξ
 Ἑλίου κατήλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ θεοῦ Κυρίνου·
 πειστέον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇ φήμῃ. σύνοδος ἀκριβὴς D
 τῶν τὴν ἐμφανῇ κατανειμαμένων βασιλείαν
 Ἑλίου τε καὶ Σελήνης ὥσπερ οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν
 κατήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ ἀνήγαγεν δν² ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 ἐδέξατο, τὸ θνητὸν ἀφανίσασα πυρὶ κεραυνίῳ
 τοῦ σώματος. οὕτω προδήλως ἡ τῶν περιγείων

¹ Ἑμεσαν Spanheim, Ἑδεσαν MSS, Hertlein; cf. 150 c.

² δν Marcilius, ἦν MSS, Hertlein.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

Azizos by the Syrians who inhabit Emesa, precedes Helios in the sacred procession, but I mentioned it before, so I think I may let that pass. But why is the wolf sacred only to Ares and not to Helios? Yet men call the period of a year "lycabas,"¹ which is derived from "wolf." And not only Homer² and the famous men of Greece call it by this name, but also the god himself, when he says: "With dancing does he bring to a close his journey of twelve months, even the lycabas." Now do you wish me to bring forward a still greater proof that the founder of our city was sent down to earth, not by Ares alone, though perhaps some noble daemon with the character of Ares did take part in the fashioning of his mortal body, even he who is said to have visited Silvia³ when she was carrying water for the bath of the goddess,⁴ but the whole truth is that the soul of the god Quirinus⁵ came down to earth from Helios; for we must, I think, believe the sacred tradition. And the close conjunction of Helios and Selene, who share the empire over the visible world, even as it had caused his soul to descend to earth, in like manner caused to mount upwards him whom it received back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt⁶ the mortal part of his body. So clearly did she who creates earthly matter,

¹ Julian accepts the impossible etymology "path of the wolf"; Lycabas means "path of light," cf. *lux*.

² *Odyssey*, 14. 161. The word was also used on Roman coins with the meaning "year."

³ Silvia the Vestal virgin gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus, whose father was supposed to be Mars (Ares).

⁴ Vesta, the Greek Hestia, the goddess of the hearth.

⁵ The name given to Romulus after his apotheosis; cf. *Caesars* 307 B.

⁶ For the legend of his translation see Livy 1. 16; Plutarch, *Romulus* 21; Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 496; Horace, *Odes* 3. 3. 15 foll.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἄκρως γενομένη τὸν ἥλιον
ἐδέξατο εἰς γῆν πεμπόμενον διὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς
Προνοίας τὸν Κυρίνον, ἀνιπτάμενόν τε αὐθις ἀπὸ
γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτίκα
Ἡλιον.

Ἔτι σοι βούλει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν φράσω τεκμήριον 155
τοῦ Νόμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον; ἄσβεστον ἐξ ἡλίου
φυλάττουσι φλόγα παρθένοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἱεραὶ κατὰ
τὰς διαφόρους ὥρας, αὐτὰ δὲ τὸ γενόμενον¹ περὶ τὴν
γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ φυλάττουσιν. ἔτι τούτων
μεῖζον ἔχω σοι φράσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦδε τεκμήριον,
αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου βασιλέως ἔργον. οἱ μῆνες
ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς
σελήνης ἀριθμοῦνται, μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι B
πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου κινήσεις ἐκάστου μετροῦμεν ἐν-
αυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας. εἴ σοι μετὰ τοῦτο φαίην, ὥς
καὶ τὸν Μίθραν τιμῶμεν καὶ ἄγομεν Ἡλίῳ τετραε-
τηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἐρῶ νεώτερα· βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως
ἐν τι τῶν παλαιότερων προθεῖναι. τοῦ γὰρ
ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν
ποιούμενος, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, οἱ δὲ
τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ θέρους, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ φθίνουσιν
ἤδη τὴν ὀπώραν, Ἡλίου τὰς ἐμφανεστάτας ὑμνοῦσι C

¹ After *γενόμενον* Hertlein omits *ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης*.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

she whose place is at the furthest point below the sun, receive Quirinus when he was sent down to earth by Athene, goddess of Forethought; and when he took flight again from earth she led him back straightway to Helios, the King of the All.

Do you wish me to mention yet another proof of this, I mean the work of King Numa?¹ In Rome maiden priestesses² guard the undying flame of the sun at different hours in turn; they guard the fire that is produced on earth by the agency of the god. And I can tell you a still greater proof of the power of this god, which is the work of that most divine king himself. The months are reckoned from the moon by, one may say, all other peoples; but we and the Egyptians alone reckon the days of every year according to the movements of the sun. If after this I should say that we also worship Mithras, and celebrate games in honour of Helios every four years, I shall be speaking of customs that are somewhat recent.³ But perhaps it is better to cite a proof from the remote past. The beginning of the cycle of the year is placed at different times by different peoples. Some place it at the spring equinox, others at the height of summer, and many in the late autumn; but they each and all sing the praises of the most visible gifts of Helios. One nation celebrates the season best

¹ To Numa Pompilius, the legendary king who reigned next after Romulus, the Romans ascribed the foundation of many of their religious ceremonies. ² The Vestal virgins.

³ The *Heliaia, solis agon*, was founded by the Emperor Aurelian at Rome in 274 A.D.; but the "unconquerable sun," *sol invictus*, had been worshipped there for fully a century before Aurelian's foundation; see Usener, *Sol invictus*, in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1905. Julian once again, *Caesars* 336 c calls Helios by his Persian name Mithras.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δωρεάς, ὁ μὲν τις τὴν τῆς ἐργασίας ἐνδιδομένην
 εὐκαιρίαν, ὅτε ἡ γῆ θάλλει καὶ γαυριᾷ, φυομένων
 ἄρτι τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων, γίνεται δὲ ἐπιτήδεια
 πλείσθαι τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀηδὲς
 καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φαιδρότερον μεθίσταται,
 οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ θέρους ἐτίμησαν ὥραν,¹ ὡς ἀσφαλῶς
 τότε ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἔχοντες θαρρήσαι
 γενέσεως, τῶν μὲν σπερμάτων ἤδη συνειλεγμένων,
 ἀκμαίας δὲ οὕσης τῆς ὁπώρας ἤδη καὶ πεπαινο- D
 μένων τῶν ἐπικειμένων καρπῶν τοῖς δένδροις.
 ἄλλοι δὲ τούτων ἔτι κομψότεροι τέλος ἐνιαυτοῦ
 ὑπέλαβον τὴν τελειοτάτην τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων
 ἀκμὴν καὶ φθίσιν· ταῦτά τοι καὶ φθινούσης ἤδη
 τῆς ὁπώρας ἄγουσι τὰς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν νομηνίας.
 οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι προπάτορες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου
 βασιλέως τοῦ Νόμα μειζόνως ἔτι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον
 σεβόμενοι τὰ μὲν τῆς χρείας ἀπέλιπον, ἅτε οἶμαι
 φύσει θεῖοι καὶ περιττοὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, αὐτὸν δὲ 156
 εἶδον τούτων τὸν αἴτιον καὶ ἄγειν ἔταξαν συμ-
 φώνως ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ τῶν ὥρων τὴν νομηνίαν,
 ὅποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος αὐθις ἐπανάγει πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς ἀφείς τῆς μεσημβρίας τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ὥσπερ
 περὶ νύσαν τὸν αἰγοκέρωτα κάμψας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νότου πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν ἔρχεται μεταδώσων ἡμῖν
 τῶν ἐπετείων ἀγαθῶν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς
 ἐκεῖνοι διανοηθέντες οὕτως ἐνεστήσαντο τὴν
 ἐπέτειον νομηνίαν, ἐνθὲνδ' ἂν τις κατανοήσειεν.
 οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς τρέπεται, καθ' ἣν
 δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμφανὲς γίνεται χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς B

¹ ὥραν Hertlein, Naber suggest, ἡμέραν MSS, cf. *Epistle* 444. 425 c.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

adapted for work in the fields, when the earth bursts into bloom and exults, when all the crops are just beginning to sprout, and the sea begins to be safe for sailing, and the disagreeable, gloomy winter puts on a more cheerful aspect; others again award the crown to the summer season,¹ since at that time they can safely feel confidence about the yield of the fruits, when the grains have already been harvested and midsummer is now at its height, and the fruits on the trees are ripening. Others again, with still more subtlety, regard as the close of the year the time when all the fruits are in their perfect prime and decay has already set in. For this reason they celebrate the annual festival of the New Year in late autumn. But our forefathers, from the time of the most divine king Numa, paid still greater reverence to the god Helios. They ignored the question of mere utility, I think, because they were naturally religious and endowed with unusual intelligence; but they saw that he is the cause of all that is useful, and so they ordered the observance of the New Year to correspond with the present season; that is to say when King Helios returns to us again, and leaving the region furthest south and, rounding Capricorn as though it were a goal-post, advances from the south to the north to give us our share of the blessings of the year. And that our forefathers, because they comprehended this correctly, thus established the beginning of the year, one may perceive from the following. For it was not, I think, the time when the god turns, but the time when he becomes visible to all men, as he travels from south to north,

¹ The Attic year began with the summer solstice.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

μεσημβρίας ἐς τὰς ἄρκτους ἔταξαν οὗτοι τὴν
 ἑορτὴν. οὐπω μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν κανόνων
 λεπτότης γνώριμος, οὓς ἐξηῦρον μὲν Χαλδαῖοι καὶ
 Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἰππαρχος δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἐτελείω-
 σαντο, κρίνοντες δὲ αἰσθήσει τοῖς φαινομένοις
 ἠκολούθουν.

Οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων,
 ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοντα κατενοήθη. πρὸ τῆς νουμηνίας,
 εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῦ Κρόνου μῆνα,
 ποιούμεν Ἡλίῳ τὸν περιφανέστατον ἀγῶνα, τὴν C
 ἑορτὴν Ἡλίῳ καταφημίσαντες ἀνικῆτῳ, μεθ' ὃν
 οὐδὲν θέμις ὦν ὁ τελευταῖος μὴν ἔχει σκυθρωπῶν
 μέν, ἀναγκαίων δ' ὅμως, ἐπιτελεσθῆναι θεαμάτων,
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς Κρονίοις οὖσι τελευταίοις εὐθὺς συνά-
 πτει κατὰ τὸν κύκλον τὰ Ἡλίαια, ἃ δὴ πολλάκις
 μοι δοῖεν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑμῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι θεοί,
 καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὄλων
 Ἡλιος, ὁ περὶ τὴν τὰγαθοῦ γόνιμον οὐσίαν ἐξ
 αἰδίου προελθὼν μέσος ἐν μέσοις τοῖς νοεροῖς θεοῖς, D
 συνοχῆς τε αὐτοὺς πληρώσας καὶ κάλλους μυρίου
 καὶ περιουσίας γονίμου καὶ τελείου νοῦ καὶ πάν-
 των ἀθρόως τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀχρόνως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν
 ἐλλάμπων εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ μέσῃν τοῦ παντὸς

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

that they appointed for the festival. For still unknown to them was the nicety of those laws which the Chaldæans and Egyptians discovered, and which Hipparchus¹ and Ptolemy² perfected: but they judged simply by sense-perception, and were limited to what they could actually see.

But the truth of these facts was recognised, as I said, by a later generation. Before the beginning of the year, at the end of the month which is called after Kronos,³ we celebrate in honour of Helios the most splendid games, and we dedicate the festival to the Invincible Sun. And after this it is not lawful to perform any of the shows that belong to the last month, gloomy as they are, though necessary. But, in the cycle, immediately after the end of the Kronia⁴ follow the Heliaia. That festival may the ruling gods grant me to praise and to celebrate with sacrifice! And above all the others may Helios himself, the King of the All, grant me this, even he who from eternity has proceeded from the generative substance of the Good: even he who is midmost of the midmost intellectual gods; who fills them with continuity and endless beauty and superabundance of generative power and perfect reason, yea with all blessings at once, and independently of time! And now he illumines his own

¹ A Greek astronomer who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C. His works are lost.

² Claudius Ptolemy an astronomer at Alexandria 127-151 A.D.

³ *i.e.* December.

⁴ The festival of Saturn, the Saturnalia, was celebrated by the Latins at the close of December, and corresponds to our Christmas holidays. Saturn was identified with the Greek god Kronos, and Julian uses the Greek word for the festival in order to avoid, according to sophistic etiquette, a Latin name.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

οὐρανοῦ φερομένην ἔδραν οἰκείαν ἐξ αἰδίου, καὶ
μεταδιδούς τῷ φαινομένῳ παντὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ
κάλλους, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν σύμπαντα πληρώσας
τοσοῦτων θεῶν ὁπόσων αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ νοερῶς 157
ἔχει, περὶ αὐτὸν ἀμερίστως πληθynoμένων καὶ
ἐνοειδῶς αὐτῷ συνημμένων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην τόπον διὰ τῆς αἰγιγενεσίας
συνέχων καὶ τῶν ἐνδοδομένων ἐκ τοῦ κυκλικοῦ
σώματος ἀγαθῶν, ἐπιμελόμενος τοῦ τε¹ κοινοῦ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἰδίᾳ τε τῆς ἡμετέρας
πόλεως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξ αἰδίου
ψυχὴν ὑπέστησεν, ὁπαδὸν ἀποφύνας αὐτοῦ.
ταῦτά τε οὖν, ὅσα μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἠυξάμην, δοίη, B
καὶ ἔτι κοινῇ μὲν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐνδεχομένην αἰδιό-
τητα μετ' εὐνοίας χορηγῶν φυλάττοι, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον εὖ πράξαι τά τε ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὰ θεῖα
δοίη, ἐφ' ὅσον βιώναι συγχωρεῖ, ζῆν δὲ καὶ ἐμπο-
λιτεύεσθαι τῷ βίῳ δοίη ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ
φίλον ἡμῖν τε λώιον καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συμφέρον
Ῥωμαίων πράγμασιν.

Ταῦτά σοι, ὦ φίλε Σαλούστιε, κατὰ τὴν τριπλὴν
τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίαν ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα νυξὶν ὡς C
οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπελθόντα μοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ γράφαι
πρὸς σὲ ἐτόλμησα, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ τὸ πρότερον εἰς
τὰ Κρόνια γεγραμμένον ἡμῖν οὐ παντάπασι

¹ τοῦ τε Hertlein suggests, τε τοῦ MSS.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

visible abode, which from eternity moves as the centre of the whole heavens, and bestows a share of intelligible beauty on the whole visible world, and fills the whole heavens with the same number of gods as he contains in himself in intellectual form. And without division they reveal themselves in manifold form surrounding him, but they are attached to him to form a unity. Aye, but also, through his perpetual generation and the blessings that he bestows from the heavenly bodies, he holds together the region beneath the moon. For he cares for the whole human race in common, but especially for my own city,¹ even as also he brought into being my soul from eternity, and made it his follower. All this, therefore, that I prayed for a moment ago, may he grant, and further may he, of his grace, endow my city as a whole with eternal existence, so far as is possible, and protect her; and for myself personally, may he grant that, so long as I am permitted to live, I may prosper in my affairs both human and divine; finally may he grant me to live and serve the state with my life, so long as is pleasing to himself and well for me and expedient for the Roman Empire!

This discourse, friend Sallust,² I composed in three nights at most, in harmony with the three-fold creative power of the god,³ as far as possible just as it occurred to my memory: and I have ventured to write it down and to dedicate it to you because you thought my earlier work on the Kronia⁴ was not

¹ Rome.

² See Introduction, p. 351.

³ For the threefold creative force cf. Proclus on *Timæus* 94 CD. Here Julian means that there are three modes of creation exercised by Helios now in one, now in another, of the three worlds; cf. 135 B.C.

⁴ This work is lost.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

ἀπόβλητον ἐφάνη. τελειότεροις δ' εἰ βούλει περὶ
 τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστικωτέροις λόγοις ἐπιστῆσαι,
 ἐντυχὼν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένοις Ἰαμβλί-
 χου περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων συγγράμμασι τὸ τέλος
 ἐκέισε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐρήσεις σοφίας. δοίη δ' D
 ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος μηδὲν ἔλαττόν με τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 γινῶναι, καὶ διδάξαι κοινῇ τε ἅπαντας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς
 μαρθάνειν ἀξίους. ἕως δέ μοι τοῦτο δίδωσιν ὁ
 θεός, κοινῇ θεραπεύωμεν τὸν τῷ θεῷ φίλον
 Ἰάμβλιχον, ὅθεν καὶ νῦν ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν ἐπὶ
 νοῦν ἐλθόντα διεληλύθαμεν. ἐκείνου δὲ εὖ οἶδα
 ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ τι τελειότερον, οὐδὲ εἰ πολλὰ πάνυ
 προσταλαιπωρήσας καινοτομήσειεν· ἐκβήσεται
 γάρ, ὥς εἰκός, τῆς ἀληθεστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ νοήσεως. 158
 ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως μάταιον, εἰ διδασκαλίας χάριν
 ἐποιοῦμην τοὺς λόγους, αὐτὸν¹ μετ' ἐκείνόν τι
 συγγράφειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕμνον ἐθέλων διελθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ
 χαριστήριον ἐν τούτῳ τόπον ὑπελάμβανον τοῦ²
 περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ φράσαι κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν
 ἐμήν, οὐ μάτην οἶμαι πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους
 τούσδε, τὸ

Καὶ δὲ δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν³
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐ- B
 φημιῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος. εὐχομαι
 οὖν τρίτον ἀντὶ τῆς προθυμίας μοι ταύτης εὐμενῇ
 γενέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιον, καὶ

¹ αὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.

² τοῦ Hertlein suggests, τὸ M, τῷ MSS.

³ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 336.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

wholly worthless. But if you wish to meet with a more complete and more mystical treatment of the same theme, then read the writings of the inspired Iamblichus on this subject,¹ and you will find there the most consummate wisdom which man can achieve. And may mighty Helios grant that I too may attain to no less perfect knowledge of himself, and that I may instruct all men, speaking generally, but especially those who are worthy to learn. And so long as Helios grants let us all in common revere Iamblichus, the beloved of the gods. For he is the source for what I have here set down, a few thoughts from many, as they occurred to my mind. However I know well that no one can utter anything more perfect than he, nay not though he should labour long at the task and say véry much that is new. For he will naturally diverge thereby from the truest knowledge of the god. Therefore it would probably have been a vain undertaking to compose anything after Iamblichus on the same subject if I had written this discourse for the sake of giving instruction. But since I wished to compose a hymn to express my gratitude to the god, I thought that this was the best place in which to tell, to the best of my power, of his essential nature. And so I think that not in vain has this discourse been composed. For the saying "To the extent of your powers offer sacrifice to the immortal gods," I apply not to sacrifice only, but also to the praises that we offer to the gods. For the third time, therefore, I pray that Helios, the King of the All, may be gracious to me

¹ i.e. his treatise *On the Gods*, which is not extant.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, IV

δοῦναι βίον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελειοτέραν φρόνησιν καὶ
θεῖον νοῦν ἀπαλλαγὴν τε τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκ τοῦ
βίου πραοτάτην ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι, ἄνοδόν
τε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ, C
μάλιστα μὲν αἰδίων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον εἴη τῶν
ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένων, πολλὰς πάνυ καὶ πολυτετεῖς
περιόδους.

HYMN TO KING HELIOS

in recompense for this my zeal ; and may he grant me a virtuous life and more perfect wisdom and inspired intelligence, and, when fate wills, the gentlest exit that may be from life, at a fitting hour ; and that I may ascend to him thereafter and abide with him, for ever if possible, but if that be more than the actions of my life deserve, for many periods of many years !

ORATION V.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

THE cult of Phrygian Cybele the Mother of the Gods, known to the Latin world as the Great Mother, Magna Mater, was the first Oriental religion adopted by the Romans. In the Fifth Oration, which is, like the Fourth, a hymn, Julian describes the entrance of the Goddess into Italy in the third century B.C. In Greece she had been received long before, but the more civilised Hellenes had not welcomed, as did the Romans, the more barbarous features of the cult, the mutilated priests, the Galli, and the worship of Attis.¹ They preferred the less emotional cult of the Syrian Adonis. In Athens the Mother of the Gods was early identified with Gaia the Earth Mother, and the two became inextricably confused.² But Julian, in this more Roman than Greek, does not shrink from the Oriental conception of Cybele as the lover of Attis, attended by eunuch priests, or the frenzy of renunciation described by Catullus.³ But he was first of all a Neo-Platonist, and the aim of this hymn as of the Fourth Oration is to adapt to his philosophy a popular cult and to give its Mysteries a philosophic interpretation.

¹ For the Attis cult see Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*; for the introduction of the worship of Cybele into Italy, Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*.

² See Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.

³ Catullus 63.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

The Mithraic religion, seeking to conciliate the other cults of the empire, had from the first associated with the sun-god the worship of the Magna Mater, and Attis had been endowed with the attributes of Mithras. Though Julian's hymn is in honour of Cybele he devotes more attention to Attis. Originally the myth of Cybele symbolises the succession of the seasons; the disappearance of Attis the sun-god is the coming of winter; his mutilation is the barrenness of nature when the sun has departed; his restoration to Cybele is the renewal of spring. In all this he is the counterpart of Persephone among the Greeks and of Adonis in Syria. Julian interprets the myth in connection with the three worlds described in the Fourth Oration. Cybele is a principle of the highest, the intelligible world, the source of the intellectual gods. Attis is not merely a sun-god: he is a principle of the second, the intellectual world, who descends to the visible world in order to give it order and fruitfulness. Julian expresses the Neo-Platonic dread and dislike of matter, of the variable, the plural and unlimited. Cybele the intelligible principle would fain have restrained Attis the embodiment of intelligence from association with matter. His recall and mutilation symbolise the triumph of unity over multiformity, of mind over matter. His restoration to Cybele symbolises the escape of our souls from the world of generation.

Julian follows Plotinus¹ in regarding the myths as allegories to be interpreted by the philosopher and

¹ 5. 1. 7; 3. 6. 19; 1. 6. 8; cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 152c; and Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, δ μῦθος . . . λόγου τινὸς ἐμφασίς ἐστιν ἀνακλῶντος ἐπ' ἄλλα τὴν διάνοιαν.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION V

the theosophist. They are riddles to be solved, and the paradoxical element in them is designed to turn our minds to the hidden truth. For laymen the myth is enough. Like all the Neo-Platonists he sometimes uses phrases which imply human weakness or chronological development for his divinities and then withdraws those phrases, explaining that they must be taken in another sense. His attitude to myths is further defined in the Sixth¹ and Seventh Orations. The Fifth Oration can hardly be understood apart from the Fourth, and both must present many difficulties to a reader who is unfamiliar with Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatise *On the Mysteries*, formerly attributed to Iamblichus, Sallust, *On the Gods and the World*, and the extant treatises and fragments of Iamblichus. Julian composed this treatise at Pessinus in Phrygia, when he was on his way to Persia, in 362 B.C.

¹ Cf. 206 D. Myths are like toys which help children through teething.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ

Ἄρα γε χρὴ φάναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων; καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρρήτων γράψομεν καὶ τὰ ἀνέξοιστα ἐξοίσομεν¹ καὶ τὰ ἀνεκλάλητα ἐκλαλήσομεν; τίς μὲν 159 ὁ Ἄττις ἦτοι Γάλλος, τίς δὲ ἡ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀγνείας ταυτησὶ τρόπος ὁποῖος, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ χάριν οὕτωσιν² τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεδείχθη, παραδοθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων Φρυγῶν, παραδεχθεὶς δὲ πρῶτον ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων, ἔργοις διδαχθέντων, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ἐτώθασαν ἐπὶ τῷ τελοῦντι τὰ ὄργια τῆς Μητρός; λέγονται γὰρ οὗτοι περιυβρίσαι καὶ ἀπελάσαι τὸν Γάλλον ὥς B τὰ θεῖα καινοτομοῦντα, οὐ ξυνέντες ὁποῖόν τι τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρήμα καὶ ὥς ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμωμένη Δηὸ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Δημήτηρ. εἴτα μῆνις τὸ ἐν- τεῦθεν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ θεραπεία τῆς μήνιδος. ἡ γὰρ

¹ ἐξοίσομεν Cobet adds, ἀνέξοιστα καὶ MSS, Hertlein.

² οὕτωσιν Hertlein suggests, οὕτωςι MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

OUGHT I to say something on this subject also? And shall I write about things not to be spoken of and divulge what ought not to be divulged? Shall I utter the unutterable? Who is Attis¹ or Gallus,² who is the Mother of the Gods,³ and what is the manner of their ritual of purification? And further why was it introduced in the beginning among us Romans? It was handed down by the Phrygians in very ancient times, and was first taken over by the Greeks, and not by any ordinary Greeks but by Athenians who had learned by experience that they did wrong to jeer at one who was celebrating the Mysteries of the Mother. For it is said that they wantonly insulted and drove out Gallus, on the ground that he was introducing a new cult, because they did not understand what sort of goddess they had to do with, and that she was that very Deo whom they worship, and Rhea and Demeter too. Then followed the wrath of the goddess and the

¹ The Phrygian god of vegetation who corresponds to the Syrian Adonis. His name is said to mean "father," and he is at once the lover and son of the Mother of the Gods. His death and resurrection were celebrated in spring.

² The generic name for the eunuch priests of Attis.

³ The Phrygian Cybele, the Asiatic goddess of fertility; the chief seat of her worship was Pessinus in Phrygia.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς ἡγεμῶν γενομένη τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησιν, ἡ τοῦ Πυθίου πρόμαντις θεοῦ, τὴν τῆς
 Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μῆνιν ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι·
 καὶ ἀνέστη, φασίν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μητρῶν, οὐ τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις δημοσίᾳ πάντα ἐφυλάττετο τὰ γραμ-
 ματεῖα. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι C
 παρεδέξαντο, συμβουλευσάντος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦ
 Πυθίου ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον ἄγειν
 ἐκ Φρυγίας τὴν θεὸν σύμμαχον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως
 κωλύει προσθεῖναι μικρὰν¹ ἱστορίαν ἐνταῦθα.
 μαθόντες γὰρ τὸν χρησμὸν στέλλουσιν οἱ τῆς
 θεοφιλοῦς οἰκήτορες Ῥώμης πρεσβεῖαν αἰτήσου-
 σαν παρὰ τῶν Περγάμου βασιλέων, οἱ τότε
 ἐκράτουν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν
 Φρυγῶν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἀγιώτατον ἄγαλμα. λαβόν- D
 τες δὲ ἤγον τὸν ἱερὸν φόρτον ἐνθέντες εὐρείᾳ
 φορτίδι πλεῖν εὐπετῶς δυναμένη τὰ τοσαῦτα
 πελάγη. περαιωθεῖσα δὲ Αἰγαιὸν τε καὶ Ἴόνιον,
 εἶτα περιπλεύσασα Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸ Τυρρηνὸν
 πέλαγος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τύβριδος κατήγετο·
 καὶ δῆμος ἐξεχέιτο τῆς πόλεως σὺν τῇ γερουσίᾳ,
 ὑπῆντων γε μὴν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ
 ἱέρειαι πᾶσαι καὶ πάντες ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι
 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν ναῦν οὐριοδ- 160
 ρομοῦσαν ἀποβλέποντες, καὶ περὶ τὴν τρόπιν

¹ μικρὰν Hertlein, μικρὸν Naber, who thinks ἱστορίαν a gloss,
 cf. *Oration* vii. 276 C, μικρὸν ἱστορίαν MSS, μικρὸν ἱστορίας
 Reiske.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

propitiation of her wrath. For the priestess of the Pythian god who guided the Greeks in all noble conduct, bade them propitiate the wrath of the Mother of the Gods. And so, we are told, the Metroum was built, where the Athenians used to keep all their state records.¹ After the Greeks the Romans took over the cult, when the Pythian god had advised them in their turn to bring the goddess from Phrygia as an ally for their war against the Carthaginians.² And perhaps there is no reason why I should not insert here a brief account of what happened. When they learned the response of the oracle, the inhabitants of Rome, that city beloved of the gods, sent an embassy to ask from the kings of Pergamon³ who then ruled over Phrygia and from the Phrygians themselves the most holy statue⁴ of the goddess. And when they had received it they brought back their most sacred freight, putting it on a broad cargo-boat which could sail smoothly over those wide seas. Thus she crossed the Aegean and Ionian Seas, and sailed round Sicily and over the Etruscan Sea, and so entered the mouth of the Tiber. And the people and the Senate with them poured out of the city, and in front of all the others there came to meet her all the priests and priestesses in suitable attire according to their ancestral custom. And in excited suspense they gazed at the ship as she ran before a fair wind, and about her keel they could discern the foaming wake as she cleft the

¹ *i.e.* after the middle of the fifth century B.C.; before that date the records were kept in the Acropolis.

² In 204 B.C.; cf. Livy 29. 10 foll.; Silius Italicus 17. 1 foll.; Ovid, *Fasti* 4. 255 foll. tells the legend and describes the ritual of the cult.

³ The Attalids.

⁴ A black meteoric stone embodied the goddess of Pessinus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἀπεσκόπουν τὸ ρόθιον σχιζομένων τῶν κυμάτων
 εἴτα εἰσπλέουσιν ἐδεξιούντο τὴν ναῦν προσκυν-
 ούντες ἕκαστος ὡς ἔτυχε προσεστῶς πόρρωθεν. ἡ
 δὲ ὥσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσα
 δῆμῳ, ὅτι μὴ ξόανον ἄγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας
 ἄψυχον, ἔχει δὲ ἄρα δυνάμιν τινα μείζω καὶ
 θειοτέραν ὃ δὴ παρὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν λαβόντες
 ἔφερον, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Τύβριδος ἠψατο, τὴν ναῦν B
 ἴστησιν ὥσπερ ῥιζωθείσαν ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τοῦ
 Τύβριδος. εἰλκον δὴ οὖν πρὸς ἀντίον τὸν ροῦν,
 ἡ δὲ οὐχ εἶπετο. ὡς¹ βραχέσι δὲ ἐντετυχη-
 κότες ὠθεῖν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ναῦν, ἡ δὲ οὐκ εἶκον
 ὠθούντων. πᾶσα δὲ μηχανὴ προσήγετο τὸ ἐντεῦ-
 θεν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ ἤττον ἀμετακίνητος ἦν· ὥστε
 ἐμπίπτει κατὰ τῆς ἱερωμένης τὴν παναγεστάτην
 ἱερωσύνην παρθένου δεινὴ καὶ ἄδικος ὑποψία, καὶ
 τὴν Κλωδίαν ἡτιῶντο· τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα ἦν τῇ C
 σεμνῇ παρθένῳ· μὴ παντάπασιν ἄχραντον μηδὲ
 καθαρὰν φυλάττειν ἑαυτὴν τῇ θεῷ· ὀργίζεσθαι
 οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ μηνίειν ἐμφανῶς· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἤδη
 τοῖς πᾶσιν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα δαιμονιώτερον. ἡ δὲ
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἰδοῦς ὑπεπίμηπλατο πρὸς τε τὸ
 ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν· οὕτω πάνν πόρρω ἐτύγ-
 χανε τῆς αἰσχρᾶς καὶ παρανόμου πράξεως. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ἑώρα τὴν αἰτίαν ἤδη καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐξισχύουσιν,
 περιελούσα τὴν ζώνην καὶ περιθεῖσα τῆς νεῶς D
 τοῖς ἄκροις, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς ἀποχωρεῖν
 ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας, εἴτα ἐδεῖτο τῆς θεοῦ μὴ περι-
 ιδεῖν αὐτὴν² ἀδίκους ἐνεχομένην βλασφημίαις.

¹ ὡς Petavius adds.

² αὐτὴν Hertlein suggests, αὐτὴν MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

waves. And they greeted the ship as she sailed in and adored her from afar, everyone where he happened to be standing. But the goddess, as though she desired to show the Roman people that they were not bringing a lifeless image from Phrygia, but that what they had received from the Phrygians and were now bringing home possessed greater and more divine powers than an image, stayed the ship directly she touched the Tiber, and she was suddenly as though rooted in mid-stream. So they tried to tow her against the current, but she did not follow. Then they tried to push her off, thinking they had grounded on a shoal, but for all their efforts she did not move. Next every possible device was brought to bear, but in spite of all she remained immovable. Thereupon a terrible and unjust suspicion fell on the maiden who had been consecrated to the most sacred office of priestess, and they began to accuse Claudia¹—for that was the name of that noble maiden²—of not having kept herself stainless and pure for the goddess; wherefore they said that the goddess was angry and was plainly declaring her wrath. For by this time the thing seemed to all to be supernatural. Now at first she was filled with shame at the mere name of the thing and the suspicion; so very far was she from such shameless and lawless behaviour. But when she saw that the charge against her was gaining strength, she took off her girdle and fastened it about the prow of the ship, and, like one divinely inspired, bade all stand aside: and then she besought the goddess not to suffer her to be thus implicated

¹ Claudia, turritae rara ministra deae. "Claudia thou peerless priestess of the goddess with the embattled crown."
—Propertius 4. 11. 52.

² A matron in other versions.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

βοῶσα δὲ ὥσπερ τι κέλευσμα, φασί, ναυτικόν, Δέσποινα Μήτηρ εἶπερ εἰμὶ σῶφρων, ἔπου μοι, ἔφη. καὶ δὴ τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐκίνησε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴλκυσεν ἐπὶ πολὺ πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν· καὶ δύο ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις ἔδειξεν ἡ θεὸς οἶμαι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. ὥς οὔτε μικροῦ τινος τίμιον ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπήγοντο¹ φόρτον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον, οὔτε ὥς ἀνθρώπινον τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ὄντως θεῖον, οὔτε ἄψυχον γῆν, ἀλλὰ ἔμπνουν τι χρήμα καὶ δαιμόνιον. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς ἡ θεός· ἕτερον δέ, ὥς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς λάθου ἂν αὐτὴν χρηστὸς ἢ φαῦλος ὦν. κατωρθώθη μέντοι καὶ ὁ πόλεμος αὐτίκα Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ὥστε τὸν τρίτον ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς μόνον Καρχηδόνας γενέσθαι. 161

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱστορίας, εἰ καὶ τισιν ἀπίθانا B
δόξει καὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσήκειν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ θεολόγῳ, λεγέσθω μὴ μείον, κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμῃ. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι φήσουσιν αὐτά τινες τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὕθλους εἶναι γραδίων οὐκ ἀνεκτούς. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοισὶ τοῖς κομψοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμύ μὲν, ὑγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει.²

Ἵπὲρ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἄρτι

¹ ἐπήγοντο Hertlein suggests, ἐπήγον τὸν MSS.

² Plato, *Republic* 519 A δριμύ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

in unjust slanders. Next, as the story goes, she cried aloud as though it were some nautical word of command, "O Goddess Mother, if I am pure follow me!" And lo, she not only made the ship move, but even towed her for some distance up stream. Two things, I think, the goddess showed the Romans on that day: first that the freight they were bringing from Phrygia had no small value, but was priceless, and that this was no work of men's hands but truly divine, not lifeless clay but a thing possessed of life and divine powers. This, I say, was one thing that the goddess showed them. And the other was that no one of the citizens could be good or bad and she not know thereof. Moreover the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians forthwith took a favourable turn, so that the third war was waged only for the walls of Carthage itself.¹

As for this narrative, though some will think it incredible and wholly unworthy of a philosopher or a theologian, nevertheless let it here be related. For besides the fact that it is commonly recorded by most historians, it has been preserved too on bronze statues in mighty Rome, beloved of the gods.² And yet I am well aware that some over-wise persons will call it an old wives' tale, not to be credited. But for my part I would rather trust the traditions of cities than those too clever people, whose puny souls are keen-sighted enough, but never do they see aught that is sound.

I am told that on this same subject of which I am

¹ In the Third Punic War, which began 149 B.C., Carthage was sacked by the Romans under Scipio.

² A relief in the Capitoline Museum shows Claudia in the act of dragging the ship.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

τὸν τῆς ἁγιστείας καιρόν, ἀκούω μὲν ἔγωγε καὶ
 Πορφυρίῳ τινὰ πεφιλοσοφῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐ
 μὴν οἶδά γε, οὐ γὰρ ἐνέτυχον, εἰ καὶ συνενεχθῆναί
 που συμβαίῃ τῷ λόγῳ. τὸν Γάλλον δὲ ἐγὼ του-
 τονὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀττιν αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ἐπινοῶ τοῦ
 γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικοῦ νοῦ τὴν ἄχρι τῆς
 ἐσχάτης ὕλης ἅπαντα γεννῶσαν οὐσίαν εἶναι,
 ἔχουσάν τε ἐν ἑαυτῇ πάντας τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς
 αἰτίας τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἐν D
 πᾶσι τὰ εἶδη, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτοις
 αἰτίοις τὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τελευταίων, μεθ' ἃ
 οὐδέν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ τῆς στερήσεως ὄνομα μετὰ ἀμυ-
 δρᾶς ἐπινοίας. οὐσῶν δὴ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν καὶ πολ-
 λῶν πάνυ δημιουργῶν τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργοῦ, ὃς
 τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐξηρημένους ἔχει καὶ
 συνεχεῖς τὰς αἰτίας, ἢ τελευταία καὶ μέχρι γῆς
 ὑπὸ περιουσίας τοῦ γονίμου διὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν παρὰ 162
 τῶν ἄστρων καθήκουσα φύσις ὁ ζητούμενός ἐστιν
 Ἀττις. ἴσως δὲ ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγω χρὴ διαλαβεῖν
 σαφέστερον. εἶναί τι λέγομεν ὕλην, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἔνυλον εἶδος. ἀλλὰ τούτων εἰ μὴ τις αἰτία
 προτέτακται, λαυθάνοιμεν ἂν ἑαυτοὺς εἰσάγοντες
 τὴν Ἐπικούρειον δόξαν. ἀρχαῖν γὰρ δυοῖν εἰ
 μηδέν ἐστι πρεσβύτερον, αὐτόματός τις αὐτὰς
 φορὰ καὶ τύχη συνεκλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ὁρῶμεν,

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

impelled to speak at the very season of these sacred rites, Porphyry too has written a philosophic treatise. But since I have never met with it I do not know whether at any point it may chance to agree with my discourse. But him whom I call Gallus or Attis I discern of my own knowledge to be the substance of generative and creative Mind which engenders all things down to the lowest plane of matter,¹ and comprehends in itself all the concepts and causes of the forms that are embodied in matter. For truly the forms of all things are not in all things, and in the highest and first causes we do not find the forms of the lowest and last, after which there is nothing save privation² coupled with a dim idea. Now there are many substances and very many creative gods, but the nature of the third creator,³ who contains in himself the separate concepts of the forms that are embodied in matter and also the connected chain of causes, I mean that nature which is last in order, and through its superabundance of generative power descends even unto our earth through the upper region from the stars,—this is he whom we seek, even Attis. But perhaps I ought to distinguish more clearly what I mean. We assert that matter exists and also form embodied in matter. But if no cause be assigned prior to these two, we should be introducing, unconsciously, the Epicurean doctrine. For if there be nothing of higher order than these two principles, then a spontaneous motion and chance brought them together.

¹ i.e. the world of sense-perception.

² Plotinus l. 8. 4 called matter "the privation of the Good," *στέρησις ἀγαθοῦ*.

³ Helios; cf. *Oration* 4. 140 A. Attis is here identified with the light of the sun.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

φησὶ Περιπατητικός τις ἀγχίνους ὥσπερ ὁ Ξέναρ- B
 χος, τούτων αἴτιον ὃν τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κυκλικὸν
 σῶμα. γελοῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπὲρ τούτων
 ζητῶν τε καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
 Θεόφραστος· ἠγνόησε γοῦν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φωνήν.
 ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀσώματον οὐσίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ
 νοητὴν ἔστη μὴ πολυπραγμονῶν τὴν αἰτίαν,
 ἀλλὰ φὰς οὕτω ταῦτα πεφυκέναι· χρῆν δὲ δῆ-
 πουθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος τὸ πεφυκέ-
 ναι ταύτῃ λαμβάνοντα μηκέτι ζητεῖν τὰς αἰτίας,
 ἴστασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ νοητὸν C
 ἐκπίπτειν ὃν μὲν οὐδὲν φύσει καθ' ἑαυτό, ἔχον δὲ
 ἄλλως κενὴν ὑπόνοιαν. τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ μέμνη-
 μαι τοῦ Ξενάρχου λέγοντος ἀκηκοώς. εἰ μὲν οὖν
 ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, τοῖς ἄγαν ἐφείσθω
 Περιπατητικοῖς ὀνυχίζειν, ὅτι δὲ οὐ προσηνῶς
 ἐμοὶ παντί που δῆλον, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς Ἀριστο-
 τελικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐνδεεστέρας ἔχειν ὑπολαμ-
 βάνω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐς ταῦτ' οἰσὶ Πλάτωνος
 ἄγοι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ἐκ θεῶν δεδομέναις D
 προφητείαις.

Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἴσως ἄξιον πυθέσθαι, πῶς τὸ κυκλι-
 κὸν σῶμα δύναται τὰς ἀσωμάτους ἔχειν αἰτίας
 τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δίχα τούτων

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

"But," says some acute Peripatetic like Xenarchus, "we see that the cause of these is the fifth or cyclic substance. Aristotle is absurd when he investigates and discusses these matters, and Theophrastus likewise. At any rate he overlooked the implications of a well-known utterance of his. For just as when he came to incorporeal and intelligible substance he stopped short and did not inquire into its cause, and merely asserted that this is what it is by nature; surely in the case of the fifth substance also he ought to have assumed that its nature is to be thus; and he ought not to have gone on to search for causes, but should have stopped at these, and not fallen back on the intelligible, which has no independent existence by itself, and in any case represents a bare supposition." This is the sort of thing that Xenarchus says, as I remember to have heard. Now whether what he says is correct or not, let us leave to the extreme Peripatetics to refine upon. But that his view is not agreeable to me is, I think, clear to everyone. For I hold that the theories of Aristotle himself are incomplete unless they are brought into harmony with those of Plato¹; or rather we must make these also agree with the oracles that have been vouchsafed to us by the gods.

But this it is perhaps worth while to inquire, how the cyclic substance² can contain the incorporeal causes of the forms that are embodied in matter.

¹ Julian here sums up the tendency of the philosophy of his age. The Peripatetics had been merged in the Platonists and Neo-Platonists, and Themistius the Aristotelian commentator often speaks of the reconciliation, in contemporary philosophy, of Plato and Aristotle; cf. 235 c, 236, 366 c. Julian, following the example of Iamblichus, would force them into agreement; but the final appeal was to revealed religion.

² *i.e.* aether, the fifth substance.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ὑποστῆναι τὴν γένεσιν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, πρόδηλόν
 ἐστί που καὶ σαφές. τοῦ χάριν γάρ ἐστι το-
 σαῦτα τὰ γιγνόμενα; πόθεν δὲ ἄρρεν καὶ θήλυ;
 πόθεν δὲ ἡ κατὰ γένος τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὀρισμέ- 163
 νοις εἶδεσι διαφορά, εἰ μὴ τινες εἶεν προϋπάρ-
 χοντες καὶ προὔφεστώτες¹ λόγοι αἰτίαι τε ἐν
 παραδείγματος λόγῳ προὔφεστώσαι; πρὸς ἃς
 εἶπερ ἀμβλυώττομεν, ἔτι καθαιρώμεθα τὰ ὄμματα
 τῆς ψυχῆς. κάθαρσις δὲ ὀρθὴ στραφῆναι πρὸς
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατανοῆσαι, πῶς μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ
 ὁ ἔνυλος νοῦς ὥσπερ ἐκμαγεῖόν τι τῶν ἐνύλων
 εἰδῶν καὶ εἰκῶν ἐστίν. ἐν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν
 σωμάτων ἢ τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα γινομένων τε B
 καὶ θεωρουμένων ἀσωμάτων, οὗ τὴν φαντασίαν
 ὁ νοῦς οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν ἀσωμάτως, ὅπερ οὐ-
 ποτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τι ξυγγενὲς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς
 φύσει. ταῦτά τοι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ψυχὴν
 τόπον εἰδῶν ἔφη, πλὴν οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ, ἀλλὰ
 δυνάμει. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοιαύτην ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν
 ἐπεστραμμένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα δυνάμει ταῦτα
 ἔχειν ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δέ τις ἄσχετος εἴη καὶ ἀμιγῆς
 ταύτῃ, τοὺς λόγους οὐκέτι δυνάμει, πάντας δὲ C

¹ προὔφεστώτες Hertlein suggests, cf. 165 D, προεστῶτες MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

For that, apart from these causes, it is not possible for generation to take place is, I think, clear and manifest. For why are there so many kinds of generated things? Whence arise masculine and feminine? Whence the distinguishing characteristics of things according to their species in well-defined types, if there are not pre-existing and pre-established concepts, and causes which existed beforehand to serve as a pattern? ¹ And if we discern these causes but dimly, let us still further purify the eyes of the soul. And the right kind of purification is to turn our gaze inwards and to observe how the soul and embodied Mind are a sort of mould ² and likeness of the forms that are embodied in matter. For in the case of the corporeal, or of things that though incorporeal come into being and are to be studied in connection with the corporeal, there is no single thing whose mental image the mind cannot grasp independently of the corporeal. But this it could not have done if it did not possess something naturally akin to the incorporeal forms. Indeed it is for this reason that Aristotle himself called the soul the "place of the forms," ³ only he said that the forms are there not actually but potentially. Now a soul of this sort, that is allied with matter, must needs possess these forms potentially only, but a soul that should be independent and unmixed in this way we must believe would contain all the

¹ i.e. the causes of the forms that are embodied in matter have a prior existence as Ideas.

² An echo of Plato, *Theaetetus* 191 c, 196 a; *Timaeus* 50 c.

³ *De Anima* 3. 4. 429 a; Aristotle quotes the phrase with approval and evidently attributes it to Plato; the precise expression is not to be found in Plato, though in *Parmenides* 132 b he says that the Ideas are "in our souls."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργείᾳ νομιστέον. λάβωμεν δὲ αὐτὰ σαφέστερον διὰ τοῦ παραδείγματος, ᾧ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ¹ πρὸς ἕτερον μὲν λόγον, ἐχρήσατο δ' οὖν ὁμῶς. τὸ παράδειγμα δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀπόδειξιν φέρω τοῦ λόγου· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποδείξει χρὴ λαβεῖν αὐτόν,² ἀλλ' ἐπιβολῇ μόνῃ, περὶ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων αἰτιῶν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν γε ὁμοστοίχων τοῖς πρώτοις, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον νομίζειν, καὶ ὁ Ἄττις θεός. τί δὲ καὶ D
ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ παράδειγμα; φησί³ πού Πλάτων, τῶν περὶ τὴν μίμησιν διατριβόντων εἰ μὲν ἐθέλοι τις μιμεῖσθαι, ὥστε καθυφεστάναι τὰ μιμητά, ἐργώδη τε εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ νῆ Δία γε τοῦ ἀδυνάτου πλησίον μᾶλλον, εὐκολον δὲ καὶ ῥαδίαν καὶ σφόδρα δυνατὴν τὴν διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν τὰ ὄντα μιμουμένην. ὅταν οὖν τὸ κάτοπτρον λαβόντες περιφέρωμεν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὄντων ῥαδίως ἀπομαξάμενοι, δείκνυμεν ἐκάστου τοὺς 164
τύπους. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραδείγματος ἐπὶ τὸ εἰρημένον μεταβιβάσωμεν τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ἵν' ἡ τὸ μὲν κάτοπτρον ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους δυνάμει τόπος εἰδῶν.

Αὐτὰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ εἶδη πρότερον ὑφεστάναι πάντως ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ δυνάμει. τῆς τοίνυν ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, δυνάμει τῶν ὄντων ἐχούσης τὰ εἶδη, πού πρῶτον ἐνεργείᾳ θησόμεθα ταῦτα; πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἐνύλοις; ἀλλ' B
ἐστὶ γε ταῦτα φανερώς τὰ τελευταῖα. λείπεται

¹ 233 D.

² αὐτόν Hertlein suggests, αὐτό MSS.

³ Sophist 235 A; cf. Republic 596 D.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

concepts, not potentially but actually. Let us make this clearer by means of the example which Plato himself employed in the *Sophist*, with reference certainly to another theory, but still he did employ it. And I bring forward the illustration, not to prove my argument; for one must not try to grasp it by demonstration, but only by apprehension. For it deals with the first causes, or at least those that rank with the first, if indeed, as it is right to believe, we must regard Attis also as a god. What then, and of what sort is this illustration? Plato says that, if any man whose profession is imitation desire to imitate in such a way that the original is exactly reproduced, this method of imitation is troublesome and difficult, and, by Zeus, borders on the impossible; but pleasant and easy and quite possible is the method which only seems to imitate real things. For instance, when we take up a mirror and turn it round we easily get an impression of all objects, and show the general outline of every single thing. From this example let us go back to the analogy I spoke of, and let the mirror stand for what Aristotle calls the "place of the forms" potentially.

Now the forms themselves must certainly subsist actually before they subsist potentially. If, therefore, the soul in us, as Aristotle himself believed, contains potentially the forms of existing things, where shall we place the forms in that previous state of actuality? Shall it be in material things? No, for the forms that are in them are evidently the last and lowest. Therefore it only remains to search

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

δὴ λοιπὸν αὐλοὺς αἰτίας ζητεῖν ἐνεργείᾳ προτε-
 ταγμένας τῶν ἐνύλων, αἷς παρυποστᾶσαν καὶ
 συμπροελθοῦσαν ἡμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν
 ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ὄντων τινῶν τὰ ἔσοπτρα, τοὺς
 τῶν εἰδῶν ἀναγκαῖον λόγους, ἐνδιδόναι δὲ διὰ
 τῆς φύσεως τῇ τε ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐνύλοις τουτοισὶ
 σώμασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς
 τῶν σωμάτων ἴσμεν, ὡς ὅλη τις οὐσα τοῦ παντός,
 ἡ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἐν μέρει, C
 πρόδηλόν ἐστὶ πού καὶ σαφές, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις
 ἐνεργείᾳ δίχα φαντασίας ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ
 ταύτης ψυχὴ καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν προσείληφεν.
 εἰ τοίνυν ἡ φύσις καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν φαντα-
 σίαν ἔχειν ὅμως ὁμολογεῖται τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀνθ'
 ὅτου πρὸς θεῶν οὐχὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἔτι καὶ
 πρεσβύτερον τῇ ψυχῇ δώσομεν, ὅπου καὶ φαν- D
 ταστικῶς αὐτὸ γινώσκουμεν ἤδη καὶ λόγῳ κατα-
 λαμβάνομεν; εἴτα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ φιλόνεικος, ὡς
 τῇ φύσει μὲν ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐνύλους
 λόγους, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ
 ἐνεργείᾳ, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει γε πάντας, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ
 μὴ δοῦναι τοῦτο αὐτό; οὐκοῦν εἰ δυνάμει μὲν
 ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ τὰ εἶδη, δυνάμει
 δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καθαρώτερον καὶ δια-

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

for immaterial causes which exist in actuality prior to and of a higher order than the causes that are embodied in matter. And our souls must subsist in dependence on these and come forth together with them, and so receive from them the concepts of the forms, as mirrors show the reflections of things; and then with the aid of nature it bestows them on matter and on these material bodies of our world. For we know that nature is the creator of bodies, universal nature in some sort of the All; while that the individual nature of each is the creator of particulars is plainly evident. But nature exists in us in actuality without a mental image, whereas the soul, which is superior to nature, possesses a mental image besides. If therefore we admit that nature contains in herself the cause of things of which she has however no mental image, why, in heaven's name, are we not to assign to the soul these same forms, only in a still higher degree, and with priority over nature, seeing that it is in the soul that we recognise the forms by means of mental images, and comprehend them by means of the concept? Who then is so contentious as to admit on the one hand that the concepts embodied in matter exist in nature—even though not all and equally in actuality, yet all potentially—while on the other hand he refuses to recognise that the same is true of the soul? If therefore the forms exist in nature potentially, but not actually, and if also they exist potentially in the soul,¹ only in a still purer sense and more completely separated, so that they can be comprehended and recognised;

¹ For the superiority of the soul to nature cf. *De Mysteriis* 8. 7. 270; and for the theory that the soul gives form to matter, Plotinus 4. 3. 20.

κεκριμένως μᾶλλον, ὥστε δὴ καὶ καταλαμβά-
νεσθαι καὶ γινώσκεισθαι, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ·
πόθεν ἀναρτήσομεν τῆς αἰνεγενεσίας τὰ πείσματα;
ποῦ δὲ ἐδράσομεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰδιότητος 165
κόσμου λόγους; τὸ γάρ τοι κυκλικὸν σῶμα ἐξ
ὑποκειμένου καὶ εἵδους ἐστίν. ἀνάγκη δὴ οὖν,
εἰ καὶ μήποτε ἐνεργείᾳ ταῦτα δίχα ἀλλήλων,
ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε ἐπινοαῖς ἐκεῖνα πρῶτα ὑπάρχοντα
εἶναί τε καὶ νομίζεσθαι πρεσβύτερα. οὐκοῦν
ἐπειδὴ δέδοταί τις καὶ τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδὼν αἰτία
προηγούμενη παντελῶς ἄνλος ὑπὸ τὸν τρίτον
δημιουργόν, ὃς ἡμῖν οὐ τούτων μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου καὶ πέμπτου σώματος πατὴρ
καὶ δεσπότης· ἀποδιελόντες ἐκεῖνου τὸν Ἄττιν, B
τὴν ἄχρι τῆς ὕλης καταβαίνουσιν αἰτίαν, καὶ
θεὸν γόνιμον Ἄττιν εἶναι καὶ Γάλλον πεπιστεύ-
καμεν, ὃν δὴ φησιν ὁ μῦθος ἀνθῆσαι μὲν ἐκτε-
θέντα παρὰ Γάλλου ποταμοῦ ταῖς δίναις, εἴτα
καλὸν φανέντα καὶ μέγαν ἀγαπηθῆναι παρὰ
τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα
πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν περι-
θεῖναι¹ πῖλον. ἀλλ' εἰ τὴν κορυφὴν σκέπει τοῦ C
Ἄττιδος ὁ φαινόμενος οὐρανὸς οὐτοσί, τὸν Γάλ-
λον ποταμὸν ἄρα μή ποτε χρή τὸν γαλαξίαν
αἰνίττεσθαι² κύκλον; ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασι μίγνυ-
σθαι τὸ παθητὸν σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἀπαθὴν τοῦ

¹ περιθεῖναι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 249, τὸν ἀστερωτὸν αὐτῷ περιθεῖναι πῖλον: ἐπιθεῖναι MSS.

² αἰνίττεσθαι Hertlein suggests, cf. Sallust 250 τὸν γαλαξίαν αἰνίττεται κύκλον: μαντεύεσθαι MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

but yet exist in actuality nowhere at all ; to what, I ask, shall we hang the chain of perpetual generation, and on what shall we base our theories of the imperishability of the universe? For the cyclic substance¹ itself is composed of matter and form. It must therefore follow that, even though in actuality these two, matter and form, are never separate from one another, yet for our intelligence the forms must have prior existence and be regarded as of a higher order. Accordingly, since for the forms embodied in matter a wholly immaterial cause has been assigned, which leads these forms under the hand of the third creator²—who for us is the lord and father not only of these forms but also of the visible fifth substance—from that creator we distinguish Attis, the cause which descends even unto matter, and we believe that Attis or Gallus is a god of generative powers. Of him the myth relates that, after being exposed at birth near the eddying stream of the river Gallus, he grew up like a flower, and when he had grown to be fair and tall, he was beloved by the Mother of the Gods. And she entrusted all things to him, and moreover set on his head the starry cap.³ But if our visible sky covers the crown of Attis, must one not interpret the river Gallus as the Milky Way?⁴ For it is there, they say, that the substance which is subject to change mingles with the passion-

¹ i.e. the fifth substance.

² Helios ; cf. 161 D. The whole passage implies the identification of Attis with nature, and of the world-soul with Helios ; cf. 162 A where Attis is called "Nature," φύσις.

³ cf. 170 D, 168 C ; Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 16. 1.

⁴ cf. 171 A ; Sallust also identifies Gallus with the Milky Way, 4. 14. 25.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

πέμπτου κυκλοφορίαν. ἄχρι τοι τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν σκιρτᾶν τε καὶ χορεύειν τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἐμφερεῖ τῷ νοερῷ θεῷ, τῷ Ἀττιδι. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ προῖων ἦλθεν ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὁ μῦθος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον¹ κατελθεῖν ἔφη καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ νύμφῃ, τὸ δίνυρον αἰνιττόμενος τῆς ὕλης· καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλην αὐτὴν νῦν ἔφη, τὴν τελευταίαν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀσώματον, ἢ τῆς ὕλης προϋφέστηκε.² λέγεται τοι καὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλείτου³

D

ψυχῇσιν θάνατος ὑγρῇσι γενέσθαι

τούτου οὖν τὸν Γάλλον, τὸν νοερὸν θεόν, τὸν τῶν ἐνύλων καὶ ὑπὸ σελήνην εἰδῶν συνοχέα, τῇ προτεταγμένη τῆς ὕλης αἰτία συνιόντα, συνιόντα δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἄλλον ἄλλη, ἀλλ' οἷον αὐτὸ εἰς ἑαυτὸ⁴ λέγομεν⁵ ὑποφερόμενον.

166

Τίς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν; ἡ τῶν κυβερνώντων τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς νοερῶν καὶ δημιουργικῶν θεῶν πηγὴ, ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Διὶ θεὸς ὑποστᾶσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ῥᾶστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννῶσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Διὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὐσα πάντων. τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν

B

¹ cf. Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 7; and Plato, *Republic* 514 A.

² προϋφέστηκε Hertlein suggests, προέστηκε MSS.

³ fr. 36, Diels.

⁴ ἑαυτὸ Shorey suggests, τοῦτο Hertlein, MSS.

⁵ λέγομεν Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

less revolving sphere of the fifth substance. Only as far as this did the Mother of the Gods permit this fair intellectual god Attis, who resembles the sun's rays, to leap and dance. But when he passed beyond this limit and came even to the lowest region, the myth said that he had descended into the cave, and had wedded the nymph. And the nymph is to be interpreted as the dampness of matter; though the myth does not here mean matter itself, but the lowest immaterial cause which subsists prior to matter. Indeed Heracleitus also says: "It is death to souls to become wet." We mean therefore that this Gallus, the intellectual god, the connecting link between forms embodied in matter beneath the region of the moon, is united with the cause that is set over matter, but not in the sense that one sex is united with another, but like an element that is gathered to itself.

Who then is the Mother of the Gods? She is the source of the intellectual¹ and creative gods, who in their turn guide the visible gods: she is both the mother and the spouse of mighty Zeus; she came into being next to and together with the great creator; she is in control of every form of life, and the cause of all generation; she easily brings to perfection all things that are made; without pain she brings to birth, and with the father's² aid creates all things that are; she is the motherless maiden,³ enthroned at the side of Zeus, and in very truth is the Mother of all the Gods. For having received

¹ cf. 170 D, 179 D.

² i.e. Zeus.

³ Hence she is the counterpart of Athene, cf. 179 A. Athene is Forethought among the intellectual gods; Cybele is Forethought among the intelligible gods and therefore superior to Athene; cf. 180 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ὑπερκοσμίῳν τε¹ θεῶν δεξαμένη πάντων τὰς²
 αἰτίας ἐν ἑαυτῇ πηγῇ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐγένετο. ταύτην
 δὴ τὴν θεὸν οὖσαν καὶ πρόνοϊαν ἔρως μὲν ὑπῆλθεν
 ἀπαθὴς ἙΑττιδος· ἐβελούσια γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ κατὰ
 γνώμην ἐστὶν οὐ τὰ ἔνυλα μόνον εἶδη, πολὺ δὲ
 πλέον τὰ τούτων αἵτια. τὴν δὴ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ
 φθειρόμενα σώζουσιν προμήθειαν ἔραν ὁ μῦθος C
 ἔφη τῆς δημιουργικῆς τούτων αἰτίας καὶ γονίμου,
 καὶ κελεύειν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τίκτειν
 μᾶλλον καὶ βούλεσθαι μὲν³ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπε-
 στράφθαι καὶ συνοικεῖν, ἐπίταγμα δὲ ποιεῖσθαι,
 μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἅμα μὲν τὸ ἐνοειδὲς σωτήριον
 διώκουσαν, ἅμα δὲ φεύγουσαν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην
 νεύσαν· πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τε βλέπειν ἐκέλευσεν, οὖσαν
 πηγὴν μὲν τῶν δημιουργικῶν θεῶν, οὐ καθελκο-
 μένην δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν οὐδὲ θελγομένην· οὕτω D
 γὰρ ἔμελλεν ὁ μέγας ἙΑττις καὶ κρείττων⁴ εἶναι
 δημιουργός, ἐπεὶ περ ἐν πᾶσιν ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον
 ἐπιστροφή μᾶλλον ἐστὶ δραστήριος τῆς πρὸς τὸ
 χεῖρον νεύσεως. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πέμπτον σῶμα τούτῳ
 δημιουργικώτερόν ἐστι τῶν τῇδε καὶ θειότερον,
 τῷ μᾶλλον ἐστράφθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ τοι
 τὸ σῶμα, καὶ αἰθέρος ἢ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου, ψυχῆς
 ἀχράντου καὶ καθαρᾶς, ὁποῖαν τὴν Ἑρακλέους ὁ
 δημιουργὸς ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν κρεῖττον

¹ τε Hertlein suggests. ² τὰς Hertlein suggests.

³ μὲν Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

⁴ κρείττων Hertlein suggests, κρεῖττον MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

into herself the causes of all the gods, both intelligible and supra-mundane, she became the source of the intellectual gods. Now this goddess, who is also Forethought, was inspired with a passionless love for Attis. For not only the forms embodied in matter, but to a still greater degree the causes of those forms, voluntarily serve her and obey her will. Accordingly the myth relates the following: that she who is the Providence who preserves all that is subject to generation and decay, loved their creative and generative cause, and commanded that cause to beget offspring rather in the intelligible region; and she desired that it should turn towards herself and dwell with her, but condemned it to dwell with no other thing. For only thus would that creative cause strive towards the uniformity that preserves it, and at the same time would avoid that which inclines towards matter. And she bade that cause look towards her, who is the source of the creative gods, and not be dragged down or allured into generation. For in this way was mighty Attis destined to be an even mightier creation, seeing that in all things the conversion to what is higher produces more power to effect than the inclination to what is lower. And the fifth substance itself is more creative and more divine than the elements of our earth, for this reason, that it is more nearly connected with the gods. Not that anyone, surely, would venture to assert that any substance, even if it be composed of the purest aether, is superior to soul undefiled and pure, that of Heracles for instance, as it was when the creator sent it to earth. For that soul

τολμήσειε. τότε μέντοι ἦν τε καὶ ἐδόκει μᾶλλον 167
 δραστήριος, ἢ ὅτε¹ αὐτὴν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνη σώματι.
 ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ νῦν Ἡρακλεῖ ὄλω πρὸς ὅλον κε-
 χωρηκότι τὸν πατέρα ῥάων ἢ τούτων ἐπιμέλεια
 καθέστηκεν ἢ πρότερον ἦν, ὅτε ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 σαρκία φορῶν ἐστρέφετο. οὕτως ἐν πᾶσι δρα-
 στήριος μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀπόστασις
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον στροφῆς. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ
 μῦθος διδάξαι παραινέσαι φησὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
 θεῶν τῷ Ἀττιδι θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν καὶ μήτε
 ἀποχωρεῖν μήτε ἐρᾶν ἄλλης. ὁ δὲ προῆλθεν ἄχρι B
 τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς ὕλης κατελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν
 παύσασθαί ποτε καὶ στήναι τὴν ἀπειρίαν,
 Κορύβας μὲν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος, ὁ σύνθρονος
 τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ συνδημιουργῶν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα
 καὶ συμπρομηθούμενος καὶ οὐδὲν πρᾶττων
 αὐτῆς δίχα, πείθει τὸν λέοντα μηνυτὴν γενέ-
 σθαι. τίς δὲ ὁ λέων; αἰθωνα δῆπουθεν ἀκούομεν
 αὐτόν, αἰτίαν τοίνυν τὴν προῦφεστῶσαν² τοῦ
 θερμοῦ καὶ πυρώδους, ἢ πολεμήσειν ἔμελλε C
 τῇ νύμφῃ καὶ ζηλοτυπήσειν αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀττιν κοινωνίας· εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν τίς ἡ νύμφη·
 τῇ δὲ³ δημιουργικῇ προμηθείᾳ τῶν ὄντων ὑπουρ-
 γῆσαί φησιν ὁ μῦθος,⁴ δηλαδή τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν·

¹ ἢ ὅτε Shorey, ὅτε Hertlein, MSS.

² προῦφεστῶσαν Hertlein suggests, προεστῶσαν MSS.

³ τῇ δὲ Hertlein suggests, τῇ MSS.

⁴ φησιν ὁ μῦθος Hertlein suggests, φησι MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

of his both seemed to be and was more effective than after it had bestowed itself on a body. Since even Heracles, now that he has returned, one and indivisible, to his father one and indivisible, more easily controls his own province than formerly when he wore the garment of flesh and walked among men. And this shows that in all things the conversion to the higher is more effective than the propensity to the lower. This is what the myth aims to teach us when it says that the Mother of the Gods exhorted Attis not to leave her or to love another. But he went further, and descended even to the lowest limits of matter. Since, however, it was necessary that his limitless course should cease and halt at last, mighty Helios the Corybant,¹ who shares the Mother's throne and with her creates all things, with her has providence for all things, and apart from her does nothing, persuaded the Lion² to reveal the matter. And who is the Lion? Verily we are told that he is flame-coloured.³ He is, therefore, the cause that subsists prior to the hot and fiery, and it was his task to contend against the nymph and to be jealous of her union with Attis. (And who the nymph is, I have said.) And the myth says that the Lion serves the creative Providence of the world, which evidently means the

¹ The Corybantes were the Phrygian priests of Cybele, who at Rome were called Galli.

² The Asiatic deities, especially Cybele, are often represented holding lions, or in cars drawn by them. cf. Catullus 63. 76, *juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus*, "Cybele unharnessed her team of lions"; she sends a lion in pursuit of Attis, cf. 168 B; Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 3. 2. 287 calls the sign of the lion "the dwelling of Helios."

³ *Iliad* 10. 23 λέωντος αἰθωνος.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

εἶτα φωράσαντα καὶ μηνυτὴν γενόμενον αἴτιον
 γενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ τῆς ἐκτομῆς. ἡ δὲ ἐκτομὴ
 τίς; ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας· ἔσται γὰρ δὴ τὰ τῆς
 γενέσεως ἐν ὀρισμένοις τοῖς εἶδεσιν ὑπὸ τῆς
 δημιουργικῆς ἐπισχεθέντα προμηθείας, οὐκ ἄνευ D
 τῆς τοῦ Ἄττιδος λεγομένης παραφροσύνης, ἡ τὸ
 μέτριον ἐξισταμένη καὶ ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξασθενούσα καὶ οὐκέθ' αὐτῆς εἶναι
 δυναμένη.¹ ὁ δὲ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὑποστήναι
 τῶν θεῶν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἄλογον. σκόπει οὖν ἀναλ-
 λοίωτον κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀλλοίωσιν τὸ πέμπτον
 θεώμενος σῶμα περὶ τοὺς φωτισμοὺς τῆς σελήνης,
 ἵνα λοιπὸν ὁ συνεχῶς γιγνόμενός τε καὶ ἀπολλύ- 168
 μενος κόσμος γειτνιά τῷ πέμπτῳ σώματι. περὶ
 τοὺς φωτισμοὺς αὐτῆς ἀλλοίωσιν τινα καὶ πάθη
 συμπίπτοντα θεωροῦμεν. οὐκ ἄτοπον οὖν καὶ
 τὸν Ἄττιν τοῦτον ἡμίθεόν τινα εἶναι· βούλεται
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο· μᾶλλον δὲ θεὸν μὲν
 τῷ παντί· πρόεισί τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τρίτου δημιουρ-
 γοῦ καὶ ἐπανάγεται πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητέρα τῶν
 θεῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως ῥέπειν καὶ²
 νεύειν εἰς τὴν ὕλην δοκεῖ, θεῶν μὲν ἔσχατον,
 ἔξαρχον δὲ τῶν θείων γενῶν ἀπάντων οὐκ ἂν B
 ἀμάρτοι τις αὐτὸν ὑπολαβόν. ἡμίθεον δὲ διὰ
 τοῦτο ὁ μῦθος φησι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀτρέπτους
 αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος διαφοράν. δορυφο-
 ροῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῆς Μητρὸς δοθέντες οἱ
 Κορύβαντες, αἱ τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς
 κρεισσόνων γενῶν ὑποστάσεις. ἄρχει δὲ καὶ τῶν

¹ A finite verb e.g. φαίνεται is needed to complete the construction. ² καὶ Friederich, πέπεικε Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

Mother of the Gods. Then it says that by detecting and revealing the truth, he caused the youth's castration. What is the meaning of this castration? It is the checking of the unlimited. For now was generation confined within definite forms checked by creative Providence. And this would not have happened without the so-called madness of Attis, which overstepped and transgressed due measure, and thereby made him become weak so that he had no control over himself. And it is not surprising that this should come to pass, when we have to do with the cause that ranks lowest among the gods. For consider the fifth substance, which is subject to no change of any sort, in the region of the light of the moon: I mean where our world of continuous generation and decay borders on the fifth substance. We perceive that in the region of her light it seems to undergo certain alterations and to be affected by external influences. Therefore it is not contradictory to suppose that our Attis also is a sort of demigod—for that is actually the meaning of the myth—or rather for the universe he is wholly god, for he proceeds from the third creator, and after his castration is led upwards again to the Mother of the Gods. But though he seems to lean and incline towards matter, one would not be mistaken in supposing that, though he is the lowest in order of the gods, nevertheless he is the leader of all the tribes of divine beings. But the myth calls him a demigod to indicate the difference between him and the unchanging gods. He is attended by the Corybants who are assigned to him by the Mother; they are the three leading personalities of the higher races¹

¹ cf. *Oration* 4. 145 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

λεόντων, οὐ τὴν ἔνθερμον οὐσίαν καὶ πυρώδη
κατανειμάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ σφῶν ἐξάρχου λέοντος
αἴτιοι τῷ πυρὶ μὲν πρώτως, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐνθένδε
θερμότητος ἐνεργείας τε κινητικῆς αἴτιοι καὶ τοῖς C
ἄλλοις εἰσὶ σωτηρίας· περίκειται δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἂντὶ τιάρας, ἐκεῖθεν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ γῆν ὁρμώμενος.

Οὗτος ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν θεὸς Ἄττις ἐστίν· αὐταὶ
τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄττιδος αἱ θρηνούμεναι τέως
φυγαὶ καὶ κρύψεις καὶ ἀφανισμοὶ καὶ αἱ δύσεις
αἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον. τεκμήρια δὲ ἔστω μοι τούτου
ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται. τέμνεσθαι γάρ φασι τὸ
ιερὸν δένδρον καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον
τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ἀψίδος ἔρχεται· εἰθ' ἐξῆς περισαλ-
πισμὸς παραλαμβάνεται· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τέμνεται D
τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπόρρητον θέρος τοῦ θεοῦ Γάλλον·
ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰλάρια, φασί, καὶ ἑορταί. ὅτι μὲν
οὖν στάσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἢ θρυλουμένη
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐκτομή, πρόδηλον ἐξ ὧν
ἡνίκα ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ ψαύσας
κύκλου, ἵνα τὸ μάλιστα ὠρισμένον ἐστί·¹ τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ἴσον ὠρισμένον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἄνισον ἄπειρόν
τε καὶ ἀδιεξίτητον· κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα τὸ
δένδρον τέμνεται· εἰθ' ἐξῆς γίνεται τὰ λοιπά, τὰ 169

¹ A finite verb is needed to complete the construction.
For the anacoluthon cf. 167 D.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

that are next in order to the gods. Also Attis rules over the lions, who together with the Lion, who is their leader, have chosen for themselves hot and fiery substance, and so are, first and foremost, the cause of fire. And through the heat derived from fire they are the causes of motive force and of preservation for all other things that exist. And Attis encircles the heavens like a tiara, and thence sets out as though to descend to earth.

This, then, is our mighty god Attis. This explains his once lamented flight and concealment and disappearance and descent into the cave. In proof of this let me cite the time of year at which it happens. For we are told that the sacred tree¹ is felled on the day when the sun reaches the height of the equinox.² Thereupon the trumpets are sounded.³ And on the third day the sacred and unspeakable member of the god Gallus is severed.⁴ Next comes, they say, the Hilaria⁵ and the festival. And that this castration, so much discussed by the crowd, is really the halting of his unlimited course, is evident from what happens directly mighty Helios touches the cycle of the equinox, where the bounds are most clearly defined. (For the even is bounded, but the uneven is without bounds, and there is no way through or out of it.) At that time then, precisely, according to the account we have, the sacred tree is felled. Thereupon, in

¹ A pine sacred to Attis was felled on March 22nd; cf. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 222.

² cf. 171 C, 175 A.

³ March 23rd.

⁴ March 24th was the date of the castration of the Galli, the priests of Attis.

⁵ On March 25th the resurrection of Attis and the freeing of our souls from generation (γένησις) was celebrated by the feast of the Hilaria.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

μὲν διὰ τοὺς μυστικούς καὶ κρυφίους θεσμούς, τὰ
 δὲ καὶ διὰ¹ ῥηθῆναι πᾶσι δυναμένους. ἡ δὲ
 ἔκτομή τοῦ δένδρου, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ μὲν ἱστορία
 προσήκει τῇ περὶ τὸν Γάλλον, οὐδὲν δὲ τοῖς
 μυστηρίοις, οἷς παραλαμβάνεται, διδασκόντων
 ἡμᾶς οἶμαι τῶν θεῶν συμβολικῶς, ὅτι χρὴ τὸ
 κάλλιστον ἐκ γῆς δρεψαμένους, ἀρετὴν μετὰ
 εὐσεβείας, ἀπενεγκεῖν τῇ θεῷ, σύμβολον τῆς
 ἐνταῦθα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐσόμενον. τὸ γάρ
 τοι δένδρον ἐκ γῆς μὲν φύεται, σπεύδει δὲ B
 ὥσπερ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν τέ ἐστι καλὸν καὶ
 σκιὰν παρασχεῖν ἐν πνίγει, ἥδη δὲ καὶ καρπὸν
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προβαλεῖν καὶ χαρίσασθαι· οὕτως
 αὐτῷ πολὺ τί γε τοῦ γονίμου περίεστιν. ἡμῖν
 οὖν ὁ θεσμὸς παρακελεύεται, τοῖς φύσει μὲν
 οὐρανίοις, εἰς γῆν δὲ ἐνεχθεῖσιν, ἀρετὴν μετὰ εὐσε-
 βείας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολιτείας ἀμνησαμένους
 παρὰ τὴν προγονικὴν καὶ ζωογόνον σπεύδειν θεόν. C
 Εὐθύς οὖν ἡ σάλπιγξ μετὰ τὴν ἔκτομήν
 ἐνδίδωσι τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν τῷ Ἄττιδι καὶ τοῖς
 ὅσοι ποτὲ οὐρανόθεν ἔπτημεν εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ
 ἐπέσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ σύμβολον τοῦτο, ὅτε ὁ
 βασιλεὺς Ἄττις ἴστησι τὴν ἀπειρίαν διὰ τῆς
 ἔκτομῆς, ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐκτέμνειν καὶ
 αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπειρίαν καὶ μιμῆσθαι
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας,² ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ὠρισμένον καὶ ἐνοειδὲς καί,
 εἴπερ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἀνατρέχειν· οὐπερ D
 γενομένου πάντως ἔπessθαι χρὴ τὰ Ἰλάρια. τί
 γὰρ εὐθυμότερον, τί δὲ ἰλαρώτερον γένοιτο ἂν
 ψυχῆς ἀπειρίαν μὲν καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

¹ καὶ διὰ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

² ἡγεμόνας Shorey, cf. 170 A, B, ἡμῶν Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

their proper order, all the other ceremonies take place. Some of them are celebrated with the secret ritual of the Mysteries, but others by a ritual that can be told to all. For instance, the cutting of the tree belongs to the story of Gallus and not to the Mysteries at all, but it has been taken over by them, I think because the gods wished to teach us, in symbolic fashion, that we must pluck the fairest fruits from the earth, namely, virtue and piety, and offer them to the goddess to be the symbol of our well-ordered constitution here on earth. For the tree grows from the soil, but it strives upwards as though to reach the upper air, and it is fair to behold and gives us shade in the heat, and casts before us and bestows on us its fruits as a boon; such is its superabundance of generative life. Accordingly the ritual enjoins on us, who by nature belong to the heavens but have fallen to earth, to reap the harvest of our constitution here on earth, namely, virtue and piety, and then strive upwards to the goddess of our forefathers, to her who is the principle of all life.

Therefore, immediately after the castration, the trumpet sounds the recall for Attis and for all of us who once flew down from heaven and fell to earth. And after this signal, when King Attis stays his limitless course by his castration, the god bids us also root out the unlimited in ourselves and imitate the gods our leaders and hasten back to the defined and uniform, and, if it be possible, to the One itself. After this, the Hilaria must by all means follow. For what could be more blessed, what more joyful than a soul which has escaped from limitlessness

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V.

κλύδωνα διαφυγούσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναχθείσης; ὧν ἓνα καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ὄντα περιεῖδεν οὐδαμῶς ἢ τῶν θεῶν Μήτηρ βαδίζοντα πρόσω πλέον ἢ χρῆν, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἐπέστρεψε, στήσαι τὴν ἀπειρίαν προστάξασα.

Καὶ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με λέγειν, ὥς ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ποτὲ καὶ γέγονεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰδότες 170 τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ὅ, τι ποιήσουσιν, ἢ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα διορθουμένων. ἀλλὰ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀεὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἥτοι τῶν θεῶν ὑφηγουμένων ἢ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διερευνώμενοι, βέλτιον δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν ζητοῦντες ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔπειτα εὐρόντες ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὰς¹ μύθοις παραδόξοις, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἀπεμφαίνοντος τὸ πλάσμα φωραθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας προτρέψῃ, τοῖς μὲν B ἰδιώταις ἀρκούσης οἶμαι τῆς ἀλόγου καὶ διὰ τῶν συμβόλων μόνων ὠφελείας, τοῖς δὲ περιττοῖς κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν οὕτως μόνως ἐσομένης ὠφελίμου τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀληθείας, εἰ τις ἐξετάζων αὐτὴν ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὖροι καὶ λάβοι, διὰ μὲν τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ὑπομνησθεῖς, ὅτι χρή τι περὶ αὐτῶν ζητεῖν, ἐς τέλος δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ κορυφὴν τοῦ πράγματος διὰ τῆς σκέψεως εὐρὼν πορευθείη, οὐκ C

¹ αὐτὰς Hertlein suggests, αὐτὰ MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

and generation and inward storm, and has been translated up to the very gods? And Attis himself was such a one, and the Mother of the Gods by no means allowed him to advance unregarded further than was permitted : nay, she made him turn towards herself, and commanded him to set a limit to his limitless course.

But let no one suppose my meaning to be that this was ever done or happened in a way that implies that the gods themselves are ignorant of what they intend to do, or that they have to correct their own errors. But our ancestors in every case tried to trace the original meanings of things, whether with the guidance of the gods or independently—though perhaps it would be better to say that they sought for them under the leadership of the gods—then when they had discovered those meanings they clothed them in paradoxical myths. This was in order that, by means of the paradox and the incongruity, the fiction might be detected and we might be induced to search out the truth. Now I think ordinary men derive benefit enough from the irrational myth which instructs them through symbols alone. But those who are more highly endowed with wisdom will find the truth about the gods helpful ; though only on condition that such a man examine and discover and comprehend it under the leadership of the gods, and if by such riddles as these he is reminded that he must search out their meaning, and so attains to the goal and summit of his quest¹ through his own researches ; he must not

¹ 169 D-170 C is a digression on the value of myths, which the wise man is not to accept without an allegorising interpretation ; cf. *Oration* 7. 216 C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

αἰδοῖ καὶ πίστει μᾶλλον ἀλλοτρίας δόξης ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργείᾳ.

Τί οὖν εἶναί φαμεν, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ; κατανοήσαντες ἄχρι τοῦ πέμπτου σώματος οὐ τὸ νοητὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ταῦτα σώματα τῆς ἀπαθοῦς ὄντα καὶ θείας μερίδος, ἄχρι τούτου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν ἀκραιφνεῖς εἶναι· τῇ γονίμῳ δὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐσίᾳ τῶν τῇδε παρυνποστάντων, ἐξ αἰδίου συμπροελλούσης τῆς ὕλης τοῖς θεοῖς, παρ' αὐτῶν D δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπληρες αὐτῶν τῆς γονίμου καὶ δημιουργικῆς αἰτίας ἢ τῶν ὄντων προμήθεια συνουσιωμένη τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ αἰδίου, καὶ σύνθωκος μὲν οὖσα τῷ βασιλεῖ Δίῳ, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄζωον καὶ ἄγονον καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων, οἷον ἂν εἴποι τις, ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ τρύγα καὶ ὑποσταθμὴν διὰ τῆς τελευταίας αἰτίας¹ τῶν θεῶν, εἰς ἣν αἱ πάντων οὐσίαι τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελεωσιν, ἐκόσμησέ τε καὶ διωρθώσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μετέστησεν.

Ὁ γὰρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς 171 ἄστροις τιάραν εὐδηλον ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὀρωμένας λήξεις ἀρχὰς ἐποίησατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν ἄχρι γαλαξίου· περὶ τούτου δὲ ἤδη τὸν τόπον μινυμένον πρὸς τὸ

¹ τελευταίας αἰτίας Hertlein suggests, τελευταίας MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

be modest and put faith in the opinions of others rather than in his own mental powers.

What shall I say now by way of summary? Because men observed that, as far as the fifth substance, not only the intelligible world but also the visible bodies of our world must be classed as unaffected by externals and divine, they believed that, as far as the fifth substance, the gods are uncompounded. And when by means of that generative substance the visible gods came into being, and, from everlasting, matter was produced along with those gods, from them and through their agency, by reason of the superabundance in them of the generative and creative principle; then the Providence of the world, she who from everlasting is of the same essential nature as the gods, she who is enthroned by the side of King Zeus, and moreover is the source of the intellectual gods, set in order and corrected and changed for the better all that seemed lifeless and barren, the refuse and so to speak offscourings of things, their dregs and sediment: and this she did by means of the last cause¹ derived from the gods, in which the substances of all the gods come to an end.

For it is evident that Attis of whom I speak, who wears the tiara set with stars, took for the foundation of his own dominion the functions of every god as we see them applied to the visible world. And in his case all is undefiled and pure as far as the Milky Way. But, at this very point, that which

¹ In 167 D Attis was identified with the light of the moon; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 A; where the moon is called the lowest of the spheres, who gives form to the world of matter that lies below her; cf. Sallust, *On the Gods and the World* 4. 14. 23: where Attis is called the creator of our world.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἀπαθὲς τοῦ παθητοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης παρυφιστα-
 μένης ἐκεῖθεν, ἢ πρὸς ταύτην κοινωνία κατὰ βασίς
 ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως μὲν γενο- B
 μένη τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῇ τούτων Μητρί, λεγομένη
 δὲ ἀκουσίως γενέσθαι. φύσει γὰρ ἐν κρείττονι
 τοὺς θεοὺς ὄντας οὐκ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τάδε καθέλκειν
 ἐθέλει τὰ βελτίω, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρείττόνων
 συγκαταβάσεως καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμεί-
 νονα καὶ θεοφιλεστέραν λῆξιν. οὕτω τοι καὶ
 τὸν Ἄττιν οὐ κατεχθραίνουσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν
 ἢ Μήτηρ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἀγανακτεῖ μὲν οὐκέτι,
 ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγκατάβασιν,
 ὅτι κρείττων ὢν καὶ θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ κατα- C
 δεεστέρῳ· στήσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν
 πρόοδον καὶ τὸ ἀκόσμητον τοῦτο κοσμήσαντα διὰ
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἰσημερινὸν κύκλον συμπαθείας, ἵνα
 ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος τῆς ὀρισμένης κινήσεως τὸ τελειό-
 τατον κυβερνᾷ μέτρον, ἐπανάγει πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἢ
 θεὸς ἀσμένως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῇ. καὶ
 οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, ὅτε μὴ ταῦτα τοῦτον εἶχε τὸν
 τρόπον, ὅνπερ νῦν ἔχει, ἀλλ' αἰὲ μὲν Ἄττις ἐστὶν
 ὑπουργὸς τῇ Μητρί καὶ ἡνίοχος, αἰὲ δὲ ὀργᾷ εἰς D
 τὴν γένεσιν, αἰὲ δὲ ἀποτέμνεται τὴν ἀπειρίαν
 διὰ τῆς ὀρισμένης τῶν εἰδῶν αἰτίας. ἐπαναγό-
 μενος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων αὐθις λέγεται
 δυναστεύειν σκήπτρων, ἐκπεσὼν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐ-

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

is troubled by passion begins to mingle with the passionless, and from that union matter begins to subsist. And so the association of Attis with matter is the descent into the cave, nor did this take place against the will of the gods and the Mother of the Gods, though the myth says that it was against their will. For by their nature the gods dwell in a higher world, and the higher powers do not desire to drag them hence down to our world: rather through the condescension of the higher they desire to lead the things of our earth upwards to a higher plane more favoured by the gods. And in fact the myth does not say that the Mother of the Gods was hostile to Attis after his castration: but it says that though she is no longer angry, she was angry at the time on account of his condescension, in that he who was a higher being and a god had given himself to that which was inferior. But when, after staying his limitless progress, he has set in order the chaos of our world through his sympathy with the cycle of the equinox, where mighty Helios controls the most perfect symmetry of his motion within due limits, then the goddess gladly leads him upwards to herself, or rather keeps him by her side. And never did this happen save in the manner that it happens now; but forever is Attis the servant and charioteer of the Mother; forever he yearns passionately towards generation; and forever he cuts short his unlimited course through the cause whose limits are fixed, even the cause of the forms. In like manner the myth says that he is led upwards as though from our earth, and again resumes his ancient sceptre and dominion: not that he ever lost it, or ever loses it now, but the myth says that he lost it on account of

δαμῶς οὐδὲ ἐκπίπτων, ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ παθητὸν σύμμιξιν.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴσως ἄξιον προσαπορρήσαι· διττῆς γὰρ οὐσης τῆς ἰσημερίας, οὐ τὴν ἐν ταῖς χηλαῖς, 172 τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ κριῶ προτιμῶσι. τίς οὖν αἰτία τούτου, φανερόν δῆπουθεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ἥλιος ἄρχεται τότε πλησιάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσημερίας, αὐξομένης οἶμαι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἔδοξεν οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἀρμοδιώτερος. ἔξω γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣ φησι τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι τὸ φῶς σύνδρομον, ἔχειν οἰκείως πιστευτέον τοῖς ἀφεθῆναι τῆς γενέσεως σπεύδουσι τὰς ἀναγωγὰς ἀκτῖνας ἡλίου. σκόπει δὲ ἐναργῶς· ἔλκει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πάντα καὶ προκαλεῖται¹ καὶ βλαστάνειν ποιεῖ τῇ ζωπυρίδι καὶ θαυμαστῇ θέρμῃ, διακρίνων οἶμαι πρὸς ἄκραν λεπτότητα τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὰ φύσει φερόμενα κάτω κουφίζει. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀφανῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ποιητέον τεκμήρια. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι διὰ τῆς σωματοειδοῦς θέρμης οὕτω τοῦτο ἀπεργαζόμενος πῶς οὐ διὰ τῆς ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀσωμάτου πάντῃ καὶ θείας καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν ἰδρυμένης οὐσίας ἔλξει καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς εὐτυχεῖς ψυχάς; οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ² πέφηνεν οἰκεῖον C μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ἀναχθῆναι σπεύδουσιν, αὖξεται δὲ ἐν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κόσμῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὥστε εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν μείζω τῆς νυκτός, Ἡλίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὸν κριὸν ἀρξαμένον· δέδεικται δὲ καὶ² ἀναγωγὸν

¹ προκαλεῖται Hertlein suggests, προσκαλεῖται MSS.

² δὲ καὶ Hertlein suggests, δὲ καὶ V, καὶ MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

his union with that which is subject to passion and change.

But perhaps it is worth while to raise the following question also. There are two equinoxes, but men pay more honour to the equinox in the sign of Capricorn than to that in the sign of Cancer.¹ Surely the reason for this is evident. Since the sun begins to approach us immediately after the spring equinox,—for I need not say that then the days begin to lengthen,—this seemed the more agreeable season. For apart from the explanation which says that light accompanies the gods, we must believe that the uplifting rays² of the sun are nearly akin to those who yearn to be set free from generation. Consider it clearly: the sun, by his vivifying and marvellous heat, draws up all things from the earth and calls them forth and makes them grow; and he separates, I think, all corporeal things to the utmost degree of tenuity, and makes things weigh light that naturally have a tendency to sink. We ought then to make these visible things proofs of his unseen powers. For if among corporeal things he can bring this about through his material heat, how should he not draw and lead upwards the souls of the blessed by the agency of the invisible, wholly immaterial, divine and pure substance which resides in his rays? We have seen then that this light is nearly akin to the god, and to those who yearn to mount upwards, and moreover, that this light increases in our world, so that when Helios begins to enter the sign of Capricorn the day becomes longer than the night. It

¹ Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymph* 22, says that Cancer and Capricorn are the two gates of the sun; and that souls descend through Cancer and rise aloft through Capricorn.

² This seems to identify Attis with the sun's rays.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

φύσει τὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τε τῆς φανεράς
 ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς ἀφανούς, ὑφ' ἧς παμπληθεῖς
 ἀνήχθησαν ψυχὰι τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀκολουθήσασαι D
 τῇ φανοτάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα ἡλιοειδεῖ. τὴν γὰρ
 τοιαύτην τῶν ὁμμάτων αἴσθησιν οὐκ ἀγαπητὴν
 μόνον οὐδὲ χρήσιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
 σοφίαν ὁδηγὸν ὁ δαιμόνιος ἀνύμνησε Πλάτων.¹ εἰ
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρρήτου μυσταγωγίας ἀψαίμην, ἦν
 ὁ Χαλδαῖος περὶ τὸν ἐπτάκτινα θεὸν ἐβάκχευσεν,
 ἀνάγων δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, ἄγνωστα ἐρῶ, καὶ
 μάλα γε ἄγνωστα τῷ συρφετῷ, θεουργοῖς δὲ 173
 τοῖς μακαρίοις γνῶριμα· διόπερ αὐτὰ σιωπήσω
 τανῦν.

"Ὅπερ δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν οὐκ ἀλόγως
 ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔνι μάλιστα μετὰ εἰκότος καὶ
 ἀληθοῦς λόγου παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν τῷ θεσμῷ
 προστεθεῖσθαι, σημείον δὴ² τούτου, ὅτι τὸν ἰσημε-
 ρινὸν κύκλον ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ³ κατενείματο. τελεῖται
 γὰρ περὶ τὸν ζυγὸν Διοῖ καὶ Κόρη τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ

¹ *Phaedrus* 250 D, *Timaeus* 47 A, *Republic* 507-508.

² δὴ Shorey, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

³ αὐτῇ Wright, αὕτη MSS., Hertlein.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

has also been demonstrated that the god's rays are by nature uplifting; and this is due to his energy, both visible and invisible, by which very many souls have been lifted up out of the region of the senses, because they were guided by that sense which is clearest of all and most nearly like the sun. For when with our eyes we perceive the sun's light, not only is it welcome and useful for our lives, but also, as the divine Plato said when he sang its praises, it is our guide to wisdom. And if I should also touch on the secret teaching of the Mysteries in which the Chaldean,¹ divinely frenzied, celebrated the God of the Seven Rays, that god through whom he lifts up the souls of men, I should be saying what is unintelligible, yea wholly unintelligible to the common herd, but familiar to the happy theurgists.² And so I will for the present be silent on that subject.

I was saying that we ought not to suppose that the ancients appointed the season of the rites irrationally, but rather as far as possible with plausible and true grounds of reason; and indeed a proof of this is that the goddess herself chose as her province the cycle of the equinox. For the most holy and secret Mysteries of Deo and the Maiden³ are celebrated when the

¹ Chaldean astrology and the Chaldean oracles are often cited with respect by the Neo-Platonists; for allusions to their worship of the Seven-rayed Mithras (Helios) cf. Damascius 294 and Proclus on *Timaeus* l. 11.

² e.g. Iamblichus and especially Maximus of Ephesus who is a typical theurgist of the fourth century A.D. and was supposed to work miracles.

³ The Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone; the Lesser were celebrated in February, the greater in September.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως γίνεται. B
 χρὴ γὰρ καὶ ἀπιόντι τῷ θεῷ τελεσθῆναι πάλιν,
 ἵνα μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθέου καὶ σκοτεινῆς δυσχερὲς
 πάθωμεν ἐπικρατούσης δυνάμεως. δις γοῦν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι τῇ Διοί τελοῦσι τὰ μυστήρια, ἐν αὐτῷ μὲν
 τῷ κριῶ τὰ μικρὰ, φασί, μυστήρια, τὰ μεγάλα
 δὲ περὶ τὰς χηλὰς ὄντος ἡλίου, δι' ἃς ἔναγχος
 ἔφην αἰτίας. μεγάλα δὲ ὠνομάσθαι καὶ μικρὰ
 νομίζω καὶ ἄλλων ἕνεκα, μάλιστα δέ, ὡς εἰκός,
 τούτου ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ περ
 προσιόντος· διόπερ ἐν τούτοις ὅσον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν C
 μόνον. ἄτε δὴ καὶ παρόντος τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ
 ἀναγωγοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ προτέλεια κατεβάλλοντο τῆς
 τελετῆς· εἴτα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀγνεῖαι συνεχεῖς
 καὶ τῶν ἱερέων¹ ἀγιστεῖαι. ἀπιόντος δὲ λοιπὸν
 τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀντίχθονα ζώνην, καὶ φυλακῆς
 ἕνεκα καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτὸ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐπιτελεῖται
 τῶν μυστηρίων. ὅρα δέ· ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τῆς
 γενέσεως αἷτιον ἀποτέμνεται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παρὰ
 Ἀθηναίοις οἱ τῶν ἀρρήτων ἀπτόμενοι παναγεῖς D
 εἰσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἐξάρχων ἱεροφάντης ἀπέ-
 στραπτει πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν, ὡς οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ
 τῆς ἐπ' ἄπειρον προόδου, τῆς ὠρισμένης δὲ καὶ
 αἰεὶ μενούσης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ συνεχομένης οὐσίας
 ἱκνηράτου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων
 ὑπόχρη τοσαῦτα.

Δεῖπεται δὴ λοιπόν, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀγι-
 στείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας διεξελθεῖν, ἵνα καὶ

¹ ἱερέων Hertlein suggests, ἱερῶν MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

sun is in the sign of Libra, and this is quite natural. For when the gods depart we must consecrate ourselves afresh, so that we may suffer no harm from the godless power of darkness that now begins to get the upper hand. At any rate the Athenians celebrate the Mysteries of Deo twice in the year, the Lesser Mysteries as they call them in the sign of Capricorn, and the Great Mysteries when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, and this for the reason that I have just mentioned. And I think that these Mysteries are called Great and Lesser for several reasons, but especially, as is natural, they are called great when the god departs rather than when he approaches; and so the Lesser are celebrated only by way of reminder.¹ I mean that when the saving and uplifting god approaches, the preliminary rites of the Mysteries take place. Then a little later follow the rites of purification, one after another, and the consecration of the priests. Then when the god departs to the antipodes, the most important ceremonies of the Mysteries are performed, for our protection and salvation. And observe the following: As in the festival of the Mother the instrument of generation is severed, so too with the Athenians, those who take part in the secret rites are wholly chaste and their leader the hierophant forswears generation; because he must not have aught to do with the progress to the unlimited, but only with the substance whose bounds are fixed, so that it abides for ever and is contained in the One, stainless and pure. On this subject I have said enough.

It only remains now to speak, as is fitting, about the sacred rite itself, and the purification, so that from

¹ Plato, *Gorgias* 497 c; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 900 B.

ἐντεῦθεν λάβωμεν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν εἴ τι συμβάλλεται. γελοῖον δὲ αὐτίκα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο φαίνεται· κρεῶν μὲν ἄπτεσθαι δίδωσιν ὁ ἱερὸς νόμος, ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τῶν σπερμάτων. οὐκ ἄψυχα μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔμψυχα; οὐ καθαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα, ταῦτα δὲ αἵματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ εὐχερῶν ὄψει τε καὶ ἀκοῇ πεπληρωμένα; οὐ, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐκεῖνοις μὲν πρόσεστι τὸ μηδένα ἐκ τῆς ἐδωδῆς ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτοις δὲ τὸ καταθύεσθαι καὶ κατασφάττεσθαι τὰ ζῶα ἀλγοῦντά γε, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ B
 τρυχόμενα; ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν περιττῶν εἴποιεν ἄν· ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἤδη κωμωδοῦσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δυσσεβέστατοι. τὰ μὲν ὄρμενά φασιν ἐσθίεσθαι τῶν λαχάνων, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ρίζας, ὥσπερ γογγυλίδας. καὶ σῦκα μὲν ἐσθίεσθαί φασι, ροιὰς δὲ οὐκέτι καὶ μῆλα πρὸς τούτοις. ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς μινυρίζοντων πολλῶν πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς¹ πρότερον ἔοικα ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ πάντων πολλὴν εἶσεσθαι τοῖς δεσπόταις θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἅπασι, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς C
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριν, ὅτι με μὴ περιεῖδεν ὥσπερ ἐν σκότῳ πλανώμενον, ἀλλὰ μοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόψασθαι οὔτι κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἀλόγους ὁρμὰς καὶ κινήσεις τῇ νοερᾷ καὶ προῦφεστώσῃ² τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν αἰτία τὰ περιττὰ καὶ μάταια. ἐπὶ νούν δὲ ἔδωκεν αὕτη λόγους τινὰς ἴσως οὐκ ἀπάδοντας πάντῃ τῆς ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀληθοῦς ἅμα καὶ D

¹ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς Hertlein suggests, εἰρηκῶς MSS.

² προῦφεστώσῃ Hertlein suggests, προεστῶσῃ MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

these also I may borrow whatever contributes to my argument. For example, everyone thinks that the following is ridiculous. The sacred ordinance allows men to eat meat, but it forbids them to eat grains and fruits. What, say they, are not the latter lifeless, whereas the former was once possessed of life? Are not fruits pure, whereas meat is full of blood and of much else that offends eye and ear? But most important of all is it not the case that, when one eats fruit nothing is hurt, while the eating of meat involves the sacrifice and slaughter of animals who naturally suffer pain and torment? So would say many even of the wisest. But the following ordinance is ridiculed by the most impious of mankind also. They observe that whereas vegetables that grow upwards can be eaten, roots are forbidden, turnips, for instance; and they point out that figs are allowed, but not pomegranates or apples either. I have often heard many men saying this in whispers, and I too in former days have said the same, but now it seems that I alone of all men am bound to be deeply grateful to the ruling gods, to all of them, surely, but above all the rest to the Mother of the Gods. For all things am I grateful to her, and for this among the rest, that she did not disregard me when I wandered as it were in darkness.¹ For first she bade me cut off no part indeed of my body, but by the aid of the intelligible cause² that subsists prior to our souls, all that was superfluous and vain in the impulses and motions of my own soul. And that cause gave me, to aid my understanding, certain beliefs which are perhaps not wholly out of harmony

¹ cf. *Oration* 4. 131 A.

² Attis.

εὐαγοῦς ἐπιστήμης. ἀλλ' ἔοικα γάρ, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι φῶ, κύκλῳ περιτρέχειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πάρεστι μὲν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιόντι σαφεῖς καὶ τηλαυγεῖς αἰτίας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ προσφέρεισθαι ταῦτα, ὧν ὁ θεὸς εἵργει θεσμός· καὶ ποιήσω δὲ¹ αὐτὸ μικρὸν ὕστερον· ἄμεινον δὲ νῦν ὥσπερ τύπους τινὰς προθεῖναι καὶ κανόνας, οἷς ἐπόμενοι, κἄν τι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς παρέλθῃ τὸν λόγον, ἔξομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίναι.

Προσῆκει δὲ πρῶτον ὑπομνήσαι διὰ βραχέων, 175
 τίνα τε ἔφαμεν εἶναι τὸν Ἄττιν καὶ τί τὴν ἐκτομήν, τίνος τε εἶναι σύμβολα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκτομήν ἄχρι τῶν Ἰλαρίων γινόμενα καὶ τί βούλεσθαι τὴν ἀγνείαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄττις ἐλέγετο αἰτία τις οὔσα καὶ θεός, ὁ προσεχῶς δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐνυλον κόσμον, ὃς μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων κατιῶν ἵσταται ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλίου δημιουργικῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρως ὀρισμένης τοῦ παντὸς ὁ θεὸς B
 γένηται περιφερείας, ἥ² τῆς ἰσημερίας τοῦνομά ἐστι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐκτομήν δὲ ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τῆς ἀπειρίας τὴν ἐποχήν, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἀρχηγικωτέρας αἰτίας ἀνακλήσεώς τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως συμβαίνειν. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἀγνεύας φαμὲν τὸν σκοπὸν ἄνοδον τῶν ψυχῶν.

Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔῃ πρῶτον σιτεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ γῆς δυόμενα σπέρματα· ἐσχατον μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἡ γῆ. ἐνταῦθα δέ φησιν ἀπελαθέντα καὶ Πλάτων τὰ κακὰ στρέφεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τῶν λογίων οἱ θεοὶ

¹ δὲ Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

² ἥ Hertlein suggests, οὗ MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

with the true and sacred knowledge of the gods. But it looks as though, not knowing what to say next, I were turning round in a circle. I can, however, give clear and manifest reasons in every single case why we are not allowed to eat this food which is forbidden by the sacred ordinance, and presently I will do this. But for the moment it is better to bring forward certain forms, so to speak, and regulations which we must observe in order to be able to decide about these matters, though perhaps, owing to my haste, my argument may pass some evidence by.

First I had better remind you in a few words who I said Attis is; and what his castration means; and what is symbolised by the ceremonies that occur between the castration and the Hilaria; and what is meant by the rite of purification. Attis then was declared to be an original cause and a god, the direct creator of the material world, who descends to the lowest limits and is checked by the creative motion of the sun so soon as that god reaches the exactly limited circuit of the universe, which is called the equinox because of its effect in equalising night and day.¹ And I said that the castration meant the checking of limitlessness, which could only be brought about through the summons and resurrection of Attis to the more venerable and commanding causes. And I said that the end and aim of the rite of purification is the ascent of our souls.

For this reason then the ordinance forbids us first to eat those fruits that grow downwards in the earth. For the earth is the last and lowest of things. And Plato also says² that evil, exiled from the gods,

¹ cf. 168 D-169 A, 171 C.

² *Theaetetus* 176 A; cf. *Oration* 2. 90 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

σκύβαλον αὐτὸ πολλαχοῦ καλοῦσι, καὶ φεύγειν C
 ἐντεῦθεν παρακελεύονται.¹ πρῶτον οὖν ἡ ζωογό-
 νος καὶ προμηθῆς θεὸς οὐδὲ ἄχρη τῆς τῶν σωμάτων
 τροφῆς ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς κατὰ γῆς δυομένοις χρή-
 σθαι, παραινοῦσά γε πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπειν. ἐνὶ τινες κέχρη-
 ται σπέρματι, τοῖς λοβοῖς, οὐ σπέρμα μᾶλλον ἢ D
 λάχανον αὐτὸ νομίζοντες εἶναι τῷ πεφυκέναι πως
 ἄνωφερές καὶ ὀρθὸν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐρριζῶσθαι κατὰ
 τῆς γῆς· ἐρρίζωται δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ δένδρου κιττοῦ
 τινος ἢ καὶ ἀμπέλου καρπὸς ἥρτηται καὶ καλάμης.²
 ἀπηγόρευται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν σπέρματι χρῆσθαι διὰ
 τοῦτο φυτῶν, ἐπιτέτραπται δὲ χρῆσθαι καρποῖς
 καὶ λαχάνοις, οὐ τοῖς χαμαιζήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκ
 γῆς αἰρομένοις ἄνω μετεώροις. ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τῆς
 γογγυλίδος τὸ μὲν γεωχαρὲς ὡς χθόνιον ἐπιτάττει
 παραιτεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀναδύμενον ἄνω καὶ εἰς ὕψος 176
 αἰρόμενον ὡς αὐτῷ τούτῳ καθαρὸν τυγχάνον
 δίδωσι προσενέγκασθαι. τῶν γοῦν λαχάνων ὀρμέ-
 νοις μὲν συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι, ρίζαις δὲ ἀπαγορεύει
 καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐντρεφομέναις καὶ συμπαθούσαις
 τῇ γῇ. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν δένδρων μῆλα μὲν ὡς ἱερὰ
 καὶ χρυσὰ καὶ ἀρρήτων ἄθλων καὶ τελεστικῶν
 εἰκόνας καταφθείρειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ κατανα-
 λίσκειν, ἅξιά γε ὄντα τῶν ἀρχετύπων χάριν τοῦ

¹ παρακελεύονται Wytttenbach, πολλαχοῦ παρακελεύονται Hertlein, MSS.

² The construction of καὶ καλάμης is not clear; Petavius suspects corruption or omission.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

now moves on earth ; and in the oracles the gods often call the earth refuse, and exhort us to escape thence. And so, in the first place, the life-generating god who is our providence does not allow us to use to nourish our bodies fruits that grow under the earth ; and thereby enjoins that we turn our eyes towards the heavens, or rather above the heavens.¹ One kind of fruit of the earth, however, some people do eat, I mean fruit in pods, because they regard this as a vegetable rather than a fruit, since it grows with a sort of upward tendency and is upright, and not rooted below the soil ; I mean that it is rooted like the fruit of the ivy that hangs on a tree or of the vine that hangs on a stem. For this reason then we are forbidden to eat seeds and certain plants, but we are allowed to eat fruit and vegetables, only not those that creep on the ground, but those that are raised up from the earth and hang high in the air. It is surely for this reason that the ordinance bids us also avoid that part of the turnip which inclines to the earth since it belongs to the under world, but allows us to eat that part which grows upwards and attains to some height, since by that very fact it is pure. In fact it allows us to eat any vegetables that grow upwards, but forbids us roots, and especially those which are nourished in and influenced by the earth. Moreover in the case of trees it does not allow us to destroy and consume apples, for these are sacred and golden and are the symbols of secret and mystical rewards. Rather are they worthy to be revered and worshipped for the sake of their archetypes.

¹ *i.e.* to the intelligible world and the One ; cf. 169 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

σέβεσθαί τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι· ροιάς δὲ ὡς φυτὸν B
 χθόνιον παρητήσατο, καὶ τοῦ φοίνικος δὲ τὸν
 καρπὸν ἴσως μὲν ἂν τις εἴποι διὰ τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι
 περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἔνθα πρῶτον ὁ θεσμός κατέστη·
 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὡς ἱερὸν ἡλίου τὸ φυτὸν
 ἀγέρων τε ὃν οὐ συγχωρῆσαι καταναλίσκειν ἐν
 ταῖς ἀγιστείαις εἰς τροφήν σώματος. ἐπὶ τούτοις
 ἀπηγόρευται ἰχθύσιν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι. κοινὸν δέ
 ἐστὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους τὸ πρόβλημα. C
 δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε δυοῖν ἕνεκεν ἂν τις ἰχθύων μάλιστα
 μὲν αἰεί, πάντως δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις ἀποσχέσθαι,
 ἑνὸς μὲν, ὅτι τούτων, ἃ μὴ θύομεν τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐδὲ
 σιτεῖσθαι προσήκει. δέος δὲ ἴσως οὐδέν, μή ποῦ
 τις ἐνταῦθα λίχνος καὶ γάστρις ἐπιλάβηταί μου,
 ὥς που καὶ πρότερον ἤδη παθὼν αὐτὸ διαμνη-
 μονεύω, “Διὰ τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ θύομεν αὐτῶν
 πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς”; εἰπόντος ἀκούσας. ἀλλ’
 εἴχομέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. καὶ θύομέν γε, D
 ἔφην, ὦ μακάριε, ἐν τισι τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις, ὡς
 ἵππον Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα θηρία καὶ
 ζῶα, κύνας ἴσως Ἕλληνες Ἐκάτη καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι
 δέ· καὶ πολλὰ παρ’ ἄλλοις ἐστὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν,
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἢ δις
 τοιαῦτα θύματα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις, ὧν
 μόνων κοινωνεῖν ἄξιον καὶ τραπεζοῦν θεοῖς. τοὺς
 δὲ ἰχθύας ἐν ταῖς τιμητηρίοις οὐ θύομεν, ὅτι μήτε

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

And pomegranates are forbidden because they belong to the under-world ; and the fruit of the date-palm, perhaps one might say because the date-palm does not grow in Phrygia where the ordinance was first established. But my own theory is rather that it is because this tree is sacred to the sun, and is perennial, that we are forbidden to use it to nourish our bodies during the sacred rites. Besides these, the use of all kinds of fish is forbidden. This is a question of interest to the Egyptians as well as to ourselves. Now my opinion is that for two reasons we ought to abstain from fish, at all times if possible, but above all during the sacred rites. One reason is that it is not fitting that we should eat what we do not use in sacrifices to the gods. And perhaps I need not be afraid that hereupon some greedy person who is the slave of his belly will take me up, though as I remember that very thing happened to me once before ; and then I heard someone objecting : " What do you mean ? Do we not often sacrifice fish to the gods ? " But I had an answer ready for this question also. " My good sir," I said, " it is true that we make offerings of fish in certain mystical sacrifices, just as the Romans sacrifice the horse and many other animals too, both wild and domesticated, and as the Greeks and the Romans too sacrifice dogs to Hecate. And among other nations also many other animals are offered in the mystic cults ; and sacrifices of that sort take place publicly in their cities once or twice a year. But that is not the custom in the sacrifices which we honour most highly, in which alone the gods deign to join us and to share our table. In those most honoured sacrifices we do not offer fish, for the reason that we do not tend

νέμομεν, μήτε τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, 177
 μήτε ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἀγγέλαι καθάπερ προβάτων καὶ
 βοῶν οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν βοηθούμενα τὰ ζῶα καὶ πληθύνοντα διὰ
 τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν ἡμῖν εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας χρείας
 ἐπικουροίη καὶ πρό γε τῶν ἄλλων ἐς τιμητηρίους
 θυσίας. εἰς μὲν δὴ λόγος οὗτος, δι' ὃν οὐκ οἶμαι
 δεῖν ἰχθὺν ἐν ἀγνείας καιρῷ προσφέρεισθαι τροφήν.
 ἕτερος δέ, ὃν καὶ μᾶλλον ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς προειρη-
 μένοις ἁρμόζειν, ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατὰ B
 τοῦ βυθοῦ δεδουκότες εἶεν ἂν χθονιώτεροι τῶν
 σπερμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀναπτῆναι καὶ μετέωρος
 ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς αὐτὰς οὐρανοῦ πτῆναι κορυ-
 φὰς δικαίως ἂν ἀποστρέφοιτο πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα,
 μεταθεοὶ δὲ καὶ μετατρέχοι τὰ τεινόμενα πρὸς τὸν
 ἀέρα καὶ σπεύδοντα πρὸς τὸ ἄναυτες καί, ἵνα
 ποιητικώτερον¹ εἴπω, πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀρώντα.²
 ὄρνισιν οὖν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς
 ἱεροὺς εἶναι πάντη συμβέβηκε, καὶ τῶν τετραπόδων
 τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἔξω τοῦ χοίρου. τοῦτον δὲ ὥς C
 χθόνιον πάντη μορφῇ τε καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ
 τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ. περιττωματικός τε γὰρ καὶ
 παχὺς τὴν σάρκα· τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀποκηρύττει τροφῆς.
 φίλον γὰρ εἶναι πεπίστευται θῦμα τοῖς χθονίοις
 θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπεικότως. ἀθέατον γάρ ἐστιν οὐρανοῦ
 τουτὶ τὸ ζῶον, οὐ μόνον οὐ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 πεφυκὸς ἀναβλέψαι ποτέ. τοιαύτας μὲν δὴ

¹ ποιητικώτερον Naber, τι καὶ ποιητικὸν Hertlein, MSS.

² ὀρώντα Naber.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

fish, nor look after the breeding of them, and we do not keep flocks of fish as we do of sheep and cattle. For since we foster these animals and they multiply accordingly, it is only right that they should serve for all our uses and above all for the sacrifices that we honour most." This then is one reason "why I think we ought not to use fish for food at the time of the rite of purification. The second reason which is, I think, even more in keeping with what I have just said, is that, since fish also, in a manner of speaking, go down into the lowest depths, they, even more than seeds, belong to the under-world. But he who longs to take flight upwards and to mount aloft above this atmosphere of ours, even to the highest peaks of the heavens, would do well to abstain from all such food. He will rather pursue and follow after things that tend upwards towards the air, and strive to the utmost height, and, if I may use a poetic phrase, look upward to the skies. Birds, for example, we may eat, except only those few which are commonly held sacred,¹ and ordinary four-footed animals, except the pig. This animal is banned as food during the sacred rites because by its shape and way of life, and the very nature of its substance—for its flesh is impure and coarse—it belongs wholly to the earth. And therefore men came to believe that it was an acceptable offering to the gods of the under-world. For this animal does not look up at the sky, not only because it has no such desire, but because it is so made that it can never look upwards. These then are the reasons that have been given

¹ Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3. 5, gives a list of these sacred birds; e.g. the owl sacred to Athene, the eagle to Zeus, the crane to Demeter.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

αἰτίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποχῆς ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ εἴρηκεν
ὁ θεῖος θεσμός· οἱ ξυνιέντες δὲ κοινούμεθα τοῖς D
ἐπισταμένοις θεοῦς.

Ἵπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἐπιτρέπει χρῆσθαι λέγομεν τοσοῦ-
τον, ὥς οὐ πᾶσιν ἅπαντα,¹ τὸ δυνατὸν δὲ ὁ θεῖος
νόμος τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει σκοπῶν ἐπέτρεψε
χρῆσθαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ ἵνα πᾶσι
πάντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσώμεθα· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
ἴσως οὐκ εὐκόλον· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐκείνῳ, ὅτῳ ἄρα
πρῶτον μὲν ἡ τοῦ σώματος συγχωρεῖ² δύναμις, 178
εἰτά τις περιουσία συντρέχει καὶ τρίτον ἡ προαί-
ρεσις, ἣν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὕτως ἄξιον ἐπιτείνειν,
ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν ὁρμᾶν
καὶ προθυμῆσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν θεσμοῖς.
ἔστι γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἀννσιμώτερον
αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς σωτηρίαν, εἰ μείζονα λόγον
αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἀσφαλείας B
ποιήσαιτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα μείζονος
καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας φαίνεται λεληθότως τῆς
ὠφελείας μεταλαγχάνον. ὅταν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ
πᾶσαν ἑαυτὴν δῶ τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅλα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὴν
ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἐπομένης οἶμαι τῆς
ἀγιστείας καὶ πρό γε ταύτης τῶν θείων θεσμῶν
ἡγουμένων, ὄντος οὐδενὸς λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀπείργοντος
καὶ ἐμποδίζοντος· πάντα γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς
καὶ πάντα περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑφέστηκε καὶ πάντα τῶν
θεῶν ἐστι πλήρη· αὐτίκα μὲν αὐταῖς ἐλλάμπει
τὸ θεῖον φῶς, θεωθεῖσαι δὲ αὐταὶ τόνον τινὰ καὶ

¹ ἅπαντα Hertlein suggests, ἅπαντας MSS.

² συγχωρεῖ Hertlein suggests, συγχωροίη MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

by the divine ordinance for abstinence from such food as we ought to renounce. And we who comprehend share our knowledge with those who know the nature of the gods.

And to the question what food is permitted I will only say this. The divine law does not allow all kinds of food to all men, but takes into account what is possible to human nature and allows us to eat most animals, as I have said. It is not as though we must all of necessity eat all kinds—for perhaps that would not be convenient—but we are to use first what our physical powers allow; secondly, what is at hand in abundance; thirdly, we are to exercise our own wills. But at the season of the sacred ceremonies we ought to exert those wills to the utmost so that we may attain to what is beyond our ordinary physical powers, and thus may be eager and willing to obey the divine ordinances. For it is by all means more effective for the salvation of the soul itself that one should pay greater heed to its safety than to the safety of the body. And moreover the body too seems thereby to share insensibly in that great and marvellous benefit. For when the soul abandons herself wholly to the gods, and entrusts her own concerns absolutely to the higher powers, and then follow the sacred rites—these too being preceded by the divine ordinances—then, I say, since there is nothing to hinder or prevent—for all things reside in the gods, all things subsist in relation to them, all things are filled with the gods—straightway the divine light illumines our souls. And thus endowed with divinity they impart a

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

ῥώμην ἐπιτιθέασι τῷ συμφύτῳ πνεύματι, τοῦτο C
 δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν στομούμενον ὥσπερ καὶ κρατυνό-
 μενον σωτηρίας ἐστὶν αἷτιον ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι.
 τὸ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν πάσας τὰς νόσους, εἰ δὲ
 μή, ὅτι τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ
 πνεύματος εἶναι τροπῆς καὶ παραφορᾶς συμβέ-
 βηκεν, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οἶμαι τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν οὐ
 φήσει.¹ οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάσας φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὰς
 πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας καὶ ἰαθῆναι χαλεπωτάτας·
 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν λόγια, φημί D
 δέ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀγιστείας οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ
 σωτηρίας ἀξιούται· σώζεσθαι γὰρ σφισι καὶ τὸ
 “πικρὰς ὕλης περίβλημα βρότειον” οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς
 ὑπεράγνοις παρακελεύόμενοι τῶν θεουργῶν κατ-
 επαγγέλλονται.

Τίς οὖν ἡμῖν ὑπολείπεται λόγος, ἄλλως τε καὶ
 ἐν βραχεὶ νυκτὸς μέρει ταῦτα ἀπνευστὶ ξυνεῖραι²
 συγχωρηθεῖσιν, οὐδὲν οὔτε προανεγνωκόσιν οὔτε
 σκεψαμένοις περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προελομένοις 179
 ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρὶν ἢ τὰς δέλτους ταύτας
 αἰτῆσαι; μάρτυς δὲ ἡ θεός μοι τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ',
 ὅπερ ἔφην, τί τὸ λειπόμενον ἡμῖν ὑμνῆσαι τὴν
 θεὸν μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, ὦν
 δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ἐν ταύταις ἔθετο ταῖς ἀγι-
 στείαις ὁ νόμος; ὁρῶ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς τὴν

¹ φήσει Hertlein suggests, φήσειεν MSS.

² *Oration* 6. 203 c; Demosthenes, *De Corona* 308, συνείρει
 . . . ἀπνευστί.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

certain vigour and energy to the breath¹ implanted in them by nature ; and so that breath is hardened as it were and strengthened by the soul, and hence gives health to the whole body. For I think not one of the sons of Asclepios would deny that all diseases, or at any rate very many and those the most serious, are caused by the disturbance and derangement of the breathing. Some doctors assert that all diseases, others that the greater number and the most serious and hardest to cure, are due to this. Moreover the oracles of the gods bear witness thereto, I mean that by the rite of purification not the soul alone but the body as well is greatly benefited and preserved. Indeed the gods when they exhort those theurgists who are especially holy, announce to them that their "mortal husk of raw matter"² shall be preserved from perishing.

And now what is left for me to say? Especially since it was granted me to compose this hymn at a breath, in the short space of one night, without having read anything on the subject beforehand, or thought it over. Nay, I had not even planned to speak thereof until the moment that I asked for these writing-tablets. May the goddess bear witness to the truth of my words! Nevertheless, as I said before, does there not still remain for me to celebrate the goddess in her union with Athene and Dionysus? For the sacred law established their festivals at the very time of her sacred rites. And I recognise the kinship of Athene and the Mother of the Gods

¹ cf. Aristotle, *On the Generation of Animals* 736 b. 37, for the breath πνεῦμα, that envelops the disembodied soul and resembles aether. The Stoics sometimes defined the soul as a "warm breath," ἐνθερμον πνεῦμα

² The phrase probably occurred in an oracular verse.

Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν διὰ τῆς προνοητικῆς ἐν ἑκατέ-
 ραις ταῖς οὐσίαις ὁμοιότητος τὴν συγγένειαν B
 ἐπισκοπῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου μεριστὴν δημιουρ-
 γίαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς καὶ μονίμου ζωῆς τοῦ
 μεγάλου Διὸς ὁ μέγας Διόνυσος παραδεξάμενος,
 ἅτε καὶ προελθὼν ἐξ ἐκείνου, τοῖς φαινομένοις
 ἅπασιν ἐγκατένειμεν, ἐπιτροπεύων καὶ βασιλεύων
 τῆς μεριστῆς συμπάσης δημιουργίας. προσήκει
 δὲ σὺν τούτοις ὑμῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον C
 Ἑρμῆν· καλεῖται γὰρ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν μυστῶν ὁ
 θεὸς οὗτος, ὅσοι λαμπάδας φασὶν ἀνάπτειν
 Ἄττιδι τῷ σοφῷ. τίς οὖν οὕτω παχὺς τὴν
 ψυχὴν, ὃς οὐ συνήσιν, ὅτι δι' Ἑρμοῦ μὲν καὶ
 Ἀφροδίτης ἀνακαλεῖται πάντα πανταχοῦ τὰ τῆς
 γενέσεως ἔχοντα τὸ ἕνεκά του¹ πάντη καὶ πάντως
 δ' τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα ἰδίον ἐστίν; Ἄττις δὲ οὐχ
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἄφρων, νῦν δὲ
 ἀκούων διὰ τὴν ἐκτομὴν σοφός; ἄφρων μὲν ὅτι
 τὴν ὕλην εἴλετο καὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐπιτροπεύει,
 σοφὸς δὲ ὅτι τὸ σκύβαλον τοῦτο εἰς κάλλος D
 ἐκόσμησε τοσοῦτον καὶ μετέστησεν, ὅσον οὐδεμί'
 ἂν μιμήσαιτο ἀνθρώπων τέχνη καὶ σύनेσις.
 ἀλλὰ τί πέρας ἔσται μοι τῶν λόγων; ἢ δῆλον ὥς
 ὁ τῆς μεγάλης ὕμνος θεοῦ;

Ὡ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μήτερ, ὦ τοῦ μεγάλου
 σύνθωκε καὶ σύνθρονε Διός, ὦ πηγὴ τῶν νοερῶν
 θεῶν, ὦ τῶν νοητῶν ταῖς ἀχράντοις οὐσίαις συν-
 δραμοῦσα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων αἰτίαν παρα-
 δεξαμένη καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς ἐνδιδοῦσα ζωογόνε θεὰ

¹ ἕνεκά του Shorey, ἕνεκα τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

through the similarity of the forethought that inheres in the substance of both goddesses. And I discern also the divided creative function of Dionysus, which great Dionysus received from the single and abiding principle of life that is in mighty Zeus. For from Zeus he proceeded, and he bestows that life on all things visible, controlling and governing the creation of the whole divisible world. Together with these gods we ought to celebrate Hermes Epaphroditus.¹ For so this god is entitled by the initiated who say that he kindles the torches for wise Attis. And who has a soul so dense as not to understand that through Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked all generated things everywhere, since they everywhere and throughout have a purpose which is peculiarly appropriate to the Logos?² But is not this Logos Attis, who not long ago was out of his senses, but now through his castration is called wise? Yes, he was out of his senses because he preferred matter and presides over generation, but he is wise because he adorned and transformed this refuse, our earth, with such beauty as no human art or cunning could imitate. But how shall I conclude my discourse? Surely with this hymn to the Great Goddess.

O Mother of gods and men, thou that art the assessor of Zeus and sharest his throne, O source of the intellectual gods, that pursuest thy course with the stainless substance of the intelligible gods; that dost receive from them all the common cause of things and dost thyself bestow it on the intellectual

¹ The epithet means "favoured by Aphrodite."

² In this rendering of λόγος (which may here mean "Reason") I follow Mau p. 113, and Asmus, *Julians Galiläerschrift* p. 31.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, V

καὶ μῆτις καὶ πρόνοια καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν
 δημιουργέ, ὃ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον ἀγαπῶσα καὶ
 τὸν Ἄττιν ἐκτεθέντα περισωσαμένη καὶ πάλιν
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γῆς ἄντρον καταδύομενον ἐπανά-
 γουσα, ὃ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς νοεροῖς ἡγου-
 μένη θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀποπληροῦσα τὸν αἰσθητὸν
 κόσμον, πάντα δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθὰ χαρι-
 σαμένη, δίδου πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονίαν, B
 ἥς τὸ κεφάλαιον ἢ τῶν θεῶν γνῶσίς ἐστι,
 κοινῇ δὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, μάλιστα μὲν
 ἀποτρίψασθαι τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν κηλῖδα, πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην εὐμενῇ συνδιακυβερνῶσαν αὐτῷ
 τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἐτῶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ
 καρπὸν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ σὲ θεραπείας ἀλήθειαν
 ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόγμασιν, ἐν θεουργίᾳ τελειό-
 τητα, πάντων ἔργων, οἷς προσερχόμεθα περὶ τὰς
 πολιτικὰς καὶ στρατιωτικὰς πράξεις,¹ ἀρετὴν μετὰ C
 τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου πέρας ἄλυπόν
 τε καὶ εὐδόκιμον μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς ἐπὶ
 τῇ παρ' ὑμᾶς πορείᾳ.

¹ πράξεις Hertlein suggests, τάξεις MSS.

HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

gods ; O life-giving goddess that art the counsel and the providence and the creator of our souls ; O thou that lovest great Dionysus, and didst save Attis when exposed at birth, and didst lead him back when he had descended into the cave of the nymph ; O thou that givest all good things to the intellectual gods and fillest with all things this sensible world, and with all the rest givest us all things good ! Do thou grant to all men happiness, and that highest happiness of all, the knowledge of the gods ; and grant to the Roman people in general that they may cleanse themselves of the stain of impiety ; grant them a blessed lot, and help them to guide their Empire for many thousands of years ! And for myself, grant me as fruit of my worship of thee that I may have true knowledge in the doctrines about the gods. Make me perfect in theurgy. And in all that I undertake, in the affairs of the state and the army, grant me virtue and good fortune, and that the close of my life may be painless and glorious, in the good hope that it is to you, the gods, that I journey !

INDEX

References to Homer are not given on account of their number.

- ACHILLES, 133, 143, 147, 155, 161,
 181, 199, 255
 Acropolis, the, 445
 Adonis, 439, 440, 443
 Aetes, 221
 Aeneas, 421
 Aeschines, 83
 Aeschylus, 199, 409
 Agamemnon, 133, 145, 181, 199
 253, 263
 Agesilaus, 39, 113, 279
 Ajax, 147, 189
 Alcibiades, 33
 Alcinous, 141, 255, 281, 283
 Alexander, 25, 45, 107, 111, 119,
 145, 193, 229, 253, 255, 287
 Alexandria, 429
 Alodade, the, 73
 Alps, the, 193, 199
 Amazon, the, 339
 Ammianus, Marcellinus, 365
 Antioch, 105
 Antiochus, king, 167
 Antony, 45
 Aphrodite, 351, 411, 419, 421, 501
 Apollo, 348, 357, 369, 391, 393, 409
 Aquileia, 99, 191, 193
 Arabs, the, 53
 Arcadians, the, 207
 Arcesilaus, 279
 Archidamus, 207
 Archilochus, 215
 Archimedes, 75
 Areopagus, the, 163
 Argolis, 317
 Argos, 285, 317
 Arion, 297
 Aristophanes, 215, 257
 Aristotle, 279, 287, 353, 354, 359,
 362, 363, 389, 405, 415, 453, 455,
 457, 499
 Armenians, the, 47, 53
 Arsaces, 53
 Asclepius, 393, 395, 419, 499
 Assyria, 223, 337
 Astyages, 83
 Athenaëus, 255
 Athene, 281, 285, 305, 351, 407, 409,
 411, 419, 463, 499
 Athenians, the, 55, 485
 Athens, 21, 73, 305, 317
 Athos, 211
 Atlantic, the, 149
 Attalids, the, 445
 Attis, 439, 440, 443-503
 Augustine, Saint, 385
 Augustus, 45
 Aurelian, 425
 Azizos, 413, 423
 Baal, 413
 Babylon, 223, 287, 337
 Brennus, 77
 Briseis, 199
 Cadmus, 217
 Caesar, Julius, 223
 Calypso, 301, 302
 Cambyzes, 107, 287, 313
 Cancer, tropic of, 481, 485
 Capaneus, 151, 295
 Capitoline, the, 77, 421
 Capricorn, tropic of, 427, 481, 485
 Caria, 169
 Carians, the, 151
 Carraë, 45

INDEX

- Carthage, 83, 105, 449
 Carthaginians, the, 35, 39, 41, 75, 199, 445
 Carus, Emperor, 45
 Catullus, 439, 467
 Celts, the, 29, 33, 77, 89, 149 329
 Chaldaeans, the, 429, 483
 Cimon, 341
 Circe, 301
 Claudia, 447
 Claudius, Emperor, 17, 137
 Cleon, 65
 Cnossus, 219
 Colophon, 215
 Commodus, 349
 Constans, 23, 25, 43, 249, 251
 Constantine, 19, 23, 43, 139, 249
 Constantine II, 23, 43, 249, 251
 Constantinople, 15, 21, 105
 Constantius, 2-127, 305, 309, 311, 315, 321, 327, 343, 351
 Constantius Chlorus, 17, 139
 Corinth, 317
 Corybants, 319, 467, 469
 Crassus, 45
 Crete, 169
 Cumont, 348, 351, 439
 Cyaxares, 113
 Cybele, 349, 439, 440, 443-503
 Cyprus, 369, 391
 Cyrus, 23, 25, 33, 83, 107, 113, 207, 279, 287
 Cyrus the Younger, 279

 Damascius, 483
 Danube, the, 193, 287
 Darius, 85, 227, 313
 Darius III, 253
 Demeter, 483
 Demosthenes, 67, 83, 87, 91, 205
 Deo, 483, 485
 Dio Chrysostom, 231
 Diocletian, 19
 Dionysus, 333, 351, 369, 393, 395, 407, 417, 419, 499, 501, 503
 Dioscorides, 255
 Dioscuri, the, 401
 Drave, the, 161, 259
 Dulichium, 295

 Egypt, 313
 Egyptians, the, 317, 429, 493
 Eleusinian Mysteries, 483
 Emesa, 413, 423

 Empedocles, 373, 379
 Epicureans, the, 451
 Euboea, 341
 Euphrates, the, 337
 Eupolis, 85
 Euripides, 81, 227, 257, 261, 331
 Eusebia, Empress, 273-345
 Eustathius, 409
 Evadne, 295

 Fausta, 19, 23
 Franks, the, 91
 Frazer, 439, 471

 Galatia (Gaul), 35, 67, 329, 345
 Galatians (Gauls), 77, 89
 Galerius (Maximianus), 45
 Galli, the, 439, 467
 Gallus, 115, 443, 471, 473
 Gallus, the river, 451, 461
 Gallus Caesar, vii, 273
 Germans, the, 149, 199
 Getae, the, 25
 Gibbon, 53
 Graces, the, 401, 407
 Gyges, 41

 Hades, 351, 369
 Harrison, 439
 Hecate, 493
 Hector, 147, 179, 181, 189, 193
 Helen, 253
 Heliaia, the, 425, 429
 Helicon, 285
 Heliogabalus, 413
 Helios, Hymn to, 353-435, 451, 461, 467, 471
 Heneti (Veneti), 193
 Hera, 373
 Heracleidae, the, 35, 37, 217
 Heracleitus, 463
 Heracles, 139, 151, 219, 257, 285, 465, 467
 Hermes, 357, Epaphroditus, 501
 Herodotus, 23, 33, 211, 227, 229, 267, 285, 313, 337, 339
 Hesiod, 151, 351, 371
 Hilaria, the, 471, 473, 489
 Hipparchus, 429
 Homerids, the, 141
 Horace, 33, 217, 423
 Horus, 407
 Hyperion, 371

INDEX

- Iamblichus, 348, 349, 350, 351, 353,
 359, 365, 397, 399, 401, 411, 413,
 433, 441, 453, 483
 Iberians, the, 149
 Illyria, 15, 67, 205, 287
 Illyrians, the, 91, 215
 India, 91, 193
 Ionia, 317
 Iris, 181
 Isis, 349
 Isocrates, 3, 7, 193, 229, 231
 Italy, 67
 Ithaca, 295

 Juno, 421
 Jupiter, 77

 Kronia, the, 431
 Kronos, 429

 Lacedaemonians, the, 33, 35
 Laodameia, 295
 Latin, 209
 Leda, 219
 Leonidas, 261
 Libanius, 2
 Libra, 485
 Licinius, 97
 Ligurians, the, 193
 Livy, 423, 445
 Lucifer, 413
 Lycurgus, 37
 Lycus, the, 199
 Lydia, 211
 Lydians, the, 41, 287
 Lysander, 39, 113

 Macedonia, 211, 285, 287, 289, 295
 Macedonians, the, 45, 253
 Macrobius, 363, 369, 401
 Magnentius, 5, 79, 81, 87, 88, 147,
 193, 251, 253
 Marcellinus, 155
 Marcellus, 75
 Mases, 317
 Maxentius, 21
 Maximianus, 17, 25
 Maximus of Ephesus, 483
 Medes, the, 73, 33, 287
 Memnon, 221
 Menander (rhetorician), 2, 348
 Menelaus, 263
 Menestheus, 143
 Meriones, 141

 Messene, 75
 Methymna, 297
 Metroum, the, 445
 Midas, 227
 Milan, 273
 Minos, 219
 Misopogon, the, 303
 Mithras, 348, 349, 353, 361, 401,
 425, 440, 483
 Monimos, 413
 Muses, the, 357, 393, 395, 417, 419
 Mygdonius, the, 69, 165, 167
 Myrmecides, 299
 Myrsa, 93, 125

 Nausicaa, 281, 301
 Naville, 350
 Nestor, 143, 181, 199
 Nicias, 65
 Nile, the, 69, 317
 Nisaeen horses, 135
 Nitocris, Queen, 227, 337
 Norici, the, 93
 Numa, King, 425, 427

 Oceanus, 351, 373, 403, 405
 Odysseus, 31, 83, 199, 203, 205,
 255, 303, 371
 Olympia, games at, 209, 223
 Olympus, 285
 Oricus, 287
 Osiris, 369
 Ovid, 423, 445

 Palatine, the, 421
 Pandareos, 155
 Pandarus, 141
 Pannonia (Paeonia), 49, 53, 77, 91,
 93, 259
 Paris, 263
 Parthia, 35
 Parthians, the, 33, 35, 57, 61, 199
 Parysatis, 23
 Patroclus, 193
 Peirene, 319
 Pelopids, the, 217
 Peloponnesus, the, 341
 Penelope, 281, 295, 301, 303, 305,
 339, 341
 Penthesilea, 339
 Pergamon, 445
 Pericles, 85, 341, 343
 Persephone, 440, 483

INDEX

- Persians, the, 45, 47, 69, 91, 253, 287, 350
 Phaeacians, the, 301
 Phaethon, 223
 Pheidias, 145, 299
 Philip of Macedon, 25, 287
 Phocian war, the, 87
 Phoenicians, the, 363, 411
 Phrygia, 449, 493
 Phrygians, the, 443, 447
 Pieria, 285
 Pindar, 21, 309, 358, 371
 Pittacus, 135
 Plataeans, the, 75
 Plato, 29, 36, 135, 183, 185, 187, 199, 211, 217, 219, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 239, 243, 279, 340, 351, 353, 354, 359, 369, 379, 381, 383, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 405, 411, 417, 440, 448, 453, 455, 457, 483, 485
 Plautus, 229
 Plotinus, 348, 349, 353, 397, 440, 441, 451, 459
 Plutarch, 193, 279, 341, 348, 350, 405, 423, 440, 485
 Po, river, 199
 Porphyry, 353, 385, 441, 451, 467, 481, 495
 Poseidon, 259, 283
 Praxiteles, 145
 Priam, 193, 253
 Proclus, 393, 411, 431, 483
 Prodicus, 151
 Propertius, 447
 Ptolemy, Claudius, 429
 Ptolemy Soter, 369
 Pylos, 65, 75
 Pyramids, the, 223
 Pythian oracle, the, 211
 Pytho, 223
 Quintilian, 273
 Quirinus (Romulus), 423, 425
 Remus, 423
 Renan, 349
 Rhadamanthus, 219
 Rhine, the, 193, 345
 Rhodogyne, 337
 Rhodopis, 337
 Romans, the, 261, 419, 443, 449, 493, 503
 Rome, 13, 15, 17, 75, 77, 259, 343, 357, 413, 421, 425, 449
 Romulus, 23, 421, 425
 Sallust, 351, 353, 431, 441, 461, 477
 Samos, 295, 313, 341
 Sapor, King, 53, 61, 63, 69, 73, 169
 Sappho, 293
 Sarambos, 229
 Sarpedon, 147, 159, 173, 179
 Saturn, 429
 Saxons, the, 91
 Scamander, the, 161
 Scheria, 303
 Scipio, 449
 Scythians, the, 77, 91
 Selene, 411, 423
 Seleucus, 105
 Semiramis, 337
 Serapis, 349, 351, 369
 Showerman, 348
 Sicily, 67, 199, 445
 Sicyon, 317
 Silius Italicus, 445
 Silvanus, 125, 259, 261
 Silvia, 423
 Simonides, 9
 Socrates, 211, 255, 279
 Sogdiana, 193
 Sophocles, 358
 Sparta, 207, 317
 Spartans, the, 261
 Sparti, the, 217
 Stobaeus, 229
 Stoics, the, 499
 Syloson, 313
 Syracuse, 75
 Syria, 69
 Syrians, the, 423
 Taenarum, 297
 Tantalus, 227
 Telemachus, 141
 Temenus, 285
 Terpander, 297
 Tertullian, 348
 Teucer, 141
 Thales, 335
 Thea, 371
 Themistius, 193, 205, 229, 453
 Theophrastus, 453
 Thermopylae, 259
 Thessalians, the, 83, 289

INDEX

- Thessalonica, 289
Thessaly, 169
Thrace, 287, 317
Tiber, the, 445
Tigris, the, 57, 149, 167, 199
Tiranus, 53
Tiridates, 53
Tomyris, Queen, 339
Troy, 257
Typho, 151

Usener, 425
Veneti, the, 191

Vesta, 423
Vetranio, 5, 67, 77, 79, 123, 193,
205, 207

Wilamowitz, 351

Xenarchus, 453
Xenophon, 37, 151, 207, 279
Xerxes, 73, 109, 169, 211

Zeller, 407
Zeus, 351, 371, 391, 393, 407, 409,
477, 501

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Julian, Emperor of Rome 331-363.

THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN:

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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PENNSYLVANIA

IN THREE VOLUMES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ORATION VI.—TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS	5
ORATION VII.—TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS	73
ORATION VIII.—A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF UPON THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXCELLENT SALLUST	167
LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER	203
LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS	243
FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST	297
THE CAESARS	345
MISOPOGON, OR, BEARD-HATER	421
INDEX	513

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THE
ORATIONS AND SATIRES
OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ORATION VI

VOL. II.

B

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

THE Sixth Oration is a sermon or rather a scolding addressed to the New Cynics, and especially to one of their number who had ventured to defame the memory of Diogenes. In the fourth Christian century the Cynic mode of life was adopted by many, but the vast majority were illiterate men who imitated the Cynic shamelessness of manners but not the genuine discipline, the self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) which had ennobled the lives of Antisthenes, Diogenes and Crates. To the virtues of these great men Julian endeavours to recall the worthless Cynics of his day. In the two centuries that had elapsed since Lucian wrote, for the edification of degenerate Cynics,¹ the Life of the Cynic Demonax, the dignified and witty friend of Epictetus, the followers of that sect had still further deteriorated. The New Cynics may be compared with the worst type of mendicant friar of the Middle Ages; and Julian saw in their assumption of the outward signs of Cynicism, the coarse cloak, the staff and wallet, and long hair, the same hypocrisy and greed that characterised certain of the Christian monks of his day.² The resemblances

¹ Cf. Bernays, *Lukian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879.

² 224 c.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VI

between the Christians and the Cynics had already been pointed out by Aristides,¹ and while in Julian's eyes they were equally impious, he has an additional grievance against the Cynics in that they brought discredit on philosophy. Like the Christians they were unlettered, they were disrespectful to the gods whom Julian was trying to restore, they had flattered and fawned on Constantius, and far from practising the austerities of Diogenes they were no better than parasites on society.

In this as in the Seventh Oration Julian's aim is to reform the New Cynics, but still more to demonstrate the essential unity of philosophy. He sympathised profoundly with the tenets of Cynicism, and ranked Diogenes with Socrates as a moral teacher. He reminds the Cynics whom he satirises that the famous admonition of Diogenes to "counter-mark"² or "forge" a new coinage is not to be taken as an excuse for license and impudence, but like the Delphic precept "Know Thyself" warns all philosophers to accept no traditional authority, no convention that has not been examined and approved by the reason of the individual. His conviction that all philosophical tenets are in harmony if rightly understood, gives a peculiar earnestness to his *Apologia* for Diogenes. The reference in the first paragraph to the summer solstice seems to indicate that the Oration was written before Julian left Constantinople in order to prepare for the Persian campaign.

¹ Aristides, *Orations* 402 D.

² The precise meaning of the phrase is uncertain; it has been suggested that it arose from the custom of altering or "countermarking" coins so as to adapt them for the regular currency; see 192 C, *Oration* 7. 208 D.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΣ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΤΝΑΣ

Ἄνω ποταμῶν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας. ἀνὴρ
Κυνικὸς Διογένη φησὶ κενόδοξον, καὶ ψυχρολου-
τεῖν οὐ βούλεται, σφόδρα ἐρρωμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ
σφριγῶν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων, ὥς ἂν μή τι 181
κακὸν λάβῃ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς θεριναῖς
τροπαῖς ἤδη προσιόντος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν
τοῦ πολύποδος κωμῳδεῖ καὶ φησι τὸν Διογένη τῆς
ἀνοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας ἐκτετικέναι ἱκανὰς¹ δίκας
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κωνείου τῆς τροφῆς διαφθαρέντα.
οὕτω πόρρω που σοφίας ἐλαύνει, ὥστε ἐπίσταται
σαφῶς ὅτι κακὸν ὁ θάνατος. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγνοεῖν
ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ σοφὸς Σωκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετ'
ἐκεῖνον Διογένης. ἀρρωστοῦντι γοῦν, φασίν,
Ἄντισθένη μακρὰν καὶ δυσανάληπτον ἀρρωστίαν
ξιφίδιον ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Διογένης εἰπών· εἰ φίλου Β
χρήξεις ὑπουργίας. οὕτως οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεινὸν

ἱκανὰς Naber adds.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

BEHOLD the rivers are flowing backwards,¹ as the proverb says! Here is a Cynic who says that Diogenes² was conceited, and who refuses to take cold baths for fear they may injure him, though he has a very strong constitution and is lusty and in the prime of life, and this too though the Sun-god is now nearing the summer solstice. Moreover he even ridicules the eating of octopus and says that Diogenes paid a sufficient penalty for his folly and vanity in that he perished of this diet³ as though by a draught of hemlock. So far indeed is he advanced in wisdom that he knows for certain that death is an evil. Yet this even the wise Socrates thought he did not know, yes and after him Diogenes as well. At any rate when Antisthenes⁴ was suffering from a long and incurable illness Diogenes handed him a dagger with these words, "In case you need the aid of

¹ A proverb signifying that all is topsy-turvy: cf. Euripides, *Medea* 413 *ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγὰ*.

² Of Sinope: he was the pupil of Antisthenes and is said to have lived in a jar in the Metroon, the temple of the Mother of the Gods at Athens; he died 323 B.C.

³ For the tradition that Diogenes died of eating a raw octopus cf. Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 10.

⁴ A pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cynic sect.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ ἀλγεινὸν τὸν θάνατον. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ
τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐκείθεν παραλαβόντες ὑπὸ μείζονος
σοφίας ἴσμεν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ὁ θάνατος, καὶ τὸ
νοσεῖν δεινότερον αὐτοῦ φαμεν¹ τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ
ρίγοῦν δὲ χαλεπώτερον τοῦ νοσεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
νοσῶν μαλακῶς ἔσθ' ὅτε θεραπεύεται, ὥστε
γίνεσθαι τρυφήν αὐτόχρημα τὴν ἀρρωστίαν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢ πλούσιος. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ C
αὐτὸς νῆ Δία τρυφῶντάς τινας ἐν ταῖς νόσοις μάλ-
λον ἢ τούτους αὐτοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας· καίτοι γε καὶ
τότε λαμπρῶς ἐτρύφων. ὅθεν μοι καὶ παρέστη πρὸς
τινας τῶν ἐταίρων εἰπεῖν, ὡς τούτοις ἄμεινον ἦν
οἰκέταις γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δεσπόταις, καὶ πένε-
σθαι τοῦ κρίνου γυμνοτέροις οὖσιν ἢ πλουτεῖν
ὥσπερ νῦν. ἦ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαύσαντο νοσοῦντες ἅμα
καὶ τρυφῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ νοσοτυφεῖν καὶ νοση- D
λεύεσθαι τρυφηλῶς οὕτωςί τινες ἐν καλῷ ποιοῦν-
ται· ἀνὴρ δὲ τοῦ κρύους ἀνεχόμενος καὶ θάλπος
καρτερῶν οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων ἀθλιώτερον
πράττει; ἀλγεῖ γοῦν ἀπαραμύθητα.

Δεῦρο οὖν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν Κυνικῶν ὁπόσα δι-
δασκάλων ἠκούσαμεν ἐν κοινῷ καταθῶμεν σκοπεῖν
τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν βίον ἰοῦσι τοῦτον· οἷς εἰ μὲν πεισ-
θεῖεν, εὖ οἶδα, οὐδὲν οἷ γε νῦν ἐπιχειροῦντες 182
κυνίζειν ἔσονται χείρους· ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ εἰ μὲν
τι λαμπρὸν καὶ σεμνὸν ἐπιτηδεύσειαν, ὑπερ-
φωνοῦντες τὸν λόγον τὸν ἡμέτερον, οὔτι τοῖς

¹ φαμεν Hertlein suggests, φασι MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

a friend." So convinced was he that there is nothing terrible or grievous in death. But we who have inherited his staff know out of our greater wisdom that death is a calamity. And we say that sickness is even more terrible than death, and cold harder to bear than sickness. For the man who is sick is often tenderly nursed, so that his ill-health is straightway converted into a luxury, especially if he be rich. Indeed I myself, by Zeus, have observed that certain persons are more luxurious in sickness than in health, though even in health they were conspicuous for luxury. And so it once occurred to me to say to certain of my friends that it were better for those men to be servants than masters, and to be poor and more naked than the lily of the field¹ than to be rich as they now are. For they would have ceased being at once sick and luxurious. The fact is that some people think it a fine thing to make a display of their ailments and to play the part of luxurious invalids. But, says someone, is not a man who has to endure cold and to support heat really more miserable than the sick? Well, at any rate he has no comforts to mitigate his sufferings.

Come now, let me set down for the benefit of the public what I learned from my teachers about the Cynics, so that all who are entering on this mode of life may consider it. And if they are convinced by what I say, those who are now aiming to be Cynics will, I am sure, be none the worse for it: and if they are unconvinced but cherish aims that are brilliant and noble, and set themselves above my argument not in

¹ A proverb, but Julian may allude to *Matthew* 6. 28.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ῥήμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ὃ γε
 ἡμέτερος οἶσει λόγος· εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἢ
 μαλακίας ἢ, τὸ κεφάλαιον ἵν' εἴπω ξυνελών ἐν
 βραχεῖ, τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς δεδουλωμένοι τῶν
 λόγων ὀλιγωρήσειαν προσκαταγελάσαντες, ὥσπερ B
 ἐνίστε τῶν παιδευτηρίων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων οἱ
 κύνες τοῖς προπυλαίοις προσουροῦσιν, οὐ φροντὶς
 Ἰπποκλείδῃ· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν κυνιδίων ἡμῖν
 μέλει τὰ τοιαῦτα πλημμελούντων. δεῦρο οὖν
 ἄνωθεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις διεξέλθωμεν ἐφεξῆς τὸν
 λόγον, ἵνα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τὸ προσῆκον ἀποδιδόντες
 αὐτοί τε εὐκολώτερον ἀπεργασώμεθα τοῦθ' ὅπερ
 διανοήθημεν καὶ σοὶ ποιήσωμεν εὐπαρακολούθητον.
 οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸν κυνισμόν εἰδός τι φιλοσοφίας C
 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, οὐτι φαυλότατον οὐδὲ ἀτιμότα-
 τον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐνάμιλλον, ὀλίγα
 πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ῥητέον ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας.

Ἡ τῶν θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις ἅμα φανοτάτῳ
 πυρὶ διὰ Προμηθέως καταπεμφθεῖσα¹ ἐξ ἡλίου
 μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ μερίδος οὐχ ἕτερόν ἐστι παρὰ
 τὴν τοῦ λόγου καὶ νοῦ διανομήν· ὁ γὰρ τοι
 Προμηθεύς, ἢ πάντα ἐπιτροπεύουσα τὰ θνητὰ
 πρόνοια, πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον ὥσπερ ὄργανον ὑπο- D
 βάλλουσα τῇ φύσει, ἅπασι μετέδωκεν ἁσώμά-
 του λόγον· μετέσχε δὲ ἕκαστον οὐπερ ἡδύνατο,
 τὰ μὲν ἄψυχα σώματα τῆς ἕξεως μόνον, τὰ φυτὰ
 δὲ ἤδη καὶ τῆς ζωῆς² τὰ ζῶα δὲ ψυχῆς, ὁ δὲ

¹ καταπεμφθεῖσα Reiske would add.

² τῆς ζωῆς Wright σώματος Hertlein, MSS. Petavius suspects corruption.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

words only but in deeds, then my discourse will at any rate put no hindrance in their way. But if there are others already enslaved by greed or self-indulgence, or to sum it up briefly in a single phrase, by the pleasures of the body, and they therefore neglect my words or even laugh them down—just as dogs sometimes defile the front porticoes of schools and law-courts,—“’Tis all one to Hippocleides,”¹ for indeed we take no notice of puppies who behave in this fashion. Come then let me pursue my argument under headings from the beginning in due order, so that by giving every question its proper treatment I may myself more conveniently achieve what I have in mind and may make it more easy for you also to follow. And since it is a fact that Cynicism is a branch of philosophy, and by no means the most insignificant or least honourable, but rivalling the noblest, I must first say a few words about philosophy itself.

The gift of the gods sent down to mankind with the glowing flame of fire² from the sun through the agency of Prometheus along with the blessings that we owe to Hermes³ is no other than the bestowal of reason and mind. For Prometheus, the Forethought that guides all things mortal by infusing into nature a fiery breath to serve as an operative cause, gave to all things a share in incorporeal reason. And each thing took what share it could; lifeless bodies only a state of existence; plants received life besides,

¹ Herodotus 6. 129; Hippocleides, when told by Cleisthenes that by his unbecoming method of dancing he had “danced away his marriage,” made this answer which became a proverb.

² An echo of Plato, *Philebus* 16 c; cf. Themistius 338 c.

³ e.g. eloquence, commerce, and social intercourse.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἄνθρωπος καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς. εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ
 μίαν οἶονται διὰ τούτων πάντων ἥκειν φύσιν, εἰσὶ
 δὲ οἱ καὶ κατ' εἶδος ταῦτα διαφέρειν. ἀλλὰ μήπω
 τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ τοῦτο ἐξε-
 ταζέσθω, πλὴν ἐκείνου χάριν, ὅτι, τὴν φιλοσοφίαν 183
 εἶθ', ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τέχνην τεχνῶν
 καὶ ἐπιστήμην ἐπιστημῶν, εἴτε ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ¹ κατὰ
 τὸ δυνατόν, εἶθ', ὅπερ ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη, τὸ Γνώθι
 σαυτὸν ὑπολάβοι τις, οὐδὲν διοίσει πρὸς τὸν
 λόγον· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φαίνεται πρὸς ἄλληλα
 καὶ μάλα οἰκείως ἔχοντα.

Ἀρξώμεθα δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Γνώθι σαυτὸν,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ θεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ παρακέλευσμα.
 οὐκοῦν ὁ γινώσκων αὐτὸν εἴσεται μὲν περὶ ψυχῆς, B
 εἴσεται δὲ καὶ περὶ σώματος. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ
 ἀρκέσει μόνον, ὡς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ψυχὴ χρωμένη
 σώματι, μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπ-
 ελεύσεται τὴν οὐσίαν, ἔπειτα ἀνιχνεύσει τὰς
 δυνάμεις. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκέσει αὐτῷ,
 ἀλλὰ καί, εἴ τι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι κρεῖττον
 καὶ θεϊότερον, ὅπερ δὴ πάντες ἀδιδάκτως πειθό-
 μενοι θεῖόν τι εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐνιδρύ- C
 σθαι πάντες οὐρανῷ κοινῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν. ἐπιὼν
 δὲ αὐθις τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ σώματος σκέψεται, εἴτε
 σύνθετον εἴτε ἀπλοῦν ἐστιν· εἴτα ὁδῶ προβαίνων
 ὑπὲρ τε ἀρμονίας αὐτοῦ καὶ πάθους καὶ δυνάμεως
 καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς ὧν δεῖται πρὸς διαμονήν.
 ἐπιβλέψει δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀρχαῖς τεχνῶν

¹ θεῷ Klimek, θεῶν Hertlein, MSS,

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

and animals soul, and man a reasoning soul. Now some think that a single substance is the basis of all these, and others that they differ essentially according to their species. But this question we must not discuss as yet, or rather not at all in the present discourse, and we need only say that whether one regards philosophy, as some people do, as the art of arts and the science of sciences or as an effort to become like God, as far as one may, or whether, as the Pythian oracle said, it means "Know thyself," will make no difference to my argument. For all these definitions are evidently very closely related to one another.

However, let us begin with "Know thyself," since this precept is divinely inspired.¹ It follows that he who knows himself will know not only about his soul but his body also. And it will not be enough to know that a man is a soul employing a body, but he will also investigate the essential nature of the soul, and then trace out its faculties. And not even this alone will be enough for him, but in addition he will investigate whatever exists in us nobler and more divine than the soul, that something which we all believe in without being taught and regard as divine, and all in common suppose to be established in the heavens. Then again, as he investigates the first principles of the body he will observe whether it is composite or simple; then proceeding systematically he will observe its harmony and the influences that affect it and its capacity and, in a word, all that it needs to ensure its permanence. And in the next place he will also observe the first

¹ Cf. 188 B; Juvenal, *Satires* 11. 27; E caelo descendit
γνώθι σεαυτόν,

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐνίων, ὅφ' ὧν βοηθεῖται πρὸς διαμονὴν τὸ σῶμα, οἷον ἰατρικῆς, γεωργίας, ἐτέρων τοιούτων. οὐ μὲν D οὐδὲ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν τι παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα¹ πρὸς κολακείαν τοῦ παθητικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐπινενόηται. προσλιπαρῆσαι μὲν γὰρ τούτοις ἀποκνήσει αἰσχρὸν οἰόμενος τὸ τοιοῦτον, τὸ δοκοῦν ἐργῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς φεύγων· τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁποῖα ἅττα δοκεῖ καὶ οἰστισιν ἀρμόττει τῆς ψυχῆς μέρεσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοήσει. σκόπει δὴ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι πάσης μὲν ἐπιστήμης, πάσης δὲ τέχνης ἡγεῖται τε ἅμα καὶ τοὺς καθόλου λόγους συνείληφε. τά τε γὰρ θεία διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης 184 ἡμῖν θείας μερίδος τά τε θνητὰ διὰ τῆς θνητοειδούς μοίρας πρὸς τούτοις προσήκειν· ἔφη τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων ζῶον εἶδέναι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον,² τῷ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον θνητόν, τῷ παντὶ δὲ ἀθάνατον, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν ἓνα καὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον συγκείσθαι ἐκ θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου μερίδος.

Ὅτι μέντοι καὶ τὸ τῷ θεῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι, οὐκ ἄλλο τί ἐστίν ἢ τὸ τὴν ἐφικτὴν ἀνθρώποις γινῶσιν τῶν ὄντων περιποιήσασθαι, πρόδηλον ἐντεῦθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ χρημάτων τὸ θεῖον B μακαρίζομεν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ Ὁμηρός φησι

θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα ἴσασι,

καὶ μέντοι καὶ περὶ Διὸς

Ἄλλὰ Ζεὺς πρότερος γέγονει καὶ πλείονα ἦδει·

¹ ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, τὰ MSS.

² προσήκειν—ἄνθρωπον, Hertlein suggests, cf. Maximus of Tyre 4. 7; ἔφη τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ζῶον εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον MSS,

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

principles of certain arts by which the body is assisted to that permanence, for instance, medicine, husbandry and the like. And of such arts as are useless and superfluous he will not be wholly ignorant, since these too have been devised to humour the emotional part of our souls. For though he will avoid the persistent study of these last, because he thinks such persistent study disgraceful, and will avoid what seems to involve hard work in those subjects; nevertheless he will not, generally speaking, remain in ignorance of their apparent nature and what parts of the soul they suit. Reflect therefore, whether self-knowledge does not control every science and every art, and moreover whether it does not include the knowledge of universals. For to know things divine through the divine part in us, and mortal things too through the part of us that is mortal—this the oracle declared to be the duty of the living organism that is midway between these, namely man; because individually he is mortal, but regarded as a whole he is immortal, and moreover, singly and individually, is compounded of a mortal and an immortal part.

Further, that to make oneself like God as far as possible is nothing else than to acquire such knowledge of the essential nature of things as is attainable by mankind, is evident from the following. It is not on the score of abundance of possessions that we count the divine nature happy, nor on the score of any other of those things that are commonly believed to be advantages, but it is because, as Homer says, "The gods know all things";¹ and indeed he says also of Zeus, "But Zeus was older and wiser."²

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 379.

² *Iliad* 13. 355.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἐπιστήμη γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ διαφέρουσιν. ἡγεῖται C
 γὰρ ἴσως καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν καλῶν τὸ αὐτοὺς γινώ-
 σκειν· ὅσῳ δὴ κρείττονες ἡμῶν εἰσι τὴν οὐσίαν,
 τοσοῦτῳ γνόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἴσχουσι βελτιόνων γνώ-
 σιν. μηδεὶς οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν εἰς πολλὰ
 διαιρεῖτω μηδὲ εἰς πολλὰ τεμνέτω, μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ
 πολλὰς ἐκ μᾶς ποιεῖτω. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀλήθεια μία,
 οὕτω δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφία μία· θαυμαστὸν δὲ οὐδέν,
 εἰ κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν πορευό-
 μεθα. ἐπεὶ κἄν, εἴ τις θέλοι τῶν ξένων ἢ ναὶ μὰ D
 Δία τῶν πάλαι πολιτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Αθήνας,
 δύναίτο μὲν καὶ πλεῖν καὶ βαδίζειν, ὁδεύων δὲ
 οἶμαι διὰ γῆς ἢ ταῖς πλατείαις χρῆσθαι λεωφόροις
 ἢ ταῖς ἀτραποῖς καὶ συντόμοις ὁδοῖς· καὶ πλεῖν
 μέντοι δυνατὸν παρὰ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ
 κατὰ τὸν Πύλιον γέροντα τέμνοντα πέλαγος μέσον.
 μὴ δὲ τοῦτό τις ἡμῖν προφερέτω, εἴ τινες τῶν κατ'
 αὐτὰς ἰόντων τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπεπλανήθησαν καὶ ἀλ-
 λαχοῦ πού γεγόμενοι, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Κίρκης ἢ 185
 τῶν Λωτοφάγων ἡδονῆς ἢ δόξης ἢ τινος ἄλλου
 δελεασθέντες, ἀπελείφθησαν τοῦ πρόσω βαδίζειν
 καὶ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ τέλους, τοὺς πρωτεύσαντας δὲ
 ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν αἱρέσεων σκοπεῖτω, καὶ πάντα
 εὐρήσει σύμφωνα.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν
 προαγορεύει, Ἡράκλειτος δὲ “ἐδιζησάμην ἑμεω-
 τόν,” ἀλλὰ καὶ Πυθαγόρας οἷ τε ἀπ' ἐκείνου
 μέχρι Θεοφράστου τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι
 θεῷ φασι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

For it is in knowledge that the gods surpass ourselves. And it may well be that with them also what ranks as noblest is self-knowledge. In proportion then as they are nobler than we in their essential nature, that self-knowledge of theirs is a knowledge of higher things. Therefore, I say, let no one divide philosophy into many kinds or cut it up into many parts, or rather let no one make it out to be plural instead of one. For even as truth is one, so too philosophy is one. But it is not surprising that we travel to it now by one road, now by another. For if any stranger, or, by Zeus, any one of her oldest inhabitants wished to go up to Athens, he could either sail or go by road, and if he travelled by land he could, I suppose, take either the broad highways or the paths and roads that are short cuts. And moreover he could either sail along the coasts or, like the old man of Pylos,¹ "cleave the open sea." And let no one try to refute me by pointing out that some philosophers in travelling by those very roads have been known to lose their way, and arriving in some other place have been captivated, as though by Circe or the Lotus-Eaters, that is to say by pleasure or opinion or some other bait, and so have failed to go straight forward and attain their goal. Rather he must consider those who in every one of the philosophic sects did attain the highest rank, and he will find that all their doctrines agree.

Therefore the god at Delphi proclaims, "Know Thyself," and Heracleitus says, "I searched myself";² and Pythagoras also and his school and his followers down to Theophrastus, bid us become like God as far as possible, yes and Aristotle too. For what

¹ Nestor; *Odyssey* 3. 174.

² Heracleitus *fr.* 80.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ποτέ, τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς αἰεί. γελοῖον οὖν ἂν εἴη τὸν θεὸν ἑαυτὸν μὴ εἰδέναι· κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐδὲν εἴσεται τῶν ἄλλων, εἴπερ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνοοίη· πάντα γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν, εἴπερ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας, εἴτε ἀθανάτων ἀθανάτους, εἴτε ἐπικήρων οὐ θνητὰς οὐδὲ ἐπικήρους, αἰδίους δὲ καὶ μενούσας αἰεὶ καὶ αἰ τούτοις εἰσὶν αἰτίαι τῆς αἰεγενεσίας. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μείζων.

Ὅτι δὲ μία τέ ἐστιν ἀλήθεια καὶ φιλοσοφία μία καὶ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἑρασταὶ ξύμπαντες ὧν τε ὑπεμνήσθην μικρῷ πρότερον ὧν τε ἐν δίκῃ νῦν εἴποιμι ἂν τοῦνομα, τοὺς τοῦ Κιτιέως ὀμιλητὰς λέγω, οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἰδόντες ἀποδιδρασκούσας τὸ λίαν ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ κυνὸς ἐσκέπασαν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ οἶμαι παραπετάσμασιν D οἰκονομία καὶ τῇ χρηματιστικῇ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνόδῳ καὶ παιδοτροφίᾳ, ἣν οἶμαι ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν ἐπιστήσωσι φύλακα· ὅτι δὲ τὸ Γνωθὶ σαυτὸν κεφάλαιον τίθενται φιλοσοφίας, οὐ μόνον ἐξ ὧν κατεβάλλοντο ξυγγραμμάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτου πεισθείης ἂν, εἴπερ ἐθέλοις,

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

we are sometimes, God is always.¹ It would therefore be absurd that God should not know himself. For he will know nothing at all about other things if he be ignorant of himself. For he is himself everything, seeing that in himself and near himself he keeps the causes of all things that in any way whatever have existence, whether they be immortal causes of things immortal, or causes of perishable things, though themselves not mortal or perishable; for imperishable and ever-abiding are the causes of perpetual generation for the perishable world. But this line of argument is too lofty for the occasion.

Now truth is one and philosophy is one, and they whom I just now spoke of are its lovers one and all; and also they whom I ought in fairness to mention now by name, I mean the disciples of the man of Citium.² For when they saw that the cities of Greece were averse to the excessive plainness and simplicity of the Cynic's freedom of manners, they hedged him about with screens as it were, I mean with maxims on the management of the household and business and intercourse with one's wife and the rearing of children, to the end, I believe, that they might make him the intimate guardian of the public welfare.³ And that they too held the maxim "Know Thyself" to be the first principle of their philosophy you may believe, if you will, not only from the works that they composed on this very subject, but even more

¹ Cf. *Oration* 4. 143 A.

² Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, the founder of the Stoic school.

³ Julian seems to mean that Zeno and the Stoics could not accept without modification the manner of life advocated by the Cynic Crates.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλεον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τέλους·
 τὸ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν τῇ φύσει τέλος ἐποιή- 186
 σαντο, οὐπερ οὐχ οἷόν τε τυχεῖν τὸν ἀγνοῦντα,
 τίς καὶ ὁποῖος πέφυκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγνοῶν ὅστις
 ἐστίν, οὐκ εἴσεται δῆπουθεν ὅ, τι πράττειν ἑαυτῷ
 προσήκει, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ¹ τὸν σιδήρον ἀγνοῶν
 εἴσεται, εἴτε αὐτῷ τέμνειν εἴτε μὴ· προσήκει, καὶ
 ὅτου δεῖ τῷ σιδήρῳ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
 πράττειν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία μία τέ ἐστι καὶ
 πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἑνὸς τινος ἐφιέμενοι ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ
 τοῦτο διαφόροις ἦλθον, ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα νῦν εἰπεῖν. B
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ σκεπτέον ἔτι.²

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεποιήτο τοῖς ἀνδράσι μετὰ τινος
 σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὰ συγγράμματα,
 τούτοις ἐχρῆν ἐπόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν ἕκαστα ὧν
 διανοούμεθα περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξετάζειν τὸν
 ἐναντίον καί, εἰ μὲν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁμολο-
 γοῦντα, μήτοι ψευδομαρτυριῶν ἡμῖν ἐπισκῆπτειν,
 εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἐξορίζειν αὐτὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὥσπερ
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ψευδῆ γράμματα τοῦ Μητρώου.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὡς ἔφην, τοιοῦτον· αἶ τε γὰρ C
 θρυλούμεναι Διογένους τραγωδίαι Φιλίσκου τινὸς
 Αἰγινῆτου λέγονται εἶναι, καί, εἰ Διογένους δὴ³
 εἶεν, οὐδέν ἄτοπόν ἐστι τὸν σοφὸν παίζειν, ἐπεὶ
 καὶ τοῦτο πολλοὶ φαίνονται τῶν φιλοσόφων

¹ οὐδ' ὁ Hertlein suggests, οὐδὲ MSS.

² ἔτι Hertlein suggests, ἤδη Reiske, ἐστὶν MSS.

³ δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

from what they made the end and aim of their philosophic teaching. For this end of theirs was life in harmony with nature, and this it is impossible for any man to attain who does not know who and of what nature he is. For a man who does not know himself will certainly not know what it is becoming for him to do; just as he who does not know the nature of iron will not know whether it is suitable to cut with or not, and how iron must be treated so that it may be put to its proper use. For the moment however I have said enough to show that philosophy is one, and that, to speak generally, all philosophers have a single aim though they arrive at that aim by different roads. And now let us consider the Cynic philosophy.

If the Cynics had composed treatises with any serious purpose and not merely with a frivolous aim, it would have been proper for my opponent to be guided by these and to try in each case to refute the opinions that I hold on the subject; and then, if they proved to be in harmony with those original doctrines, he could not attack me for bearing false witness; but if they proved not to be in harmony, then he could have barred my opinions from a hearing, as the Athenians barred spurious documents from the Metroum.¹ But, as I said, nothing of that sort exists. For the much-talked-of tragedies of Diogenes are now said to be the work of a certain Philiscus² of Aegina; though even if they were by Diogenes there would be nothing out of the way in a wise man's jesting, since many philosophers have been known to do so. For

¹ Cf. *Oration* 5. 159 B.

² Cf. *Oration* 7. 210 D, 212 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ποιήσαντες· ἐγέλα τοι, φασί, καὶ Δημόκριτος
 ὁρῶν σπουδάζοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μὴ δὴ πρὸς
 τὰς παιδιὰς αὐτῶν ἀποβλέπων, ὥσπερ οἱ
 μανθάνειν τι σπουδαῖον ἤκιστα ἐρῶντες, πόλει D
 παραβάλλοντες εὐδαίμονι, πολλῶν μὲν ἱερῶν,
 πολλῶν δὲ ἀπορρήτων τελετῶν πλήρει, καὶ
 μυρίων ἔνδον ἱερέων ἀγνῶν ἐν ἀγνοῖς μενόντων
 χωρίοις· αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔνεκα πολλάκις τούτου, λέγω
 δὲ τοῦ καθαρεύειν τὰ εἴσω πάντα, τὰ περιττὰ
 καὶ βδελυρὰ καὶ φαῦλα τῆς πόλεως ἀπεληλακόσι,¹
 λουτρὰ δημόσια καὶ χαμαιτυπεῖα καὶ καπηλεῖα
 καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα· εἶτα ἄχρι τούτου
 γενόμενοι εἴσω μὴ παρίασιν.² ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς
 τοιούτοις ἐντυχῶν, εἶτα τοῦτο οἰηθεὶς εἶναι τὴν 187
 πόλιν ἄθλιος μὲν ἀποφυγῶν, ἀθλιώτερος δὲ κάτω
 μέινας, ἐξὸν ὑπερβάντα μικρὸν ἰδεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη·
 χρήσομαι γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἐγὼ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς
 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπαινῶν Σωκράτη. φημὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν
 Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοιοτάτην εἶναι τοῖς Σει-
 ληνοῖς τούτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐρμογλυφείοις καθη-
 μένοις, οὓστινας ἐργάζονται οἱ δημιουργοὶ σύρ-
 ιγγας ἢ αὐλοὺς ἔχοντας· οἱ διχάδε³ διοιχθέντες B
 ἔνδον φαίνονται ἀγάλματα ἔχοντες θεῶν. ὥς ἂν
 οὖν μὴ τοιούτῳ τι πάθωμεν, ὅσα ἔπαιξε ταῦτα
 αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακέναι νομίσαντες· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τι
 καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἄχρηστον, ὁ Κυνισμὸς δὲ ἐστίν

¹ ἀπεληλακόσι Naber, ἀπεληλάκασι Hertlein, MSS.

² παρίασιν Cobet, παρίᾱσιν Hertlein, MSS.

³ οἱ διχάδε Hertlein suggests, cf. *Symposium* 215, οἱ δὲ MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Democritus also, we are told, used to laugh when he saw men taking things seriously. Well then I say we must not pay any attention to their frivolous writings, like men who have no desire at all to learn anything of serious interest. Such men when they arrive at a prosperous city abounding in sacrifices and secret rites of many kinds, and containing within it countless holy priests who dwell in the sacred enclosures, priests who for this very purpose, I mean in order to purify everything that is within their gates, have expelled all that is sordid and superfluous and vicious from the city, public baths and brothels, and retail shops, and everything of the sort without exception: such men, I say, having come as far as the quarter where all such things are, do not enter the city itself. Surely a man who, when he comes upon the things that have been expelled, thinks that this is the city, is despicable indeed if he depart on the instant, but still more despicable if he stay in that lower region, when he might by taking but a step across the threshold behold Socrates himself. For I will borrow those famous phrases of Alcibiades in his praise of Socrates,¹ and I assert that the Cynic philosophy is very like those images of Silenus that sit in the shops of the statuaries, which the craftsmen make with pipes or flutes in their hands, but when you open them you see that inside they contain statues of the gods. Accordingly, that we may not make that sort of mistake and think that his jesting was sober earnest (for though there is a certain use even in those jests, yet Cynicism itself is something very different, as I

¹ Plato, *Symposium* 215.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἕτερον, ὥς αὐτίκα μάλα δεῖξαι πειράσομαι· δεῦρο ἴδωμεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐξιχνεύουσαι κύνες μεταθέουσι τὰ θηρία.

Ἐγεμόνα μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥάδιον εὔρεῖν, ἐφ' ὃν ἀνενέγκαι χρὴ πρῶτον αὐτό, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπο- C
λαμβάνουσιν Ἀντισθένην τοῦτο καὶ Διογένην προσήκειν. τοῦτο γοῦν ἔοικεν Οἰνόμαος οὐκ ἀτόπως λέγειν· ὁ Κυνισμὸς οὔτε Ἀντισθενισμὸς ἐστίν οὔτε Διογενισμὸς. λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ οἱ γενναιότεροι τῶν κυνῶν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς, ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν¹ αἷτιος κατέστη, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ βίου παράδειγμα τὸ μέγιστον² κατέλιπεν ἀνθρώποις. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς θείαν λῆξιν πορευθέντων εὐφημεῖν ἐθέλων πείθομαι μὲν καὶ πρὸ D
τούτου τινὰς οὐκ ἐν Ἑλληνισί μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι·³ αὕτη γὰρ ἡ φιλοσοφία κοινὴ πῶς ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ φυσικωτάτη καὶ δεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἡστινολογεῖν πραγματείας· ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἐλέσθαι τὰ σπουδαῖα ἀρετῆς ἐπιθυμία καὶ φυγὴ κακίας, καὶ οὔτε βίβλους ἀνελῖξαι δεῖ μυρίας· πολυμαθία γάρ, φασί, νόον οὐ διδάσκει· οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων παθεῖν, ὅσα καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεων ἰόντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπόχρη μόνον δύο ταῦτα τοῦ Πυθίου 188

¹ Before αἷτιος Cobet omits τις.

² Before κατέλιπεν Cobet omits οὗτος.

³ οὕτω φιλοσοφῆσαι Reiske suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

shall presently try to prove), let us consider it in due course from its actual practice and pursue it like hounds that track down wild beasts in the chase.

Now the founder of this philosophy to whom we are to attribute it, in the first instance, is not easy to discover, even though some think that the title belongs to Antisthenes and Diogenes. At least the saying of Oenomaus¹ seems to be not without good grounds: "The Cynic philosophy is neither Antisthenism nor Diogenism." Moreover the better sort of Cynics assert that in addition to the other blessings bestowed on us by mighty Heracles, it was he who bequeathed to mankind the noblest example of this mode of life.² But for my part, while I desire to speak with due reverence of the gods and of those who have attained to their functions, I still believe that even before Heracles, not only among the Greeks but among the barbarians also, there were men who practised this philosophy. For it seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy, and the most natural, and to demand no special study whatsoever. But it is enough simply to choose the honourable by desiring virtue and avoiding evil; and so there is no need to turn over countless books. For as the saying goes, "Much learning does not teach men to have understanding."³ Nor is it necessary to subject oneself to any part of such a discipline as they must undergo who enter other philosophic sects. Nay it is enough merely to hearken to the Pythian god when he enjoins these

¹ Of Gadara, a Cynic philosopher whose date is probably the second century A.D.; cf. 199 A, 209 B, 210 D, 212 A.

² Lucian, *Sale of Creeds* 8, makes Diogenes say that he had modelled himself on Heracles.

³ Heracleitus *fr.* 16, Bywater.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

παραινοῦντες ἀκούσαι, τὸ Γνωθὶ σαυτὸν καὶ
 Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα· πέφηνεν οὖν ἡμῖν
 ἀρχηγὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὅσπερ οἶμαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 κατέστη τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων αἴτιος, ὁ τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος κοινὸς ἡγεμὼν καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ βα-
 σιλεύς, ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὃν ἐπειδὴ μὴ θέμις ἦν
 τι διαλαθεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡ Διογένους ἐπιτηδειότης ἔλαθε.
 προύτρεψε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἔπεσιν ἐντείνων τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ B
 διδάσκων ὅ,τι βούλεται συμβολικῶς διὰ δυοῖν
 ὀνομάτοι, Παραχάραξον εἰπὼν τὸ νόμισμα· τὸ
 γάρ Γνωθὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐκείνῳ μόνον,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔφη καὶ λέγει, πρόκειται γὰρ οἶμαι
 τοῦ τεμένους. ἡυρήκαμεν δὴ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, ὥς που καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιός φησιν Ἰάμ-
 βλιχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν αὐτῇ,
 Ἀντισθένη καὶ Διογένη καὶ Κράττητα, οἷς τοῦ
 βίου σκοπὸς ἦν καὶ τέλος αὐτοὺς οἶμαι γινῶναι
 καὶ τῶν κενῶν ὑπεριδεῖν δοξῶν, ἀληθείας δέ, ἡ
 πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις
 ἡγεῖται, ὅλη, φασίν, ἐπιδράξασθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, C
 ἧς οἶμαι καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Σω-
 κράτης οἷ τε ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ Ζήνων ἐνεκα
 πάντα ὑπέμειναν πόνον, αὐτοὺς τε ἐθέλοντες
 γινῶναι καὶ μὴ κεναῖς ἔπεσθαι δόξαις, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀνιχνεῦσαι.

¹ μόνον Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

two precepts, "Know Thyself," and "Falsify the common currency."¹ Hence it becomes evident to us that the founder of this philosophy is he who, I believe, is the cause of all the blessings that the Greeks enjoy, the universal leader, law-giver and king of Hellas, I mean the god of Delphi.² And since it was not permitted that he should be in ignorance of aught, the peculiar fitness of Diogenes did not escape his notice. And he made him incline to that philosophy, not by urging his commands in words alone, as he does for other men, but in very deed he instructed him symbolically as to what he willed, in two words, when he said, "Falsify the common currency." For "Know Thyself" he addressed not only to Diogenes, but to other men also and still does: for it stands there engraved in front of his shrine. And so we have at last discovered the founder of this philosophy, even as the divine Iamblichus also declares, yes, and we have discovered its leading men as well, namely Antisthenes and Diogenes and Crates;³ the aim and end of whose lives was, I think, to know themselves, to despise vain opinions, and to lay hold of truth with their whole understanding; for truth, alike for gods and men, is the beginning of every good thing;⁴ and it was, I think, for her sake that Plato and Pythagoras and Socrates and the Peripatetic philosophers and Zeno spared no pains, because they wished to know themselves, and not to follow vain opinions but to track down truth among all things that are.

¹ Cf. *Oration* 7. 208 D, 211 B, 211 C.

² Apollo.

³ Of Thebes, the Cynic philosopher, a pupil of Diogenes; he lived in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

⁴ Plato, *Laws* 730 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

Φέρε οὖν, ἐπειδὴ πέφηνεν οὐκ ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτη-
 δεύσας Πλάτων, ἕτερον δὲ Διογένης, ἐν δέ τι καὶ
 ταυτόν· εἰ γοῦν ἔροιτό τις τὸν σοφὸν Πλάτωνα “τὸ
 Γνώθι σαυτὸν πόσου νενόμικας ἄξιον;” εὖ οἶδα ὅτι
 τοῦ παντὸς ἂν φήσειε, καὶ λέγει δὲ ἐν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ· D
 δεῦρο δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο φράσον ἡμῖν, ὦ δαιμόνιε
 Πλάτων καὶ θεῶν ἔκγονε “Τίνα τρόπον χρή
 πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διακεῖσθαι δόξας,” ταυτά
 τε ἐρεῖ καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὅλον ἡμῖν ἐπιτάξει
 διαρρήδην ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Κρίτωνα διάλογον, οὗ
 φαίνεται παραινῶν Σωκράτης μηδὲν φροντίζειν
 ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων· φησὶ γοῦν· “Ἀλλὰ τί ἡμῖν,
 ὦ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης 189
 μέλει;” εἰτα ἡμεῖς τούτων ὑπεριδόντες ἀποτει-
 χίζειν ἀπλῶς οὕτως καὶ ἀποσπᾶν ἄνδρας ἀλλή-
 λων ἐθέλομεν, οὓς ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας συνήγαγεν
 ἔρως ἢ τε τῆς δόξης ὑπεροψία καὶ ἡ πρὸς
 τὸν ζῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς ξύμπνοια; εἰ δὲ Πλάτωνι
 μὲν ἔδοξε καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι,
 Διογένει δὲ ἀπέχρη τὰ ἔργα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιός ἐστιν
 ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἀκούειν κακῶς; ὅρα δὲ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο
 αὐτὸ τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων
 ἐξομνύμενος φαίνεται τὰ ξυγγράμματα. “Οὐ γάρ B
 ἐστι Πλάτωνος,” φησί, “ζύγγραμμα οὐδὲν οὐδ’
 ἔσται, τὰ δὲ νῦν φερόμενά ἐστι Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

And now, since it has become evident that Plato was not pursuing one aim and Diogenes another, but their end was one and the same: suppose one should inquire of the wise Plato: What value do you set on the precept "Know Thyself"? I am very sure that he would answer that it is worth everything, and indeed he says so in the *Alcibiades*.¹ Come then tell us next, divine Plato, scion of the gods, how one ought to be disposed towards the opinions of the many? He will give the same answer, and moreover he will expressly enjoin on us to read his dialogue the *Crito*,² where Socrates is shown warning us not to take heed of such things. At any rate what he says is: "But why, my dear good Crito, are we so concerned about the opinion of the multitude?" And now are we to ignore all this evidence, and without further question fence off from one another and force apart men whom the passion for truth, the scorn of opinion, and unanimity in zeal for virtue have joined together? And if Plato chose to achieve his aim through words, whereas for Diogenes deeds sufficed, does the latter on that account deserve to be criticised by you? Nay, consider whether that same method of his be not in every respect superior; since we see that Plato for himself forswore written compositions. "For" he says,³ "there are no writings by Plato nor ever will be, and what now pass current as his are the work of Socrates, the ever fair and

¹ *Alcibiades* i. 129 A.

² *Crito* 44 c.

³ *Epistle* 2. 314 c; Julian quotes from memory and slightly alters the original; Plato meant that in his dialogues he had suppressed his own personality in favour of Socrates.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

καλοῦ καὶ νέου.” τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Διογένους σκοποῦμεν αὐτὸν τὸν Κυνισμὸν, ὅστις ἐστίν;

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ σώματος μέρη μὲν ἐστίν, οἷον ὀφθαλμοί, πόδες, χεῖρες, ἄλλα δὲ ἐπισυμβαίνει, τρίχες, ὄνυχες, ῥύπος, τοιούτων περιττωμάτων γένος, ὧν ἄνευ σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον ἀμύχανον εἶναι, πότερον οὐ γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέρη C νομίσας ὄνυχας ἢ τρίχας ἢ ῥύπον καὶ τὰ δυσώδη τῶν περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ σπουδαῖα, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητήρια καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἅττα συνέσεως ἡμῖν ἐστι μᾶλλον αἷτια, οἷον ὀφθαλμούς, ἀκοάς; ὑπουργεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πρὸς φρόνησιν εἴτε ἐγκατορωρυγμένη τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥς ἂν θᾶπτον καθαρθεῖσα δύναιτο τῇ καθαρᾷ χρῆσθαι¹ καὶ ἀκινήτῳ τοῦ φρονεῖν δυνάμει, εἴτε, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, καθάπερ δι’ ὀχετῶν τοιούτων εἰσφερούσης τῆς ψυχῆς. συλλέγουσα γάρ, φασί, D τὰ κατὰ μέρος αἰσθήματα καὶ συνέχουσα τῇ μνήμῃ γεννᾷ τὰς ἐπιστήμας. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μή τι τοιούτον ἦν ἐνθέον ἢ τέλειον ἐμποδιζόμενον δὲ² ὑπ’ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ὃ τῶν ἐκτὸς ποιεῖται τὴν ἀντίληψιν, οὐδ’ ἂν δυνατόν οἶμαι γενέσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν τὴν³ ἀντίληψιν. ἀλλ’ οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῖς νῦν προσήκει.

Διόπερ ἐπανακτέον ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς φιλοσοφίας 190 τῆς κυνικῆς. φαίνονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι διμερῇ

¹ τῇ καθαρᾷ χρῆσθαι Hertlein suggests, τῇ γε ὡς ἀρχῇ MSS., corrupt.

² δὲ Hertlein suggests.

³ τὴν Naber suggests.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

ever young." Why then should we not from the practice of Diogenes study the character of the Cynic philosophy?

Now the body consists of certain parts such as eyes, feet and hands, but there are besides other parts, hair, nails, ordure, a whole class of accessories of that sort without which the human body cannot exist. Then is it not absurd for a man to take into account such parts, I mean hair or nails or ordure or such unpleasant accessories, rather than those parts that are most precious and important, in the first place, for instance, the organs of perception, and among these more especially the instruments whereby we apprehend, namely the eyes and ears? For these aid the soul to think intelligently, whether it be buried deep in the body and they enable it to purify itself more readily and to use its pure and steadfast faculty of thought, or whether, as some think, it is through them that the soul enters in as though by channels.¹ For, as we are told, by collecting individual perceptions and linking them through the memory she brings forth the sciences. And for my own part, I think that if there were not something of this sort, either incomplete in itself or perfect but hindered by other things many and various, which brings about our apprehension of externals, it would not even be possible for us to apprehend the objects of sense-perception. But this line of argument has little to do with the present question.

Accordingly we must go back to the divisions of the Cynic philosophy. For the Cynics also seem to

¹ Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 3. 359 foll.; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 7. 350.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

τὴν φιλοσοφίαν νομίσαντες ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων, θεωρηματικὴν τε καὶ πρακτικὴν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο¹ συνέντες δηλονότι καὶ νοήσαντες, ὡς οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος φύσει πράξει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ. εἰ δὲ τῆς φυσικῆς τὴν θεωρίαν² ἐξέκλιναν, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον. ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ πλείονες ἄλλοι θεωρία μὲν φαίνονται χρησάμενοι πολλῇ, ταύτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πράξεως· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι τοῦτο ἐνόμισαν, τὸ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, τί B μὲν ἀποδοτέον ψυχῇ, τί δὲ σώματι· ἀπέδωκαν δὲ³ εἰκότως ἡγεμονίαν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ὑπηρεσίαν δὲ τῷ σώματι. φαίνονται δὲ οὖν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἐγκράτειαν, ἀτυφίαν, ἐλευθερίαν, ἔξω γενόμενοι παντὸς φθόνου, δειλίας, δεισιδαιμονίας. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διανοούμεθα, παίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ κυβεύειν περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὕτως ὑπεριδόντας τοῦ σώματος, C ὡς ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη λέγων ὀρθῶς μελέτην εἶναι θανάτου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. τοῦτο ἐκείνοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδεύοντες οὐ ζηλωτοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν, ἄθλιοι δὲ τινες καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόητοι δοκοῦσιν·⁴ ἀνθ' ὅτου δὲ⁵ τοὺς πόνους ὑπέμειναν τούτους;⁶ οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπας, κενοδοξίας ἕνεκα. καὶ γὰρ⁷ πῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηρεοῦντο ὥμα

¹ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, αὐτοῦ MSS.

² τὴν θεωρίαν Hertlein suggests, πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν MSS., θεωρίας Petavius.

³ δὲ after ἀπέδωκαν Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.

⁴ δοκοῦσιν· Hertlein suggests, δοκοῦσιν, MSS.

⁵ δὲ Hertlein suggests, δὴ MSS.

⁶ τούτους; οὐχ ὡς Hertlein suggests, τούτους, ὡς MSS.

⁷ καὶ γὰρ Hertlein suggests, καίτοι MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

have thought that there were two branches of philosophy, as did Aristotle and Plato, namely speculative and practical, evidently because they had observed and understood that man is by nature suited both to action and to the pursuit of knowledge. And though they avoided the study of natural philosophy, that does not affect the argument. For Socrates and many others also, as we know, devoted themselves to speculation, but it was solely for practical ends. For they thought that even self-knowledge meant learning precisely what must be assigned to the soul, and what to the body. And to the soul they naturally assigned supremacy, and to the body subjection. This seems to be the reason why they practised virtue, self-control, modesty and freedom, and why they shunned all forms of envy, cowardice and superstition. But this, you will say, is not the view that we hold about them, for we are to think that they were not in earnest, and that they hazarded what is most precious¹ in thus despising the body; as Socrates did when he declared, and rightly, that philosophy is a preparation for death.² And since this was the aim that the Cynics pursued daily, we need not emulate them any more than the others, but we are to think them miserable beings and altogether foolish. But why was it that they endured those hardships? Surely not from ostentation, as you declared. For how could they win

¹ Plato, *Protagoras* 314 A.

² *Phaedo* 81 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

προσφερόμενοι σαρκία; καίτοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπαι-
νέτης εἶ. τοῦ γοῦν τοιούτου τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν D
κόμην, ὥσπερ αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀπομιμού-
μενος εἶθ' ὃ μὴδὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιάγαστον ὑπολαμβάνεις,
τοῦτο εὐδοκιμεῖν οἶει παρὰ τῷ πλήθει; καὶ εἰς
μὲν ἡ δεύτερος ἐπὶ ἡνέκεν τότε, πλεῖν δ' οὖν ἡ δέκα
μυριάδες ὑπὸ τῆς ναυτίας καὶ βδελυρίας διεστρά-
φησαν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ ἀπόσιτοι γεγόνασιν,
ἄχρις αὐτοὺς οἱ θεράποντες ἀνέλαβον ὁσμαις καὶ
μύροις καὶ πέμμασιν. οὕτως ὁ κλεινὸς ἥρως ἔργῳ 191
κατεπλήξατο γελοῖῳ μὲν ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις,

Οἱοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν,

οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ δέ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴ τις αὐτὸ κατὰ
τὴν Διογένους ἐξηγήσαιτο σύνεσιν. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ
Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὅτι τῷ θεῷ νομίζων
λατρείαν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν τῷ τὸν δοθέντα χρησμὸν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα σκοπῶν ἐξετάζειν τὸν
ἐλεγκτικὸν ἡσπάσατο βίον, τοῦτο καὶ Διογένης
οἶμαι συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ, πυθόχρηστον οὖσαν τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν, ἔργοις ᾧδε δεῖν ἐξελέγχειν πάντα
καὶ μὴ δόξαις ἄλλων, τυχὸν μὲν ἀληθέσι, τυχὸν
δὲ ψευδέσι προσπεπονθέναι. οὐκ οὐδὲ εἴ τι
Πυθαγόρας ἔφη, οὐδὲ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῷ Πυθαγόρα
παραπλήσιος, ἀξιόπιστος ἐδόκει τῷ Διογένηι.
τὸν γὰρ θεόν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ¹ οὐδένα τῆς φιλο-
σοφίας ἀρχηγὸν ἐπεποίητο. τί δῆτα τοῦτο, C
ἐρεῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολὺποδος ἐδωδῆν; ἐγὼ σοι
φράσω.

Τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν οἱ μὲν ἀνθρώποις ὑπολαμ-
βάνουσι κατὰ φύσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡκιστα τοῦτο ἐργάζε-

¹ δὲ after ἀνθρώπων Hertlein suggests.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

applause from other men by eating raw meat? Certainly you yourself do not applaud them for this. At any rate, when you imitate one of those Cynics by carrying a staff and wearing your hair long, as it is shown in their pictures, do you think that you thereby gain a reputation with the crowd, though you do not yourself think those habits worthy of admiration? One or two, indeed, used to applaud him in his own day, but more than ten times ten thousand had their stomachs turned by nausea and loathing, and went fasting until their attendants revived them with perfumes and myrrh and cakes. So greatly did that renowned hero shock them by an act which seems absurd to men "of such sort as mortals now are,"¹ though, by the gods, it was not ignoble, if one should explain it according to the intention of Diogenes. For just as Socrates said of himself that he embraced the life of cross-examining because he believed that he could perform his service to the god only by examining in all its bearings the meaning of the oracle that had been uttered concerning him, so I think Diogenes also, because he was convinced that philosophy was ordained by the Pythian oracle, believed that he ought to test everything by facts and not be influenced by the opinions of others, which may be true and may be false. Accordingly Diogenes did not think that every statement of Pythagoras, or any man like Pythagoras, was necessarily true. For he held that God and no human being is the founder of philosophy. And pray what, you will say, has this to do with the eating of octopus? I will tell you.

To eat meat some regard as natural to man, while others think that to follow this practice is not at all

¹ *Iliad* 5. 304.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

σθαι προσήκειν ἀνθρώπῳ διανοοῦνται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ περὶ τούτου ἀνάλωται¹ λόγος. ἐθέλοντι οὖν σοι μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ἐσμοὶ περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου βίβλων φανήσονται. τούτους Διογένης ἐξελέγχειν ᾤετο δεῖν. διανοήθη γοῦν οὕτως· εἰ μὲν ἀπραγματεύτως ἐσθίων τις σάρκας, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον θηρίων, οἷς τοῦτο ἔνειμεν ἢ φύσις, D ἀβλαβῶς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὠφελείας ἐργάζοιτο, κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι πάντως τὴν σαρκοφαγίαν ὑπέλαβεν· εἰ δέ τις ἐντεῦθεν γένοιτο βλάβη, οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔργον ἴσως ἐνόμισεν, ἀλλ' ἀφεκτέον εἶναι κατὰ κράτος αὐτοῦ. εἰς μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πράγματος ἴσως βιαίότερος λόγος, ἕτερος δὲ οἰκειότερος τῷ Κυνισμῷ, εἰ περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἔτι σαφέστερον διέλθοιμι.

Ἀπάθειαν γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὸ τέλος· τοῦτο δὲ 192 ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ θεὸν γενέσθαι. αἰσθανόμενος οὖν ἴσως αὐτοῦ Διογένης ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπαθοῦς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐδωδῆς μόνον θραυτομένου καὶ ναυτιῶντος καὶ δόξῃ κενῇ μᾶλλον² ἢ λόγῳ δεδουλωμένου· σάρκες γὰρ εἰσιν οὐδὲν ἦττον, κἂν μυριάκις αὐτὰς ἐψήσῃ, κἂν ὑποτρίμμασι μυρίοις τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύσῃ· καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ καταστήσαι παντάπασιν ἐξάντη τῆς δειλίας ὥθη χρηναί. δειλία γάρ ἐστιν, B εὐ ἴσθι, τὸ γοῦν τοιοῦτον. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῆς Θεομοφόρου εἰ σαρκῶν ἠψημένων ἀπτόμεθα, τοῦ χάριν

¹ ἀνάλωται Hertlein suggests, δέικνυται MSS.

² μᾶλλον Hertlein suggests, μόνον MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

appropriate for man, and this question has been much debated. And if you are willing to make the effort, you can see with your own eyes swarms of books on the subject. These Diogenes thought it his duty to refute. At any rate his own view was as follows. If one can eat meat without taking too much trouble to prepare it, as can all other animals to whom nature has assigned this diet, and can do it without harm or discomfort, or rather with actual benefit to the body, then he thought that eating meat is entirely in accordance with nature. But if harm came of it, then he apparently thought that the practice is not appropriate for man, and that he must abstain from it by all means. Here then you have a theory on this question, though perhaps it is too far-fetched : but here is another more akin to Cynicism, only I must first describe more clearly the end and aim of that philosophy.

Freedom from emotion they regard as the end and aim ; and this is equivalent to becoming a god. Now perhaps Diogenes observed that in the case of all other foods he himself had no particular sensations, and that only raw meat gave him indigestion and nausea, and took this for a proof that he was enslaved to vain opinion rather than reason ; for flesh is none the less flesh, even though you cook it any number of times or season it with any number of sauces. This, I say, was why he thought he ought to rid and free himself altogether of this cowardice ; for you may be sure that this sort of thing is cowardice. And in the name of the Law-Giving goddess,¹ tell me why if we used cooked meats we do

¹ Demeter, who regulated the customs of civilised life, especially agriculture : her festival was the Thesmophoria.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

οὐχὶ καὶ ἀπλῶς αὐτὰς προσφερόμεθα, φράσον
 ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ἕτερον εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι οὕτω νενόμι-
 σται καὶ οὕτω σὺνειθίσμεθα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὶν μὲν
 ἐψηθῆναι βδελυρὰ πέφυκεν, ἐψηθέντα δὲ γέγονεν C
 αὐτῶν ἀγνώτερα. τί δῆτα ἐχρῆν πράττειν τόν γε
 παρὰ θεοῦ ταχθέντα καθάπερ στρατηγοῦ πᾶν μὲν
 ἐξελεῖν τὸ νόμισμα, λόγῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ κρίναι
 τὰ πράγματα; περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς
 δόξης ἐνοχλούμενον, ὡς νομίζειν ὅτι κρέας μὲν
 ἐστὶν ἐψηθὲν ἀγνὸν καὶ ἐδώδιμον, μὴ κατεργασθὲν
 δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς μυσαρόν πως¹ καὶ βδελυρόν;
 οὕτως εἰ μνήμων; οὕτως εἰ σπουδαῖος; ὅς τοσοῦτον
 ὀνειδίζων τῷ κενოდόξῳ, κατὰ σέ φάναι, Διογένηι, D
 κατ' ἐμέ δὲ τῷ σπουδαιοτάτῳ θεράποντι καὶ
 ὑπηρέτῃ τοῦ Πυθίου, τὴν τοῦ πολὺποδος ἐδωδὴν
 κατεδήδοκας μυρίουσιν ταρίχους,

Ἰχθύς ὀρνιθίας τε φίλας θ' ὅτι χεῖρας ἵκοιτο,

Αἰγυπτίος γε ὢν, οὐ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ τῶν παμ-
 φάγων, οἷς πάντα ἐσθίειν νόμος ὡς λάχανα χόρ- 19:
 του· γνωρίζεις οἶμαι τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰ ῥήματα.
 μικροῦ με παρήλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πάντες ἄνθ-
 ρωποι πλησίον οἰκοῦντες θαλάττης, ἤδη δέ τινες
 καὶ τῶν πόρρω, οὐδὲ θερμήναντες καταρροφούσιν
 ἐχίνους, ὅστρεα καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα·
 εἰτα ἐκείνους μὲν ὑπολαμβάνεις ζηλωτοὺς, ἄθλιον
 δὲ καὶ βδελυρόν ἡγῇ Διογένη, καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὡς
 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ σαρκία· πλὴν

¹ πως Hertlein suggests, ἴσως MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

not eat them in their natural state also? You can give me no other answer than that this has become a custom and a habit with us. For surely we cannot say that before meat is cooked it is disgusting and that by being cooked it becomes purer than it was by nature. What then was it right for him to do who had been appointed by God like a general in command to do away with the common currency and to judge all questions by the criterion of reason and truth? Ought he to have shut his eyes and been so far fettered by this general opinion as to believe that flesh by being cooked becomes pure and fit for food, but that when it has not been acted upon by fire it is somehow abominable and loathsome? Is this the sort of memory you have? Is this your zeal for truth? For though you so severely criticised Diogenes the vain-glorious, as you call him—though I call him the most zealous servant and vassal of the Pythian god—for eating octopus, you yourself have devoured endless pickled food, “Fish and birds and whatever else might come to hand.”¹ For you are an Egyptian, though not of the priestly caste, but of the omnivorous type whose habit it is to eat everything “even as the green herb.”² You recognise, I suppose, the words of the Galilaeans. I almost omitted to say that all men who live near the sea, and even some who live at a distance from it, swallow down sea-urchins, oysters and in general everything of the kind without even heating them. And then you think they are enviable, whereas you regard Diogenes as contemptible and disgusting, and you do not perceive that those shell-fish are flesh just as much as what he ate? Except perhaps that

¹ *Odyssey* 12. 331.

² *Genesis* 9. 3.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἴσως ταῦτα ἐκείνων διαφέρει τῷ τὰ μὲν εἶναι
μαλθακά, τὰ δὲ σκληρότερα. ἄναιμος γοῦν
ἐστι καὶ πολύπους ὥσπερ ἐκείνα, ἔμψυχα δέ B
ἐστι καὶ τὰ ὀστρακόδερμα καθάπερ καὶ οὗτος·
ἥδεται γοῦν καὶ λυπεῖται, ὃ τῶν ἐμψύχων
μάλιστά ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἐνοχλείτω δὲ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἢ
Πλατωνικὴ τανῦν δόξα ἔμψυχα ὑπολαμβάνουσα
καὶ τὰ φυτά. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὔτι ἄλογον¹ οὐδὲ
παράνομον οὐδὲ ἀσύνηθες ὑμῖν ὁ γενναῖος εἰργά-
σατο Διογένης, εἰ μὴ τῷ σκληροτέρῳ καὶ μαλα-
κωτέρῳ, ἡδονῇ τε λαιμοῦ καὶ ἀηδία τὰ τοιαῦτά
τις ἐξετάζοι, πρόδηλον οἶμαι τοῖς ὅπως οὖν ἐπε-
σθαι λόγῳ δυναμένοις. οὐκ ἄρα τὴν ὠμοφαγίαν
βδελύττεσθε οἱ τὰ παραπλήσια δρῶντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ C
τῶν ἀναίμων μόνον ζῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἷμα
ἐχόντων. καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἴσως διαφέρεσθε πρὸς
ἐκείνους, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀπλῶς ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν
ῥῆθι χρῆναι προσφέρεσθαι, ἀλσι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ
πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρτύσαντες ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, τὴν φύσιν
ὅπως βιάσησθε. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
ἀπόχρη.

Τῆς Κυνικῆς δὲ φιλοσοφίας σκοπὸς μὲν ἐστι D
καὶ τέλος, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ πάσης φιλοσοφίας, τὸ
εὐδαιμονεῖν, τὸ δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐν τῷ ζῆν κατὰ
φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας. ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς εὖ πράττειν συμβαίνει καὶ μέντοι
καὶ ζῴοις πᾶσιν, ὅταν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστον
ἀνεμποδίστως τυγχάνῃ τέλους· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
θεοῖς τοῦτό ἐστιν εὐδαιμονίας ὅρος, τὸ ἔχειν
αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ πεφύκασιν καὶ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι. οὐκοῦν 194

¹ οὔτι ἄλογον Hertlein suggests, οὐ χαλεπὸν MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

they differ in so far as the octopus is soft and shell-fish are harder. At any rate the octopus is bloodless, like hard-shelled fish, but the latter too are animate things like the octopus. At least they feel pleasure and pain, which is the peculiar characteristic of animate things. And here we must not be put out by Plato's theory¹ that plants also are animated by soul. But it is now, I think, evident to those who are in any way able to follow an argument, that what the excellent Diogenes did was not out of the way or irregular or contrary to our habits, that is if we do not in such cases apply the criterion of hardness and softness, but judge rather by the pleasure or distaste of the palate. And so it is not after all the eating of raw food that disgusts you, since you do the like, not only in the case of bloodless animals but also of those that have blood. But perhaps there is also this difference between you and Diogenes, that he thought he ought to eat such food just as it was and in the natural state, whereas you think you must first prepare it with salt and many other things to make it agreeable and so do violence to nature. I have now said enough on this subject.

Now the end and aim of the Cynic philosophy, as indeed of every philosophy, is happiness, but happiness that consists in living according to nature and not according to the opinions of the multitude. For plants too are considered to do well, and indeed all animals also, when without hindrance each attains the end designed for it by nature. Nay, even among the gods this is the definition of happiness, that their state should be according to their nature, and that they should be independent. And

¹ *Timaeus* 77 B.

καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ἐτέρωθί που τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην προσήκει πολυπραγμονεῖν· οὐδὲ αἰτὸς οὐδὲ πλάτανος οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ζώων ἢ φυτῶν χρυσᾷ περιεργάζεται πτερὰ καὶ φύλλα, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀργυροῦς ἔξει τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἢ τὰ πλήκτρα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδαμάντινα, ἀλλ' οἷς αὐτὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ φύσις ἐκόσμησε, ταῦτα εἰ ῥωμαλέα καὶ πρὸς τάχος αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ὑπουργοῦντα προσγένειτο, μάλιστα ἂν εὖ πράττειν νομίζοι καὶ εὐθηνεῖσθαι. **B** πῶς οὖν οὐ γελοῖον, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος γεγωνὼς ἔξω που τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν περιεργάσαιτο, πλούτου καὶ γένος καὶ φίλων δύναμιν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια νομίζων; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἢ φύσις ὥσπερ τοῖς ζώοις αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπέδωκε μόνον, τὸ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς ἔχειν ἐκείνοις παραπλησίας, ὥστε μηδὲν πλεον πολυπραγμονεῖν, ἥρκει λοιπόν, ὥσπερ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα, **C** τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀρκεῖσθαι πλεονεκτήμασιν, ἐνταῦθά που τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδέν τι παραπλησία ψυχὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέσπαρται ζώοις, ἀλλ' εἴτε κατ' οὐσίαν διαφέρουσα εἴτε οὐσία μὲν ἀδιάφορος, ἐνεργεία δὲ μόνῃ κρείττων, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρὸν ἤδη χρυσίου τοῦ συμπεφυρμένου τῇ ψάμμῳ· λέγεται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθὴς ὑπὸ τινων· ἡμεῖς δὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ σύνισμεν αὐτοῖς **D** οὖσι τῶν ζώων ξυνετωτέροις· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Πρωταγόρου μῦθον ἐκείνοις μὲν ἢ φύσις ὥσπερ μήτηρ

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

so too in the case of human beings we must not be busy about happiness as if it were hidden away outside ourselves. Neither the eagle nor the plane tree nor anything else that has life, whether plant or animal, vainly troubles itself about wings or leaves of gold or that its shoots may be of silver or its stings and spurs of iron, or rather of adamant; but where nature in the beginning has adorned them with such things, they consider that, if only they are strong and serviceable for speed or defence, they themselves are fortunate and well provided. Then is it not absurd when a human being tries to find happiness somewhere outside himself, and thinks that wealth and birth and the influence of friends, and generally speaking everything of that sort is of the utmost importance? If however nature had bestowed on us only what she has bestowed on other animals, I mean the possession of bodies and souls like theirs, so that we need concern ourselves with nothing beyond, then it would suffice for us, as for all other animals, to content ourselves with physical advantages, and to pursue happiness within this field. But in us has been implanted a soul that in no way resembles other animals; and whether it be different in essence, or not different in essence but superior in its activity only, just as, I suppose, pure gold is superior to gold alloyed with sand,—for some people hold this theory to be true of the soul,—at any rate we surely know that we are more intelligent than other animals. For according to the myth in the *Protagoras*,¹ nature dealt with them very gener-

¹ Plato, *Protagoras* 321 A, B; Plato however says that the theft of fire by Prometheus saved mankind, and that later Zeus bestowed on them the political art.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἄγαν φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλοδῶρως προσηνέχθη, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων ἐκ Διὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐδόθη· τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐνταῦθα θετέον, ἐν τῷ κρατίστῳ καὶ σπουδαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Σκόπει δὴ, ταύτης εἰ μὴ μάλιστα τῆς προαιρέσεως ἣν Διογένης, ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἀνέδην παρείχεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως ῥωμαλεώτερον καταστήσῃ, πράττειν δὲ ἡξίου μόνον ὅποσα 195 ἂν φανῇ τῷ λόγῳ πρακτέα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπίπτοντας τῇ ψυχῇ θορύβους, οἷα πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζει τουτὶ τὸ περικείμενον αὐτοῦ χάριν πολυπραγμονεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν μέρει προσίετο. ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀσκήσεως ὁ ἀνὴρ οὕτω μὲν ἔσχεν ἀνδρεῖον τὸ σῶμα ὡς οὐδεὶς οἶμαι τῶν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὕτω δὲ διε- B τέθη τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥστε εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὥστε βασιλεύειν οὐδὲν ἔλαττον, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ὡς οἱ τότε εἰώθεσαν λέγειν Ἕλληνες, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγοντες. ἄρά σοι μικρὰ φαίνεται ἀνὴρ

Ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος,
οὐκ ὀβολόν, οὐ δραχμήν, ἔχων¹ οὐδ' οἰκέτην,

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μᾶζαν, ἥς Ἐπίκουρος εὐπορῶν οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν φησιν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας λόγον ἐλαττοῦσθαι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἐρίζων, τοῦ δοκοῦντος δὲ C τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐδαιμονεστάτου εὐδαιμονέστερον ζῶν καὶ ἔλεγε ζῆν εὐδαιμονέστερον. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖς,

¹ ἔχων οὐδ' οἰκέτην Kaibel, οὐκ οἰκέτην ἔχων Hertlein, MSS.; Hertlein prints the second verse as prose.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

ously and bountifully, like a mother, but to compensate for all this, mind was bestowed on us by Zeus. Therefore in our minds, in the best and noblest part of us, we must say that happiness resides.

Now consider whether Diogenes did not above all other men profess this belief, since he freely exposed his body to hardships so that he might make it stronger than it was by nature. He allowed himself to act only as the light of reason shows us that we ought to act; and the perturbations that attack the soul and are derived from the body, to which this envelope of ours often constrains us for its sake to pay too much attention, he did not take into account at all. Thus by means of this discipline the man made his body more vigorous, I believe, than that of any who have contended for the prize of a crown in the games: and his soul was so disposed that he was happy and a king no less if not even more than the Great King, as the Greeks used to call him in those days, by which they meant the king of Persia. Then does he seem to you of no importance, this man who was "cityless, homeless, a man without a country, owning not an obol, not a drachma, not a single slave,"¹ nay, not even a loaf of bread—and Epicurus says that if he have bread enough and to spare he is not inferior to the gods on the score of happiness. Not that Diogenes tried to rival the gods, but he lived more happily than one who is counted the happiest of men, and he used actually to assert that he lived more happily than such a man. And if you

¹ Cf. *Letter to Themistius* 256 D; Nauck, *Adespota Fragmenta* 6; Diogenes Laërtius, 6. 38, says that this was a favourite quotation of Diogenes; its source is unknown.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἔργῳ πειραθεῖς ἐκείνου τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐ τῷ λόγῳ αἰσθήσῃ.

Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐλέγξω-
 μεν. ἄρά σοι δοκεῖ τῶν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἡγεῖσθαι, τούτων δὴ τῶν πολυθρυλήτων,
 ἐλευθερίαν; πῶς γὰρ οὐ φήσεις; ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ D
 χρήματα καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ γένος καὶ σώματος
 ἰσχύς καὶ κάλλος καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 δίχα τῆς ἐλευθερίας οὐ τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἡντυχηκέναι,
 τοῦ κτησαμένου δὲ αὐτόν ἐστιν ἀγαθὰ; τίνα οὖν
 ὑπολαμβάνομεν τὸν δούλον; ἄρα μὴ ποτε ἐκείνου,
 ὃν ἂν πριώμεθα δραχμῶν ἀργυρίου τόσων ἢ μναῖν
 δυοῖν ἢ χρυσίου στατήρων δέκα; ἐρεῖς δήπουθεν
 τοῦτον εἶναι ἀληθῶς δούλον. ἄρα δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο,
 ὅτι τὸ ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ πωλοῦντι κατα-
 βεβλήκαμεν; οὕτω μεντὰν εἶεν οἰκέται καὶ ὀπό- 19C
 σους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λυτρούμεθα. καίτοι καὶ
 οἱ νόμοι τούτοις ἀποδεδώκασιν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
 σωθεῖσιν οἴκαδε, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀπολυτρούμεθα,
 οὐχ ἵνα δουλεύσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὦσιν ἐλεύθεροι.
 ὁρᾷς ὥς οὐχ ἱκανόν ἐστιν ἀργύριον καταβαλεῖν ἐς
 τὸ ἀποφῆναι τὸν λυτρωθέντα δούλον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνός
 ἐστιν ὥς ἀληθῶς δούλος, οὗ κύριός ἐστιν ἕτερος
 προσαναγκάσαι πράττειν ὅ,τι ἂν κελεύῃ, καὶ μὴ
 βουλόμενον κόλασαι καί, τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ποιητοῦ,

κακαῖς ὀδύνῃσι πελάζειν;

ὄρα δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ κύριοι πάντες ἡμῶν B
 εἰσιν, οὓς ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν θεραπεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲν
 ἀλγῶμεν μηδὲ λυπώμεθα κολαζόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

do not believe me, try his mode of life in deed and not in word, and you will perceive the truth.

Come, let us first test it by reasoning. You think, do you not, that for mankind freedom is the beginning of all good things,¹ I mean of course what people are always calling good? How can you deny it? For property, money, birth, physical strength, beauty and in a word everything of the sort when divorced from freedom are surely blessings that belong, not to him who merely seems to enjoy them, but to him who is that man's master? Whom then are we to regard as a slave? Shall it be him whom we buy for so many silver drachmas, for two minae or for ten staters² of gold? Probably you will say that such a man is truly a slave. And why? Is it because we have paid down money for him to the seller? But in that case the prisoners of war whom we ransom would be slaves. And yet the law on the one hand grants these their freedom when they have come safe home, and we on the other hand ransom them not that they may become slaves, but that they may be free. Do you see then that in order to make a ransomed man a slave it is not enough to pay down a sum of money, but that man is truly a slave over whom another man has power to compel him to do whatever he orders, and if he refuse, to punish him and in the words of the poet "to inflict grievous pains upon him"?³ Then consider next whether we have not as many masters as there are persons whom we are obliged to conciliate in order not to suffer pain or annoyance from being punished by them? Or do you think that the

¹ Cf. 188 C, Plato, *Laws* 730 B.

² The stater or Daric was worth about a sovereign.

³ *Iliad* 5. 766.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

ἢ τοῦτο οἶει κόλασιν μόνον, εἴ τις ἐπανατεινόμενος
τὴν βακτηρίαν καθίκοιτο τοῦ οἰκέτου; καίτοι γε
τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ οἱ τραχύτατοι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπὶ
πάντων ποιούσι τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος
ἄρκει πολλάκις καὶ ἀπειλή. μήποτε οὖν, ὦ φίλε, C
νομίσῃς εἶναι ἐλεύθερος, ἄχρῃς οὐ γαστήρ ἄρχει
σου καὶ τὰ ἔνερθεν γαστρὸς οἷ τε τοῦ παρασχεῖν
τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ταῦτά¹ ἀποκωλύσαι κύριοι,
καὶ εἰ τούτων δὲ γένοιο κρείττων, ἕως ἂν δουλεύῃς
ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις, οὐπω τῆς ἐλευθερίας
ἔθιγες οὐδὲ ἐγέυσω τοῦ νέκταρος,

Οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐν στέρνοισιν ἐμοῖς παραδόντα
τετρακτύν.

καὶ οὐ τοῦτό φημι, ὥς ἀπερυθριᾶσαι χρή πρὸς D
πάντας καὶ πράττειν τὰ μὴ πρακτέα· ἀλλ' ὦν
ἀπεχόμεθα καὶ ὅσα πράττομεν, μὴ διὰ τὸ τοῖς
πολλοῖς δοκεῖν σπουδαῖα πως² ἢ φαῦλα, διὰ
τοῦτο πράττωμεν καὶ ἀπεχώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ
λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ νῷ, ταῦτά
ἐστὶν ἀπόρρητα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει
ταῖς κοιναῖς ἔπεσθαι δόξαις· ἄμεινον γὰρ τοῦτο
τοῦ παντάπασιν ἀπερυθριᾶν· ἔχουσι γὰρ ἄνθρω- 197
ποι φύσει πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οἰκείως· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡδὴ
κατὰ νοῦν ζῶντι καὶ τοὺς ὀρθοὺς εὐρεῖν τε δυνα-
μένῳ καὶ κρῖναι λόγους προσήκει τὸ παράπαν
οὐδὲν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς νομιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν
εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον πράττεσθαι.

¹ ταῦτα Hertlein suggests, ταῦτα MSS.

² πως Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

only sort of punishment is when a man lifts up his stick against a slave and strikes him? Yet not even the harshest masters do this in the case of all their slaves, but a word or a threat is often enough. Then never think, my friend, that you are free while your belly rules you and the part below the belly, since you will then have masters who can either furnish you the means of pleasure or deprive you of them; and even though you should prove yourself superior to these, so long as you are a slave to the opinions of the many you have not yet approached freedom or tasted its nectar, "I swear by him who set in my breast the mystery of the Four!"¹ But I do not mean by this that we ought to be shameless before all men and to do what we ought not; but all that we refrain from and all that we do let us not do or refrain from, merely because it seems to the multitude somehow honourable or base, but because it is forbidden by reason and the god within us, that is, the mind.² As for the multitude there is no reason why they should not follow common opinions, for that is better than that they should be altogether shameless, and indeed mankind is predisposed to the truth by nature. But a man who has attained to a life in accordance with intelligence and is able to discover and estimate right reasons, ought on no account whatever to follow the views held by the many about good and bad conduct.

¹ An oath used by the Pythagoreans, who regarded the tetrad, the sum of the first four numbers, as symbolical of all proportion and perfection; cf. Aetios, *Placita* 1. 7. Pythagoras, *Aureum Carmen* 47, Mullach *ὡς μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρα ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτύν*.

² Cf. *Oration* 268 D; Euripides *fr.* 1007 Nauck *ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός*; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus* 8. 138.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν
 θειότερον, ὃ δὴ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν φαμεν καὶ
 λόγον τὸν σιγώμενον, οὗ κήρυξ ἐστὶν ὁ διὰ τῆς
 φωνῆς οὐτόσι λόγος προῖων ἐξ ὀνομάτων καὶ
 ῥημάτων, ἕτερον δέ τι τούτῳ συνέζευκται ποικίλον
 καὶ παντοδαπόν, ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ξυμμιγές τι B
 καὶ πολυκέφαλον θηρίον, οὐ πρότερον χρή πρὸς
 τὰς δόξας τῶν πολλῶν ἀτενῶς ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀδια-
 τρέπτως, πρὶν ἂν τοῦτο δαμάσωμεν τὸ θηρίον καὶ
 πείσωμεν ὑπακοῦσαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ
 θείῳ. τοῦτο γὰρ πολλοὶ τοῦ Διογέנוῦς ζηλωταὶ
 ἐάσαντες¹ ἐγένοντο παντορέκται καὶ μιανοὶ καὶ
 τῶν θηρίων οὐδὲ ἐνὸς κρείττους, ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ
 λόγος ἐστί, πρῶτον ἔργον ἐρῶ σοι Διογένοῦς, ἐφ'
 ᾧ γελάσονται μὲν οἱ πολλοί, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἶναι δοκεῖ C
 σεμνότατον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ τις τῶν νέων ἐν ὄχλῳ,
 παρόντος καὶ τοῦ Διογένοῦς, ἀπέπαρδεν, ἐπάταξεν
 ἐκεῖνος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ φάς· εἶτα, ὦ κάθαρμα, μηδὲν
 ἄξιον τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ τοιαῦτα θαρσεῖν πράξας
 ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἄρχῃ δόξης καταφρονεῖν; οὕτως
 ᾤετο χρῆναι πρότερον ἡδονῆς καὶ θυμοῦ κρείττονα
 γενέσθαι, πρὶν² ἐπὶ τὸ τελειότατον ἐλθεῖν τῶν
 παλαισμάτων, ἀποδυσάμενον πρὸς τὰς τῶν D
 πολλῶν δόξας αἱ μυρίων κακῶν αἰτίαι γίνονται
 τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅπως τοὺς μὲν νέους τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας ἀπάγουσιν, ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις τῶν

¹ ζηλωταὶ ἐάσαντες Hertlein suggests, ζηλώσαντες MSS.

² πρὶν Hertlein suggests, καὶ τρίτον MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

Since therefore one part of our souls is more divine, which we call mind and intelligence and silent reason, whose herald is this speech of ours made up of words and phrases and uttered through the voice; and since there is yoked therewith another part of the soul which is changeful and multiform, something composite of anger and appetite, a many-headed monster, we ought not to look steadily and unswervingly at the opinions of the multitude until we have tamed this wild beast and persuaded it to obey the god within us, or rather the divine part. For this it is that many disciples of Diogenes have ignored, and hence have become rapacious and depraved and no better than any one of the brute beasts. And to prove that this is not my own theory,¹ first I will relate to you something that Diogenes did, which the many will ridicule but to me it seems most dignified. Once when, in a crowd of people among whom was Diogenes, a certain youth made an unseemly noise, Diogenes struck him with his staff and said "And so, vile wretch, though you have done nothing that would give you the right to take such liberties in public, you are beginning here and before us to show your scorn of opinion?" So convinced was he that a man ought to subdue pleasure and passion before he proceeds to the final encounter of all² and strips to wrestle with those opinions which to the multitude are the cause of evils innumerable.

Do you not know how people lure away the young from philosophy by continually uttering now one

¹ Euripides *fr.* 488; *Misopogon* 358 D.

² Cf. *Oration* 1. 40 B, 2. 74 C, notes.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

φιλοσόφων θρυλῶντες; οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους χορευταὶ γνήσιοι γόητες εἶναι λέγονται καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ τετυφωμένοι καὶ φαρμακεῖς. τῶν Κυνικῶν εἴ ποῦ τις 198 γέγονε σπουδαῖος, ἔλεεινὸς δοκεῖ· μέμνημαι γοῦν ἐγὼ ποτε τροφέως εἰπόντος πρὸς με, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐταῖρον εἶδεν Ἰφικλέα αὐχμηρὰν ἔχοντα τὴν κόμην καὶ κατερρωγότα τὰ στέρνα ἱμάτιόν τε παντάπασι φαῦλον ἐν δεινῷ χειμῶνι· τίς ἄρα δαίμων τοῦτον εἰς ταύτην περιέτρεψε τὴν συμφορὰν, ὑφ' ἧς αὐτὸς μὲν ἔλεεινός, ἔλεεινότεροι δὲ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, θρέψαντες σὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ παιδεύσαντες ὥς ἐνεδέχετο σπουδαίως, ὁ δὲ οὕτω B νῦν περιέρχεται, πάντα ἀφείς, οὐδὲν τῶν προσαιτούντων κρείττων; ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τότε κατειρωνευσάμην· εὖ μέντοι γε ἴσθι ταῦτα καὶ¹ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀληθῶς κυνῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διανοομένους. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγαπᾶν πείθουσι καὶ πενίαν μισεῖν καὶ τὴν γαστέρα θεραπεύειν καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἕνεκα πάντα ὑπομένειν πόνον καὶ πιαίνειν τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸν καὶ τράπεζαν παρατίθесθαι πολυτελῆ καὶ μηδέποτε νύκτωρ C καθεύδειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δρᾶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ λαυθάνοντα; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Ταρτάρου χεῖρον; οὐ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὴν Χάρυβδιν καὶ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ μυρίας ὀργυῖας κατὰ γῆς δύναι, ἢ πεσεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον βίον αἰδοίοις καὶ γαστρὶ δουλεύοντα, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀπλῶς ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία, πράγματα δὲ ἔχειν, ὥς ἂν καὶ

¹ ταῦτα καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ ταῦτα MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

slander and then another against all the philosophers in turn? The genuine disciples of Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle are called sorcerers and sophists and conceited and quacks. If here and there among the Cynics one is really virtuous he is regarded with pity. For instance I remember that once my tutor said to me when he saw my fellow-pupil Iphicles with his hair unkempt and his clothes in tatters on his chest and wearing a wretched cloak in severe winter weather: "What evil genius can have plunged him into this sad state which makes not only him pitiable but even more so his parents who reared him with care and gave him the best education they could! And now he goes about in this condition, neglecting everything and no better than a beggar!" At the time I answered him with some pleasantry or other. But I assure you that the multitude hold these views about genuine Cynics also. And that is not so dreadful, but do you see that they persuade them to love wealth, to hate poverty, to minister to the belly, to endure any toil for the body's sake, to fatten that prison of the soul, to keep up an expensive table, never to sleep alone at night,¹ provided only that they do all this in the dark and are not found out? Is not this worse than Tartarus? Is it not better to sink beneath Charybdis and Cocytus or ten thousand fathoms deep in the earth² than to fall into a life like this, enslaved to lust and appetite, and not even to these simply and openly, like the beasts, but to take pains so that when we act thus we may

¹ Cf. Plato, *Epistles* 326 B.

² An echo of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7. 1. 29.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

λάθοιμεν ὑπὸ τῷ σκότῳ ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενοι;
καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἀπέχεσθαι παντάπασιν D
αὐτῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥάδιον, οἱ Διογένους νόμοι καὶ
Κράτητος ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐκ ἀτιμαστέοι· ἔρωτα
λύει λιμός, ἂν δὲ τούτῳ χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνῃ,¹ βρόχος.
οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι ταῦτα ἔπραξαν ἐκεῖνοι τῷ βίῳ
διδόντες ὁδὸν εὐτελείας; οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαζο-
φάγων, φησὶν ὁ Διογένης, οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ 199
τῶν δειπνούντων πολυτελῶς. καὶ ὁ Κράτης μέντοι
πεποίηκεν ὕμνον εἰς τὴν Εὐτέλειαν·

Χαῖρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα,
Εὐτελίη, κλεινῆς ἔγγονε Σωφροσύνης.

ἔστω δὴ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ὁ κύων ἀναιδῆς
μηδὲ ἀναίσχυντος μηδὲ ὑπερόπτης πάντων ὁμοῦ
θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβῆς μὲν τὰ
πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὥσπερ Διογένης· ἐπέισθη γοῦν B
ἐκεῖνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καὶ οὐ μετεμέλησεν αὐτῷ πεισ-
θέντι· εἰ δέ, ὅτι μὴ προσῇι μηδὲ ἐθεράπευε τοὺς
νεὼς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα μηδὲ τοὺς βωμούς, οἷταί
τις ἀθεότητος εἶναι σημεῖον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς νομίζει·
ἦν γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ λιβανωτός, οὐ
σπονδή, οὐκ ἀργύριον, ὅθεν αὐτὰ πρίαίτο. εἰ δὲ
ἐνόει περὶ θεῶν ὀρθῶς, ἤρκει τοῦτο μόνον· αὐτῇ γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἐθεράπευε² τῇ ψυχῇ, διδοὺς οἶμαι τὰ
τιμιώτατα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ καθοσιῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ἐννοιῶν. ἀπερυσθρίατῳ δὲ μη- C
δαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ πρότερον μὲν
αὐτῷ χειρόηθες καταστησάτω τὸ παθηματικόν

¹ δύνῃ Hertlein suggests, cf. Diogenes Laertius 6. 5. 2;
δύνασαι MSS.

² ἐθεράπευε Hertlein suggests, ἐθεράπευσε MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

be hidden under cover of darkness? And yet how much better is it to refrain altogether from all this! And if that be difficult the rules of Diogenes and Crates on these matters are not to be despised: "Fasting quenches desire, and if you cannot fast, hang yourself."¹ Do you not know that those great men lived as they did in order to introduce among men the way of plain living? "For," says Diogenes, "it is not among men who live on bread that you will find tyrants, but among those who eat costly dinners." Moreover Crates wrote a hymn to Plain Living: "Hail, goddess and Queen, darling of wise men, Plain Living, child of glorious Temperance."² Then let not the Cynic be like Oenomaus shameless or impudent, or a scorner of everything human and divine, but reverent towards sacred things, like Diogenes. For he obeyed the Pythian oracle nor did he repent of his obedience. But if anyone supposes that because he did not visit the temples or worship statues or altars this is a sign of impiety, he does not think rightly. For Diogenes possessed nothing that is usually offered, incense or libations or money to buy them with. But if he held right opinions about the gods, that in itself was enough. For he worshipped them with his whole soul, thus offering them as I think the most precious of his possessions, the dedication of his soul through his thoughts. Let not the Cynic be shameless, but led by reason let him first make subservient to himself the emotional part of his soul so that he may entirely do

¹ Diogenes Laertius 6. 86; *Palatine Anthology* 9. 497; Julian paraphrases the verses of Crates, cf. Crates *fr.* 14, Diels.

² *Palatine Anthology* 10. 104.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

τῆς ψυχῆς μόριον, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲ ὅτι κρατεῖ τῶν ἡδονῶν εἰδέναι. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἄμεινον ἐλθεῖν, εἰς τὸ καί, εἰ πάσχει τις τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅλως ἀγνοῆσαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ διὰ τῶν γυμνασιῶν προσγίνεται. ἵνα δὲ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ με ταῦτα ἄλλως λέγειν, ἐκ τῶν παιγνίων Κράτητος ὀλίγα σοι παραγράψω· D

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένῳ·
Χόρτον αἰεὶ συνεχῶς δότε γαστέρι, ἥτε μοι αἰεὶ
Χωρὶς δουλοσύνης λιτὸν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὡφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, κανθάρον
ὄλβον¹

Μύρμηκός τ' ἄφενος χρήματα μαίόμενος, 200
Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλούτου ἀγεί-
ρειν²

Εὐφορον, εὐκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἑρμῆν καὶ Μούσας ἰλάσομ'
ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὁσίαις.

εἰ χρή σοι περὶ τούτων γράφειν, ἔχω πλείονα τοῦ B.
ἀνδρός. ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ Χαιρωνεῖ Πλουτάρχῳ τὸν
Κράτητος ἀναγράψαντι βίον οὐδὲν ἐκ παρέργου
μανθάνειν δεήσει τὸν ἄνδρα.

Ἀλλ' ἐπανίωμεν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο πάλιν, ὅτι χρή τὸν
ἀρχόμενον κυνίζειν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτιμᾶν C

¹ ὄλβον Wright, cf. 213B, οἶτον MSS., Hertlein.

² ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀγινεῖν Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

away with it and not even be aware that he is superior to pleasures. For it is nobler to attain to this, I mean to complete ignorance whether one has any such emotions. And this comes to us only through training. And that none may think I say this at random I will add for your benefit a few lines from the lighter verse of Crates :¹ "Glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, ye Muses of Pieria, hearken to my prayer! Give me without ceasing victuals for my belly which has always made my life frugal and free from slavery. . . . To my friends make me useful rather than agreeable. As for money I desire not to amass conspicuous wealth, seeking after the wealth of the beetle or the substance of the ant; nay, I desire to possess justice and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, of great avail for virtue. If I may but win these I will propitiate Hermes and the holy Muses not with costly dainties but with pious virtues." If it be of any use to write for you about such things I could recite still more maxims by this same Crates. But if you will read Plutarch of Chaeronea, who wrote his *Life*, there will be no need for you to learn his character superficially from me.

But let me go back to what I said before, that he who is entering on the career of a Cynic ought first

¹ *I.e.* parodies such as the verses here quoted which parody Solon's prayer *fr.* 12, Bergk ; cf. 213 B.

πικρῶς καὶ ἐξελέγχειν καὶ μὴ κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ
 ἐξετάζειν ὅ,τι μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τῇ
 πολυτελείᾳ τῶν σιτίων χαίρει, εἰ στρωμνῆς δεῖται
 μαλακῆς, εἰ τιμῆς ἢ δόξης ἐστὶν ἡττων, εἰ τοῦτο
 ζηλοῖ τὸ περιβλέπεσθαι καί, εἰ καὶ κενὸν εἶη,
 τίμιον ὅμως νομίζει. μηδὲ εἰς συμπεριφορὰν
 ὄχλων καθυφείσθω,¹ γενέσθω δὲ τρυφῆς μηδὲ D
 ἄκρῳ, φασί, τῷ δακτύλῳ, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴν παντελῶς
 πατήσῃ. τότε ἤδη καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἂν προσ-
 πίπτῃ, θιγεῖν οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν
 ταύρων ἀκούω τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐξίστασθαι
 τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς νεμομένους ἀγείρειν
 τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον, εἰθ' οὕτως
 ἐπιέναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης ἀμφισ-
 βητεῖν τοῖς προκατέχουσιν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἀξιο-
 τέρους προϊστασθαι. ὅστις οὖν κυνίζειν ἐθέλει
 μήτε τὸν τρίβωνα μήτε τὴν πήραν μήτε τὴν βακ- 201
 τηρίαν καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀγαπάτω μόνον, ἔν' ὥσπερ
 ἐν κώμῃ βαδίζῃ κουρείων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐνδεεῖ
 ἄκαρτος καὶ ἀγράμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον ἀντὶ
 τοῦ σκήπτρου καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν ἀντὶ τῆς πῆρας
 τῆς κυνικῆς ὑπολαμβάνετω φιλοσοφίας γνωρίσ-
 ματα. παρρησίᾳ δὲ χρηστέον αὐτῷ πρῶτον
 ὅποσου πέφυκεν ἄξιος ἐπιδειξαμένῳ, ὥσπερ οἶμαι
 Κράτης καὶ Διογένης, οἱ πᾶσαν μὲν ἀπειλὴν
 τύχης καὶ εἴτε παιδιὰν εἴτε παροινίαν χρὴ φάναι B

¹ καθυφείσθω Hertlein suggests, καθείσθω MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

to censure severely and cross-examine himself, and without any self-flattery ask himself the following questions in precise terms: whether he enjoys expensive food; whether he cannot do without a soft bed; whether he is the slave of rewards and the opinion of men; whether it is his ambition to attract public notice and even though that be an empty honour¹ he still thinks it worth while. Nevertheless he must not let himself drift with the current of the mob or touch vulgar pleasure even with the tip of his finger, as the saying is, until he has succeeded in trampling on it; then and not before he may permit himself to dip into that sort of thing if it come his way. For instance I am told that bulls which are weaker than the rest separate themselves from the herd and pasture alone while they store up their strength in every part of their bodies by degrees, until they rejoin the herd in good condition, and then they challenge its leaders to contend with them, in confidence that they are more fit to take the lead. Therefore let him who wishes to be a Cynic philosopher not adopt merely their long cloak or wallet or staff or their way of wearing the hair, as though he were like a man walking unshaved and illiterate in a village that lacked barbers' shops and schools, but let him consider that reason rather than a staff and a certain plan of life rather than a wallet are the mintmarks of the Cynic philosophy. And freedom of speech he must not employ until he have first proved how much he is worth, as I believe was the case with Crates and Diogenes. For they were so far from bearing with a bad grace any threat of

¹ An echo of Euripides, *Phoenissae* 551, περιβλέπεσθαι τίμιον, κενὸν μὲν οὖν.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ δυσκόλως ἐνεγκεῖν, ὥστε
 αἰλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ὁ Διογένης
 ἔπαιξεν, ὁ Κράτης δὲ ἐδημοσίεψε τὴν οὐσίαν, εἴτα
 τὸ σῶμα βλαβεῖς ἔσκωπτεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν
 χωλότητα τοῦ σκέλους καὶ τὸ κυρτὸν τῶν ὤμων,
 ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων ἐστίας ἄκλητος
 καὶ ¹ κεκλημένος, διαλλάσσων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους
 ἀλλήλοις, εἵποτε στασιάζοντας αἰσθοίτο, ἐπετίμα
 δὲ οὐ μετὰ πικρίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ χάριτος, οὐχ ἵνα C
 συκοφαντεῖν δοκῇ τοὺς σωφρονισθέντας, ὠφελεῖν
 δὲ ἐθέλων αὐτοὺς τε ἐκείνους καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ προηγούμενον αὐτοῖς τέλος·
 ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, ἐσκόπουν ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὲν
 εὐδαιμονήσουσιν,² ἔμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων τοσ-
 οῦτον ὅσον ξυνίεσαν οἶμαι φύσει κοινωνικὸν καὶ
 πολιτικὸν ζῶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς συμ-
 πολιτευομένους ὠφέλησαν οὐ τοῖς παραδείγμασι D
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ὅστις οὖν ἂν ἐθέλῃ
 Κυνικὸς εἶναι καὶ σπουδαῖος ἀνὴρ, αὐτοῦ πρότε-
 ρον ἐπιμεληθεῖς, ὥσπερ Διογένης καὶ Κράτης
 ἐξελαυνέτω μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντα ἐκ πάσης τὰ
 πάθη, ὀρθῶ δὲ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόγῳ
 καὶ νῶ κυβερνάσθω. κεφάλαιον γὰρ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ
 οἶμαι, τοῦτο τῆς Διογένους φιλοσοφίας.

Εἰ δὲ ἐταίρα ποτὲ προσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ· καίτοι
 καὶ τοῦτο τυχὸν ἅπαξ ἢ οὐδὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο·
 ὅταν ἡμῖν τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν Διογένη γένηται 202

¹ Before κεκλημένος Cobet adds καὶ; cf. Oration 8. 250 c.

² εὐδαιμονήσουσιν Hertlein suggests, εὐδαιμονήσωσιν MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

fortune, whether one call such threats caprice or wanton insult, that once when he had been captured by pirates Diogenes joked with them; as for Crates he gave his property to the state, and being physically deformed he made fun of his own lame leg and hunched shoulders. But when his friends gave an entertainment he used to go, whether invited or not,¹ and would reconcile his nearest friends if he learned that they had quarrelled. He used to reprove them not harshly but with a charming manner and not so as to seem to persecute those whom he wished to reform, but as though he wished to be of use both to them and to the bystanders.

Yet this was not the chief end and aim of those Cynics, but as I said their main concern was how they might themselves attain to happiness and, as I think, they occupied themselves with other men only in so far as they comprehended that man is by nature a social and political animal; and so they aided their fellow-citizens, not only by practising but by preaching as well. Then let him who wishes to be a Cynic, earnest and sincere, first take himself in hand like Diogenes and Crates, and expel from his own soul and from every part of it all passions and desires, and entrust all his affairs to reason and intelligence and steer his course by them. For this in my opinion was the sum and substance of the philosophy of Diogenes.

And if Diogenes did sometimes visit a courtesan—though even this happened only once perhaps or not even once—let him who would be a Cynic first satisfy us that he is, like Diogenes, a man of solid

¹ Thucydides 1. 118.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

σπουδαῖος, ἂν αὐτῷ¹ φανῇ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι
 δρᾶν² φανερώς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων, οὐ μεμψό-
 μεθα οὐδὲ αἰτιασόμεθα. πρότερον μέντοι τὴν
 Διογένους ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐμάθειαν καὶ τὴν
 ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν, αὐτάρκειαν, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσύνην,
 εὐλάβειαν, χάριν, προσοχήν, ὥς μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδὲ
 μάτην μηδὲ ἀλόγως ποιεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς B
 Διογένους ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας οἰκεῖα· πατείτω τύφον,
 καταπαιζέτω τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τῆς φύσεως
 ἔργα κρυπτόντων ἐν σκότῳ· φημί δὲ τῶν περιτ-
 τωμάτων τὰς ἐκκρίσεις· ἐν μέσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς
 καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιτηδεύοντων τὰ βιαιότατα καὶ
 μηδὲν ἡμῶν οἰκεῖα τῇ φύσει, χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς,
 συκοφαντίας, γραφὰς ἀδίκους, διώξεις ἄλλων
 τοιούτων συρφετωδῶν πραγμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ
 Διογένης εἴτε ἀπέπαρδεν εἴτε ἀπεπύτησεν εἴτε C
 ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἔπραξεν, ὥσπερ οὖν λέγουσιν,
 ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὸν ἐκείνων πατῶν τύφον ἐποίει, διδάσ-
 κων αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλῷ φαυλότερα καὶ χαλεπώ-
 τερα τούτων ἐπιτηδεύουσι. τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν
 πᾶσι κατὰ φύσιν, τὰ δὲ ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐδενί,
 πάντα δὲ ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐπιτηδεύεται.

Ἄλλ' οἱ νῦν τοῦ Διογένους ζηλωταὶ τὸ ῥᾶστον
 καὶ κουφότατον ἐλόμενοι τὸ κρεῖττον οὐκ εἶδον·
 σύ τε ἐκείνων εἶναι σεμνότερος ἐθέλων ἀπεπλανή- D

¹ αὐτῷ Cobet, οὕτω Hertlein, MSS.

² δρᾶν, Petavius, φάναι Hertlein, MSS.

TÓ THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

worth, and then if he see fit to do that sort of thing openly and in the sight of all men, we shall not reproach him with it or accuse him. First however we must see him display the ability to learn and the quick wit of Diogenes, and in all other relations he must show the same independence, self-sufficiency, justice, moderation, piety, gratitude, and the same extreme carefulness not to act at random or without a purpose or irrationally. For these too are characteristic of the philosophy of Diogenes. Then let him trample on vaingloriousness, let him ridicule those who though they conceal in darkness the necessary functions of our nature—for instance the secretion of what is superfluous—yet in the centre of the market-place and of our cities carry on practices that are most brutal and by no means akin to our nature, for instance robbery of money, false accusations, unjust indictments, and the pursuit of other rascally business of the same sort. On the other hand when Diogenes made unseemly noises or obeyed the call of nature or did anything else of that sort in the market-place, as they say he did, he did so because he was trying to trample on the conceit of the men I have just mentioned, and to teach them that their practices were far more sordid and insupportable than his own. For what he did was in accordance with the nature of all of us, but theirs accorded with no man's real nature, one may say, but were all due to moral depravity.

In our own day, however, the imitators of Diogenes have chosen only what is easiest and least burdensome and have failed to see his nobler side. And as for you, in your desire to be more dignified

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

θης τοσοῦτον τῆς Διογένους προαιρέσεως, ὥστε
 αὐτὸν ἐλεεινὸν ἐνόμισας. εἰ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἠπίσ-
 τεις ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς λεγομένοις, ὃν οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες
 τότε ἐθαύμασαν μετὰ Σωκράτη καὶ Πυθαγόραν
 ἐπὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, οὐ γέγονεν
 ἀκροατῆς ὁ τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου καὶ συνετωτάτου
 Ζήνωνος καθηγεμῶν, οὓς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἅπαντας
 ἀπατηθῆναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς οὕτω φαύλου, ὅποῖον σὺ
 διακωμῶδεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστε, ἴσως ἂν τι πλέον 203
 ἐσκόπησας περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορρωτέρω προήλθες
 τῆς ἐμπειρίας τὰνδρός. τίνα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξέπληξε
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ Διογένους καρτερία, βασιλικῆς
 οὐκ ἔξω μεγαλοψυχίας οὔσα, καὶ φιλοπονία;
 ἐκάθευδεν ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἐν τῷ πίθῳ βέλτιον
 ἢ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐπιχρύσοις ὀρόφοις ἐν
 τῇ μαλθακῇ κλίνῃ, ἥσθιε τὴν μᾶζαν ἥδιον ἢ σὺ νῦν
 τὰς Σικελικὰς ἐσθίεις τραπέζας, ἐλούετο ψυχρῷ¹ B
 τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἀέρα ξηραίνων ἀντὶ τῶν ὀθονίων,
 οἷς σὺ ἀπομάττη, φιλοσοφώτατε. πάννυ σοι
 προσήκει κωμῶδεῖν ἐκείνον, ὅτι κατειργάσω τὸν
 Ξέρξην, ὡς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἢ τὸν Δαρεῖον, ὡς ὁ
 Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ σμικρὰ τὰς βίβλους
 ἀνελίττων ἐμελέτας ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ
 πολυπράγμονες, ἔγνωσ ἂν, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἀγασθῆναι λέγεται τὴν Διογένους μεγαλοψυχίαν.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι σοι τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,

¹ ψυχρῷ Naber, θερμῷ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

than those early Cynics you have strayed so far from Diogenes' plan of life that you thought him an object of pity. But if you did not believe all this that I say about a man whom all the Greeks in the generation of Plato and Aristotle admired next to Socrates and Pythagoras, a man whose pupil was the teacher of the most modest and most wise Zeno,—and it is not likely that they were all deceived about a man as contemptible as you make him out to be in your travesty,—well, in that case, my dear sir, perhaps you might have studied his character more carefully and you would have progressed further in your knowledge of the man. Was there, I ask, a single Greek who was not amazed by the endurance of Diogenes and by his perseverance, which had in it a truly royal greatness of soul? The man used to sleep in his jar on a bed of leaves more soundly than the Great King on his soft couch under a gilded roof; he used to eat his crust¹ with a better appetite than you now eat your Sicilian courses²; he used to bathe his body in cold water and dry himself in the open air instead of with the linen towels with which you rub yourself down, my most philosophic friend! It becomes you well to ridicule him because, I suppose, like Themistocles you conquered Xerxes, or Darius like Alexander of Macedon. But if you had the least habit of reading books as I do, though I am a statesman and engrossed in public affairs, you would know how much Alexander is said to have admired Diogenes' greatness of soul. But you care little, I suppose, for any of these things. How should you

¹ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 6. 12, Arnim.

² A proverb; Sicily was famous for good cooking; cf. Plato, *Republic* 404 D; Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. 18, "Siculae dapes."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VI

σπουδαῖον· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· γυναικῶν
ἀθλίων τεθαύμακας φιλονεικῶν¹ βίον.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος τι πλέον ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἐμὸν
μᾶλλον ἢ σὸν ἐστι κέρδος· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν περαίνομεν
ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπνευστὶ
τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον συνείραντες· ἔστι γὰρ πάρεργον
ἡμέραιν δυοῖν, ὥς ἴσασιν αἱ Μοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ
καὶ σὺ² αὐτός· παραμενέτω μὲν σοι ὅποσα
πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεις, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ μεταμελήσει τῆς
εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα εὐφημίας.

¹ φιλονεικῶν Hertlein suggests, φιλῶν νεκρὸν, MSS.

² σὺ Reiske adds, παραμενέτω μὲν σοι. Reiske conjectures,
lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE UNEDUCATED CYNICS

care? Far from it!¹ You admire and emulate the life of wretched women.

However, if my discourse has improved you at all you will have gained more than I. But even if I accomplish nothing at the moment by writing on such a great subject thus hastily, and, as the saying is, without taking breath²—for I gave to it only the leisure of two days, as the Muses or rather you yourself will bear me witness—then do you abide by your former opinions, but I at any rate shall never regret having spoken of that great man with due reverence.

¹ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 47.

² Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 308, cf. Vol. I. *Oration* 5. 178 D.

ORATION VII

F

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

THE Seventh Oration is directed against the Cynic Heracleios, who had ventured to recite before an audience when Julian was present a myth or allegory in which the gods were irreverently handled. Julian raises the question whether fables and myths are suitable for a Cynic discourse. He names the regular divisions of philosophy and decides that the use of myths may properly be allowed only to ethical philosophers and writers on theology: that myth is intended always as a means of religious teaching and should be addressed to children and those whose intellect does not allow them to envisage the truth without some such assistance. In Sallust's treatise *On the Gods and the World* he gives much the same account of the proper function of myths and divides them into five species, giving examples of each. "To wish to teach the whole truth about the gods to all produces contempt in the foolish, because they cannot understand, and lack of zeal in the good; whereas to conceal the truth by myths prevents the contempt of the foolish and compels the good to practise philosophy."¹ This is precisely the opinion of Julian as expressed

¹ Murray's translation of Sallust in *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Orations. Though both Julian and Sallust explain the myths away they are never rationalistic, and never offer the least excuse for scepticism. Julian's explanation of the Semele myth,¹ which makes Semele an inspired prophetess and not the mother of Dionysus, tends to the greater glory of the god. The conclusion is that Heracleios should not have used myth at all, but in any case he used the wrong sort and wrote in the wrong spirit. He should have used such a myth as that composed by Prodicus the sophist on the Choice of Heracles at the Crossroads, an allegory which is more than once cited by Julian and was a favourite illustration in later Greek literature.²

To show Heraclius what he might have written with propriety Julian adds a parable of his own modelled on that of Prodicus. In this he himself plays the part of a second Heracles, and takes the opportunity to vilify Constantius and point out his own mission of reformer and restorer of order and religion to the Empire. Throughout the parable there are striking resemblances with the First Oration of Dio Chrysostom, and Asmus³ has made a detailed comparison of the two writers to prove that Julian wrote with Dio before him. In many of these parallels both Julian and Dio can be traced to a common classical source, usually Plato, but there is no doubt that Julian was thoroughly familiar

¹ Oration 7, 219.

² Cf. Vol. I, Oration 2. 56 D.

³ Asmus, *Julian und Dion Chrysostomus*, 1895; cf. Praechter, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 5. *Dion Chrysostomus als Quelle Julians*. Julian only once mentions Dio by name, Oration 7, 212 C.

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VII

with the work of Dio, and often used the same illustrations. Themistius¹ however uses the Prodicus myth in much the same words as Dio, and it is imitated also by Maximus of Tyre.²

In conclusion Julian praises the earlier Cynics and criticises the later, in much the same words as he had used in the Sixth Oration.

¹ Themistius, 280 A.

² Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertation* 20.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΤΝΙΚΟΝ

204

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΣ ΚΤΝΙΣΤΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΤΩ ΚΤΝΙ
ΜΤΘΟΥΣ ΠΛΑΤΤΕΙΝ

Ἡ πολλὰ γίνεται ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ· τοῦτο ἐκ
τῆς κωμωδίας ἀκηκοότι μοι πρῶην ἐπήλθεν ἐκβοή-
σαι, ὅπηνίκα παρακληθέντες ἡκροώμεθα κυνὸς
οὔτι τορὸν οὐδὲ γενναῖον ὑλακτοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
αἱ τίτθαι μύθους ἄδοντας καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ὑγιῶς
διατιθεμένον. παραχρῆμα μὲν οὖν ἐπήλθέ μοι
δυναστάντι διαλύσαι τὸν σύλλογον· ἐπεὶ δὲ B
ἐχρῆν ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ κωμωδουμένων Ἡρακλέους
καὶ Διονύσου παρὰ τῶν κωμωδῶν ἀκούειν, οὐ τοῦ
λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ τῶν συνειλεγμένων χάριν ὑπέ-
μεινα, μάλλον δέ, εἰ χρή τι καὶ νεανικώτερον
εἰπεῖν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ
δεισιδαιμονίας μᾶλλον ἢ διανοίας εὐσεβοῦς καὶ C
λελογισμένης, ὥσπερ αἱ πελειάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν ῥη-
ματίων σοβηθεῖς ἀναπτῆναι. ἔμενον δὲ ἐκεῖνο
πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν εἰπὼν

Τέτλαθι δὴ, κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ'
ἔτλης,
ἀνάσχου καὶ κυνὸς ληροῦντος ὀλίγον ἡμέρας

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

HOW A CYNIC OUGHT TO BEHAVE, AND WHETHER
IT IS PROPER FOR HIM TO COMPOSE MYTHS

"TRULY with the lapse of time many things come to pass!"¹ This verse I have heard in a comedy and the other day I was tempted to proclaim it aloud, when by invitation we attended the lecture of a Cynic whose barking was neither distinct nor noble; but he was crooning myths as nurses do, and even these he did not compose in any profitable fashion. For a moment my impulse was to rise and break up the meeting. But though I had to listen as one does when Heracles and Dionysus are being caricatured in the theatre by comic poets,² I bore it to the end, not for the speaker's sake but for the sake of the audience, or rather, if I may presume to say so, it was still more for my own sake, so that I might not seem to be moved by superstition rather than by a pious and rational sentiment and to be scared into flight by his miserable words like a timid dove. So I stayed and repeated to myself the famous line "Bear it my heart: yea thou didst of yore endure things yet more shameful."³ Endure for the brief fraction of a day even

¹ Eupolis *fr.* 4. ² Cf. *Misopogon* 366 c. ³ *Odyssey* 20. 18.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

μόριον, οὐ πρῶτον ἀκούεις τῶν θεῶν βλασφημου-
 μένων, οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κοινὰ πράττομεν καλῶς,
 οὐχ οὕτω τῶν ιδίων ἔνεκα σωφρονούμεν, οὐ
 μὴν οὐδὲ εὐτυχεῖς ἐσμεν, ὥστε τὰς ἀκοὰς 205
 καθαρὰς ἔχειν ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον γοῦν τὰ ὄμματα
 μὴ κεχράνθαι τοῖς παντοδαποῖς τουτουὶ τοῦ
 σιδηροῦ γένους ἀσεβήμασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ
 ἐνδεεῖς ἡμᾶς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἀνέπλησεν οὐκ
 εὐαγῶν ὁ κύων ῥημάτων τὸν ἄριστον τῶν θεῶν
 ὀνομάσας, ὡς μήποτε ὠφέλε μήτ' ἐκεῖνος εἰπεῖν
 μήτε ἡμεῖς ἀκοῦσαι, δεῦρο πειραθῶμεν αὐτὸν
 ἐφ' ὑμῶν διδάξαι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τῷ κυνὶ λόγους B
 μᾶλλον ἢ μύθους προσήκει γράφειν, εἴτα ὁποίας
 καὶ τίνας χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν μύθων,
 εἴ τι ἄρα καὶ φιλοσοφία προσδεῖται τῆς μυθο-
 γραφίας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
 εὐλαβείας ὀλίγα διαλέξομαι· τοῦτο γάρ μοι καὶ
 τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς παρόδου γέγονεν αἷτιον καίπερ οὐκ
 ὄντι συγγραφικῶ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν
 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπαχθῶν καὶ σοφιστικῶν
 τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον παραιτησαμένῳ. μικρὰ δὲ C
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μύθου καθάπερ τινὰ γενεαλογίαν ἴσως
 οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐμοί τε φάναι ὑμῖν τε ἀκοῦσαι.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὁπόθεν ἠυρέθη καὶ ὅστις ὁ
 πρῶτος ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψεῦδος πιθανῶς συν-
 θεῖναι πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἢ ψυχαγωγίαν τῶν ἀκροω-
 μένων, οὐ μᾶλλον εὖροι τις ἂν ἢ εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε
 τὸν πρῶτον πταρόντα ἢ χρεμψάμενον ἀναζητεῖν.
 εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἱππεῖς ἐν Θράκῃ καὶ Θετταλίᾳ, D

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

a babbling Cynic! It is not the first time that thou hast had to hear the gods blasphemed! Our state is not so well governed, our private life is not so virtuous, in a word we are not so favoured by fortune that we can keep our ears pure or at any rate our eyes at least undefiled by the many and various impieties of this iron race. And now as though we had not enough of such vileness this Cynic fills our ears with his blasphemies, and has uttered the name of the highest of the gods in such wise as would he had never spoken nor I heard! But since he has done this, come, let me in your presence try to teach him this lesson; first that it is more becoming for a Cynic to write discourses than myths; secondly, what sort of adaptations of the myths he ought to make, if indeed philosophy really needs mythology at all; and finally I shall have a few words to say about reverence for the gods. For it is with this aim that I appear before you, I who have no talent for writing and who have hitherto avoided addressing the general public, as I have avoided all else that is tedious and sophistical. But perhaps it is not unsuitable for me to say and for you to hear a few words about myth in general as a sort of genealogy of that kind of writing.

Now one could no more discover where myth was originally invented and who was the first to compose fiction in a plausible manner for the benefit or entertainment of his hearers, than if one were to try to find out who was the first man that sneezed or the first horse that neighed. But as cavalry arose in Thrace and Thessaly¹ and archers and the lighter

¹ Ἰππεῖς ἐν Θερραλίᾳ καὶ Θράκῃ was a well-known proverb; cf. *Oration* 2. 63 C, D.

τοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κουφότερα τῶν ὄπλων ἐν Ἰνδία καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρία ἀνεφάνη,¹ τῇ φύσει τῆς χώρας ἀκολουθούντων οἶμαι τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οὕτω τις ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα τιμᾶται, μάλιστα παρὰ τούτων αὐτὰ καὶ πρῶτον ἠγρήσθαι· τῶν ἀγελαίων 206 ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τό γε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ μῦθος εὔρημα, καὶ διαμένει ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευόμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, αὐλὸς καὶ κιθάρα, τέρψεως ἕνεκα καὶ ψυχαγωγίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ² ὄρνιθες ἵπτασθαι καὶ νεῖν οἱ³ ἰχθύες αἱ τε ἔλαφοι θεῖν ἐπειδὴ πεφύκασιν οὐδὲν τοῦ διδαχθῆναι προσδέονται, κἂν δήσῃ τις κἂν καθείρξῃ, πειράται ὁμως χρῆσθαι τούτοις τοῖς μορίοις, πρὸς ἃ συνοιδεν αὐτοῖς πεφυκόσι, ταυτὶ τὰ ζῶα, οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι τὴν B ψυχὴν ἔχον ἢ λόγον καὶ ἐπιστήμην ὥσπερ ἐγκαθειργμένην, ὃ δὴ καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ δύναμιν, ἐπὶ τὸ μαυθάνειν τε⁴ καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς πρὸς οἰκειότατον ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἔργων, τρέπεται· καὶ ὅτῳ μὲν εὐμενὴς θεὸς ταχέως ἔλυσε τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἤγαγε, τούτῳ πάρεστιν εὐθὺς ἐπιστήμη, τοῖς δεδεμένοις δὲ ἔτι, καθάπερ οἶμαι Ἰξίων νεφέλῃ τινὶ⁵ ἀντὶ τῆς C θεοῦ λέγεται παραναπαύσασθαι, τούτοις ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδῆς⁶ ἐντέτηκε δόξα· γίνεται γὰρ

¹ After Καρία Reiske suggests ἀνέφανη.

² οἱ Cobet adds. ³ οἱ Cobet adds.

⁴ τε Hertlein suggests, τι MSS.

⁵ Ἰξίων νεφέλῃ τινὶ Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

⁶ τούτοις ἀντ' ἀληθοῦς ψευδῆς Cobet, lacuna Hertlein, MSS., ἐντέτηκε Wright, τέτηκε Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

sort of weapons in India, Crete and Caria—since the customs of the people were I suppose adapted to the nature of the country,—just so we may assume about other things as well, that where anything is highly prized by a nation it was first discovered by that nation rather than by any other. On this assumption then it seems likely that myth was originally the invention of men given to pastoral pursuits, and from that day to this the making of myths is still peculiarly cultivated by them, just as they first invented instruments of music, the flute and the lyre, for their pleasure and entertainment. For just as it is the nature of birds to fly and of fish to swim and of stags to run, and hence they need not be taught to do so; and even if one bind or imprison these animals they try none the less to use those special parts of themselves for the purpose for which they know they are naturally adapted; even so I think the human race whose soul is no other than reason and knowledge imprisoned so to speak in the body—the philosophers call it a potentiality—even so I say the human race inclines to learning, research and study, as of all tasks most congenial to it. And when a kindly god without delay looses a man's fetters and brings that potentiality into activity, then on the instant knowledge is his: whereas in those who are still imprisoned false opinion instead of true is implanted, just as, I think, Ixion is said to have embraced a sort of cloud instead of the goddess.¹ And hence they produce wind-eggs² and monstrous

¹ i.e. Hera; cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 2. 20 foll.; Dio Chrysostom 4. 130, Arnim.

² Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 151 E.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς¹ τὰ ὑπηνέμια καὶ τερατώδη ταυτὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης οἶον εἶδωλα ἅττα καὶ σκιαί· πράττουσι γοῦν πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀληθῶν ἐπιστήμης τὰ ψεύδη καὶ διδάσκουσί γε μάλα προθύμως καὶ μανθάνουσιν ὥσπερ οἶμαι χρηστόν τι καὶ θαυμαστόν. εἰ δ' ὅλως χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦς μύθους τὸ πρῶτον πλασάντων ἀπολογήσασθαι, D
δοκοῦσί μοι ταῖς τῶν παιδίων ψυχαῖς, ὥσπερ αἱ τίτθαι περὶ τὰς ὀδοντοφυΐας κνησιῶσιν αὐτοῖς σκύτινα ἅττα προσαρτῶσι² ταῖν χεροῖν, ἵνα αὐτῶν παραμυθῆσονται τὸ πάθος, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ψύχαρίῳ πτεροφυοῦντι καὶ ποθοῦντι πλέον εἰδέναι τι, διδάσκεσθαι δὲ οὐπω τὰ ληθῆ δύναμένῳ ταῦτα ἐποχετεύειν, ὥσπερ ἄρδοντες ἄρουραν διψῶσαν, ἵνα δὴ οἶμαι αὐτῶν τὸν γαργαλισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀδύνην παραμυθῆσονται.

Τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου προβαίνοντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς 20
Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, εἴλκυσαν ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν αἶνον, ὃς τοῦ μύθου διαφέρει τῷ μὴ πρὸς παῖδας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄνδρας πεποιῆσθαι καὶ μὴ ψυχαγωγίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραίνεσιν ἔχειν τινά. βούλεται γὰρ ἐπικρυπτόμενος παραινεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὅταν ὁ λέγων τὸ φανερώς εἰπεῖν εὐλαβῆται, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀκούντων ὑφορώμενος B
ἀπέχθειαν. οὕτω τοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸ φαίνεται πεποιηκώς· ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀρχίλοχος ὥσπερ ἥδυσμά τι περιτιθεὶς τῇ ποιήσει, μύθοις οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ἐχρήσατο ὁρῶν, ὡς εἰκός, τὴν μὲν ὑπό-

¹ αὐτοῖς Wright, αὐτῷ Hertlein, MSS.

² προσαρτῶσι Hertlein suggests, προσαρτᾶν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

births, mere phantoms and shadows so to speak of true science. And thus instead of genuine-science they profess false doctrines, and are very zealous in learning and teaching such doctrines, as though forsooth they were something useful and admirable. But if I am bound to say something in defence of those who originally invented myths, I think they wrote them for childish souls: and I liken them to nurses who hang leathern toys to the hands of children when they are irritated by teething, in order to ease their suffering: so those mythologists wrote for the feeble soul whose wings are just beginning to sprout, and who, though still incapable of being taught the truth, is yearning for further knowledge, and they poured in a stream of myths like men who water a thirsty field, so as to soothe their irritation and pangs.¹

Then when the myth was gaining ground and coming into favour in Greece, poets developed from it the fable with a moral, which differs from the myth in that the latter is addressed to children and the former to men, and is designed not merely to entertain them but conveys moral exhortation besides. For the man who employs fable aims at moral exhortation and instruction, though he conceals his aim and takes care not to speak openly, for fear of alienating his hearers. Hesiod, for instance, seems to have written with this in view. And after him Archilochus often employed myths,² adorning and as it were seasoning his poetry with them, probably because he

¹ The whole passage echoes Plato, *Phaedrus* 251.

² Cf. Archilochus *frs.* 86, 89; Archilochus used the beast-fable or parable: Julian here ignores his own distinction and uses the wider term 'myth.' Hesiod used myth as well as fable.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

θεσιν, ἣν μετῇει, τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχαγωγίας ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσιν, σαφῶς δὲ ἐγνωκώς, ὅτι στερομένη μύθου ποίησις ἐποποιῖα μόνον ἐστίν, ἐστέρηται δέ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἑαυτῆς, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι λείπεται ποίησις, ἡδύσματα ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς Μούσης ἐδρέψατο, καὶ παρέθηκε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τούτου χάριν, C ὅπως μὴ σιλλογράφος τις, ἀλλὰ ποιητῆς νομισθεῖη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν μύθων Ὅμηρος ἢ Θουκυδίδης ἢ Πλάτων, ἢ ὅ, τι βούλει καλεῖν αὐτόν, Αἰσωπος ἦν ὁ Σάμιος, δοῦλος τὴν τύχην¹ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν προαίρεσιν, οὐκ ἄφρων μὲν² οὐδὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ. ὧ γὰρ ὁ νόμος οὐ μετεδίδου παρρησίας, τούτῳ προσῆκον ἦν ἐσκιαγραφημένας τὰς συμβουλὰς καὶ πεποικιλμένας ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι παραφέρειν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἅμα τις οἰκέτης γένηται τὴν D τύχην καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἱατρός, πράγματα ἔχει κολακεύειν ἅμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῷ κυνὶ προσήκει ταύτης τῆς δουλείας, λεγέτω, γραφέτω, παραχωρεῖτω τῆς μυθολογίας αὐτῷ πᾶς ὅστις οὖν, εἰ δὲ μόνος εἶναί φησιν ἐλεύθερος, ἐπὶ τί χρήσεται τοῖς μύθοις, οὐκ οἶδα. πότερον ἵνα τὸ πικρὸν καὶ δάκνον τῆς συμβουλῆς ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι κεράσας ἅμα τε ὀνήσῃ καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὸ 208 προσλαβεῖν τι παρὰ τοῦ ὀνιναμένου κακόν; ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι λίαν δουλοπρεπές. ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἂν τις διδαχθεῖη μὴ τὰ πράγματα ἀκούων αὐτὰ μηδὲ

¹ τὴν τύχην Cobet, οὐ τὴν τύχην Hertlein, MSS.

² μὲν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

saw that his subject matter needed something of this sort to make it attractive, and he well knew that poetry without myth is merely versification¹ and lacks, one may say, its essential characteristic, and so ceases to be poetry at all. Therefore he culled these sweets from the Muse of Poetry and offered them to his readers, in order that he might not be ranked merely as a writer of satire but might be counted a poet.

But the Homer of myths, or their Thucydides, or Plato, or whatever we must call him, was Aesop of Samos, who was a slave by the accident of birth rather than by temperament, and he proved his sagacity by this very use of fable. For since the law did not allow him freedom of speech, he had no resource but to shadow forth his wise counsels and trick them out with charms and graces and so serve them up to his hearers. Just so, I think, physicians who are free-born men prescribe what is necessary, but when a man happens to be a slave by birth and a physician by profession, he is forced to take pains to flatter and cure his master at the same time. Now if our Cynic also is subject to this sort of slavery, let him recite myths, let him write them, and let everyone else under the sun leave to him the *rôle* of mythologist. But since he asserts that he alone is free, I do not know what need he has of myths. Does he need to temper the harshness and severity of his advice with sweetness and charm, so that he may at once benefit mankind and avoid being harmed by one whom he has benefited? Nay, that is too much like a slave. Moreover, would any man be better taught by not

¹ Plato, *Phaedo* 61 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν τὴν
 σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντα; ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν
 δεῖνος τὸν Φαέθοντα τί¹ δέον ὀνομάσαι; τί δὲ B
 χραίνειν οὐκ εὐαγῶς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως
 Ἑλίου; τίς δὲ ὁ Πάν καὶ τίς ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν χαμαὶ
 ἐρχομένων ἀνθρώπων ἄξιος καλεῖσθαι, ἵν' ἐκείθεν
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μεταθῶμεν ἡμῶν τὰς διανοίας; καίτοι,
 εἰ καὶ τοῦτο οἶόν τε ἦν, ἄμεινον ἦν αὐτοὺς ὀνομά-
 σαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἡ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω κρεῖττον
 ἦν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπικὰ θεμένους ὀνόματα; μᾶλλον
 δὲ οὐδὲ θεμένους, ἥρκει γὰρ ὅσαπερ ἡμῖν οἱ γονεῖς C
 ἔθεντο. ἀλλ' εἰ μήτε μαθεῖν ἐστὶ ῥᾶον² διὰ τοῦ
 πλάσματος μήτε τῷ Κυνικῷ πρέπον πλάττειν τὰ
 τοιαῦτα, τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐφεισάμεθα τοῦ πολυτε-
 λοῦς ἀναλώματος, πρὸς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐφθείραμεν τὸν
 χρόνον πλάττοντες καὶ συντιθέντες μυθάρια, εἴτα
 λογογραφοῦντες καὶ ἐκμανθάνοντες;

Ἄλλ' ἴσως ὁ μὲν λόγος οὗ φησι δεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν
 ἀληθῶν καὶ μὴ πεπλασμένων τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ πε- D
 πλασμένα παρὰ τοῦ κυνός, ᾧ μόνῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 μέτεστιν, ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἄδεσθαι συλλόγοις, ἡ
 συνήθεια δὲ οὕτω³ γέγονεν ἀπὸ Διογέנוῦς ἀρξαμένη
 καὶ Κράτητος ἄχρι τῶν ἐφεξῆς. οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ
 παράδειγμα τοιοῦτον εὐρήσεις· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀφήμι
 τέως, ὅτι τῷ Κυνικῷ τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράττοντι

¹ τί δέον ὀνομάσαι; τί Reiske, δέον ὀνομάσαι, τὸν Hertlein MSS.

² ῥᾶον Hertlein suggests, ῥᾳδίον MSS.

³ οὕτω Hertlein suggests, αὐτῷ MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

hearing facts as they really are, or called by their real names, like the comic poet who calls a spade a spade?¹ What need to speak of Phaethon instead of So-and-so? What need sacrilegiously to profane the title of King Helios? Who among men that walk here below² is worthy to be called Pan or Zeus, as though we should ascribe to those gods our human understanding? And yet if indeed this were possible it would have been better to give the men their own names. Would it not have been better to speak of them thus and to bestow on them human names, or rather not bestow, for those that our parents gave us were enough? Well then if it is neither easier to learn by means of fiction, nor appropriate for the Cynic to invent that sort of thing at all, why did we not spare that wasteful expense,³ and moreover why did we waste our time in inventing and composing trivial myths and then making stories of them and learning them by heart?

But perhaps you will say that though reason asserts that the Cynic, who alone of men can claim to be free, ought not to invent and compose lying fictions instead of the unvarnished truth and then recite these in public assemblies, nevertheless the custom began with Diogenes and Crates, and has been maintained from that time by all Cynics. My answer is that nowhere will you find a single example of such a custom. For the moment I do not insist on the fact that it in no wise becomes a Cynic who must "give a new stamp to the common currency"⁴

¹ Literally a boat: a proverb; *Anonym. Com. Gr. Frag.* 199. ² *Iliad* 5. 442; Hesiod, *Theogony* 272.

³ An echo of Plutarch, *Antonius* 28: τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ὡς Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν, ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον.

⁴ Cf. *Oration* 6. 188 A, B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τῇ συνηθείᾳ προσέχειν οὐδαμῶς προσήκει, τῷ
 λόγῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ τὸ ποιητέον εὐρίσκειν 209
 οἰκοθεν, ἀλλ' οὐ μανθάνειν ἔξωθεν. εἰ δ' Ἀντι-
 σθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὥσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔνια
 διὰ τῶν μύθων ἀπήγγελλε, μήτι¹ τοῦτό σε ἔξα-
 πατάτω· καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπὲρ τούτου σοι
 διαλέξομαι.² νῦν δὲ ἐκείνῳ μοι πρὸς τῶν Μουσῶν
 φράσον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κυνισμοῦ, πότερον ἀπόνειά τις
 ἐστι καὶ βίος οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος, ἀλλὰ θηριώδης
 ψυχῆς διάθεσις οὐδὲν καλόν, οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον
 οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν νομιζούσης; δοίη γὰρ ἂν ὑπολα- B
 βεῖν πολλοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα Οἰνόμαος. εἴ τί
 σοι τοῦ ταῦτα γοῦν ἐπελθεῖν ἐμέλησεν, ἐπέγνωνς
 ἂν σαφῶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ κυνὸς αὐτοφωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ
 κατὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς οἷς
 ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀνὴρ. τοιοῦτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πράγμα-
 τος, ὥστε ἀνηρῆσθαι μὲν ἅπασαν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
 θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν, ἡτιμάσθαι δὲ πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην
 φρόνησιν, νόμον δὲ μὴ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τῷ καλῷ καὶ
 δικαίῳ πεπατῆσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν C
 θεῶν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ἐγγραφέντας ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑφ'
 ὧν πάντες ἀδιδάκτως εἶναι θεῖόν τι πεπεῖσμεθα
 καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορᾶν ἐπ' αὐτό τε οἶμαι σπεύδειν
 οὕτω διατιθέμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὥσπερ
 οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὰ βλέποντα, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ εἰ
 καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐξελαύνειτο νόμος ἱερὸς ὧν φύσει
 καὶ θεῖος, ὁ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πάντα καὶ πάντως

¹ μήτι Cobet μήτοι Hertlein, MSS.

² διαλέξομαι Cobet, διηγῆσομαι Spanheim, Hertlein, V illegible.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

to pay any attention to custom, but only to pure reason, and he ought to discover within himself what is right for him to do and not learn it from without. And do not be misled by the fact that Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates, and Xenophon too, sometimes expressed themselves by means of myths; for I shall have something to say to you on this point in a moment. But now in the Muses' name answer me this question about the Cynic philosophy. Are we to think it a sort of madness, a method of life not suitable for a human being, but rather a brutal attitude of mind which reckes naught of the beautiful, the honourable, or the good? For Oenomaus¹ would make many people hold this view of it. If you had taken any trouble to study the subject, you would have learned this from that Cynic's "Direct Inspiration of Oracles" and his work "Against the Oracles," in short from everything that he wrote. This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence for the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods, and have impelled us all to believe without teaching that the divine exists, and to direct our eyes to it and to yearn towards it: for our souls are disposed towards it as eyes towards the light. Furthermore, suppose that one should discard also that second law which is sanctified both by nature and by God, I mean the law that bids us keep our hands altogether and utterly from the property of

¹ Cf. *Oration* 6. 187 c.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύων καὶ μήτε ἐν λόγῳ μήτε ἐν ἔργῳ
 μήτε ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς λανθανούσαις τῆς ψυχῆς D
 ἐνεργείαις ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπων συγχεῖν, ὅσπερ ἡμῖν
 καὶ τῆς τελειοτάτης ἐστὶν ἡγεμὼν δικαιοσύνης·
 ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστι βαράθρου τὸ πρᾶγμα ἄξιον; ἄρ' οὐ
 τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦντας ὥσπερ τοὺς φαρμακοὺς
 ἐχρῆν οὐ θύσθλοις παιομένους¹ ἐλαύνεσθαι·
 κουφοτέρα γάρ ἐστι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἡ ζημία·
 λίθοις δὲ βαλλομένους ἀπολωλέναι; διαφέρουσι
 γὰρ οὗτοι τί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εἰπέ μοι, τῶν ἐπ' 210
 ἐρημίας ληστευόντων καὶ κατειληφόντων τὰς
 ἀκτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ λυμαίνεσθαι τοῖς καταπλέουσι;
 καταφρονοῦντες θανάτου, φασίν· ὥσπερ οὐ
 κἀκείνοις συνομαρτούσης ταυτησὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας.
 φησὶ γοῦν ὁ καθ' ὑμᾶς μὲν ποιητῆς καὶ μυθολόγος,
 ὥς δὲ ὁ Πύθιος λησταῖς χρωμένοις ἀνείλεν, ἥρως
 καὶ δαίμων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληζομένων τὴν θάλατταν

Οἶά τε ληιστῆρες, ὑπεῖρ ἄλλα τοί τ' ἀλόωνται
 Ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι.

B

τί οὖν ἔτι ἕτερον ζητεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν
 ληστῶν μάρτυρα; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀνδρειοτέρους
 ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν τοιούτων κυνῶν ἐκείνους τοὺς
 ληστάς, ἰταμωτέρους δὲ τῶν ληστῶν ἐκείνων τοὺς
 κύνας τουτουσί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς
 οὕτω μοχθηρὸν τὸν βίον οὐ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ τοῦ
 θανάτου δέος ἢ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὰς ἐρημίας προ-
 βάλλονται, οἱ δ' ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν² ἐν τῷ μέσῳ C
 τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα συγχέοντες, οὐχὶ τῷ κρείττονα

¹ παιομένους Cobet, πολεμουμένους Hertlein, MSS.

² ἄρα περιπατοῦσιν Hertlein suggests, ἀναστρέφονται καὶ περιπατοῦσιν Cobet, ἀναπατοῦσιν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

others, and permits us neither by word or deed or in the inmost and secret activities of our souls to confound such distinctions, since the law is our guide to the most perfect justice—is not this conduct worthy of the pit?¹ And ought not those who applauded such views to have been driven forth, not by blows with wands, like scapegoats,² for that penalty is too light for such crimes, but put to death by stoning? For tell me, in Heaven's name, how are such men less criminal than bandits who infest lonely places and haunt the coasts in order to despoil navigators? Because, as people say, they despise death; as though bandits were not inspired by the same frenzied courage! So says at any rate he³ who with you counts as a poet and mythologist, though, as a Pythian god proclaimed to certain bandits who sought his oracle, he was a hero and divinity—I mean where, speaking of pirates of the sea, he says: "Like pirates who wander over the sea, staking their lives."⁴ What better witness can you require for the desperate courage of bandits? Except indeed that one might say that bandits are more courageous than Cynics of this sort, while the Cynics are more reckless than they. For pirates, well aware as they are how worthless is the life they lead, take cover in desert places as much from shame as from the fear of death: whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society, and that not

¹ The pit or chasm at Athens into which the bodies of criminals were thrown; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1. 7. 20.

² For the ceremony of driving out the scapegoat see Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion* 97; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. 3, p. 93. ³ i.e. Homer. ⁴ *Odyssey* 3. 73.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

καὶ καθαρωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τῷ χείρονα καὶ βδελυρωτέραν ἐπεισάγειν πολιτείαν.

Τὰς ἀναφερομένας δὲ εἰς τὸν Διογένη τραγωδίας, οὔσας μὲν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως ¹ Κυνικοῦ τινος συγγράμματα, ἀμφισβητουμένας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον, εἴτε τοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦ Διογένους, εἰσίν, D εἴτε τοῦ μαθητοῦ Φιλίσκου, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπελθὼν βδελύξαιτο καὶ νομίσειεν ὑπερβολὴν ἀρρητουργίας οὐδὲ ταῖς ἐταίραις ἀπολελεῖσθαι; ταῖς Οἰνομάου δὲ ἐντυχόν· ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ τραγωδίας τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παραπλησίας, ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερα καὶ κακῶν πέρα, καὶ οὐκέθ' ὅ, τι φῶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἔχω, κἂν τὰ Μαγνήτων κακὰ, κἂν τὸ Τερμέριον, κἂν πᾶσαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιφθέγξωμαι τὴν τραγωδίαν μετὰ τοῦ σατύρου 211 καὶ τῆς κωμωδίας καὶ τοῦ μίμου, οὕτω πᾶσα μὲν αἰσχροτής, πᾶσα δὲ ἀπόνοια πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἐν ἐκείναις τῷ ἀνδρὶ πεφιλοτέχνηται· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ τούτων τις ἀξιοῖ τὸν Κῦνισμὸν ὁποῖός τις ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, βλασφημῶν τοὺς θεοὺς, ὑλακτῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅπερ ἔφην ἀρχόμενος, ἴτω, χωρεῖτω,² γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ὅποι βούλοιο· εἰ δ', ὅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη Διογένει, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξας ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλὴν τρέποιο, τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ ζηλώσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων Διογένης καὶ Κράτης φαίνονται, τοῦτο ἤδη τοῦ παντὸς ἄξιον ἔγωγε φαίην ἂν ἀνδρὶ καὶ

¹ ὁμολογουμένως Cobet, ὁμολογουμένας Hertlein, MSS.

² χωρεῖτω Hertlein suggests, χαιρέτω MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

by introducing a better and purer state of things but a worse and more corrupt state.

Now as for the tragedies ascribed to Diogenes, which are, and are admitted to be, the composition of some Cynic—the only point in dispute being whether they are by the master himself, Diogenes, or by his disciple Philiscus,—what reader of these would not abhor them, and find in them an excess of infamy not to be surpassed even by courtesans? However, let him go on to read the tragedies of Oenomaus—for he too wrote tragedies to match his discourses—and he will find that they are more inconceivably infamous, that they transgress the very limits of evil; in fact I have no words to describe them adequately, and in vain should I cite in comparison the horrors of Magnesia,¹ the wickedness of Termerus² or the whole of tragedy put together, along with satiric drama, comedy and the mime: with such art has their author displayed in those works every conceivable vileness and folly in their most extreme form.

Now if from such works any man chooses to demonstrate to us the character of the Cynic philosophy, and to blaspheme the gods and bark at all men, as I said when I began, let him go, let him depart to the uttermost parts of the earth whithersoever he pleases. But if he do as the god enjoined on Diogenes, and first “give a new stamp to the common currency,” then devote himself to the advice uttered earlier by the god, the precept “Know Thyself,” which Diogenes and Crates evidently followed in their actual practice, then I say that this is wholly worthy of one who desires to be a

¹ A proverb; cf. Archilochus *fr.* 27, Bergk.

² A robber whom Theseus killed; Plutarch, *Theseus* 11.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

στρατηγεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλονται. τί δὲ εἶπεν
 ὁ θεός, ἂρ' ἴσμεν; ὅτι τῆς τῶν πολλῶν αὐτῷ δόξης
 ἐπέταξεν ὑπερορᾶν καὶ παραχαράττειν οὐ τὴν C
 ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ νόμισμα. τὸ δὲ Γνώθι σαυτὸν
 ἐν ποτέρα θησόμεθα μοίρα; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ
 νομίσματος; ἢ τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἶναι
 κεφάλαιον θήσομεν καὶ τρόπον εἰρῆσθαι τοῦ
 Παραχάραξον τὸ νόμισμα διὰ τῆς ¹ Γνώθι σαυτὸν
 ἀποφάσεως; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὰ νομιζόμενα παντά-
 πασιν ἀτιμάσας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν δὲ ἤκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν
 οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς νομιζομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς D
 ὄντως οὖσι θήσεται, οὕτως οἶμαι καὶ ὁ γνοὺς
 ἑαυτὸν ὅπερ ἔστιν ἀκριβῶς εἴσεται καὶ οὐχ ὅπερ
 νομίζεται. πότερον οὖν οὐχ ὁ Πύθιος ἀληθής τέ
 ἔστι θεός, καὶ Διογένης τοῦτο ἐπέπειστο σαφῶς,
 ὅς γε αὐτῷ πεισθεὶς ἀντὶ φυγάδος ἀπεδείχθη οὐ
 τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μείζων, ἀλλ', ὡς ἡ φήμη
 παρέδωκεν, αὐτῷ τῷ καταλύσαντι τὸ Περσῶν
 κράτος καὶ ταῖς Ἑρακλέους ἀμιλλωμένῳ πράξεσιν,
 ὑπερβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμουμένῳ
 ζηλωτός; οὗτος οὖν ὁ Διογένης ὁποῖός τις ἦν τὰ
 τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μὴ διὰ 212
 τῶν Οἰνομάου λόγων μηδὲ τῶν Φιλίσκου τραγω-
 διῶν, αἷς ἐπιγράψας τὸ Διογένους ὄνομα τῆς θείας
 πολλά ποτε κατεψεύσατο κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν
 ἔδρασεν ἔργων ὁποῖός τις ἦν γνωρίζεσθω.

Ἦλθεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τί πρὸς Διός; ἵνα τοὺς
 ἀγωνιστὰς θεάσῃται; τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίοις

¹ τῆς Cobet, τῆς τοῦ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS.

leader and a philosopher. For surely we know what the god meant? He enjoined on Diogenes to despise the opinion of the crowd and to give a new stamp, not to truth, but to the common currency. Now to which of these categories shall we assign self-knowledge? Can we call it common currency? Shall we not rather say that it is the very summary of truth, and by the injunction "Know Thyself" we are told the way in which we must "give a new stamp to the common currency"? For just as one who pays no regard whatever to conventional opinions but goes straight for the truth will not decide his own conduct by those opinions but by actual facts, so I think he who knows himself will know accurately, not the opinion of others about him, but what he is in reality. It follows then, does it not? that the Pythian god speaks the truth, and moreover that Diogenes was clearly convinced of this since he obeyed the god and so became, instead of an exile, I will not say greater than the King of Persia, but according to the tradition handed down actually an object of envy to the man¹ who had broken the power of Persia and was rivalling the exploits of Heracles and ambitious to surpass Achilles. Then let us judge of the attitude of Diogenes towards gods and men, not from the discourses of Oenomaus or the tragedies of Philiscus—who by ascribing their authorship to Diogenes grossly slandered that sacred personage—but let us, I say, judge him by his deeds.

Why in the name of Zeus did he go to Olympia? To see the athletes compete? Nay, could he not have seen those very athletes without trouble both at

¹ i.e. Alexander.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ Παναθηναίοις θεάσασθαι δίχα
πραγμάτων οἶόν τε ἦν; ἀλλὰ ἐθέλων ἐκεῖ τοῖς
κρατίστοις συγγενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων; οὐ γὰρ B
Ἰσθμόνδε ἐφοίτων; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εὖροις ἄλλην αἰτίαν
ἢ τὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν θεραπείαν. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξε-
πλάγη τὸν κεραυνόν· οὐδὲ ἐγὼ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
πολλῶν πολλὰκίς πειραθεὶς διοσημιῶν ἐξεπλάγην.
ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω δὴ τι τοὺς θεοὺς πέφρικα καὶ
φιλῶ καὶ σέβω καὶ ἄζομαι καὶ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς τὰ
τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς πᾶσχω, ὅσαπερ ἂν τις καὶ
οἶα πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς δεσπότης, πρὸς διδασκάλους,
πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας, πρὸς πάντα ἀπλῶς
τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥστε ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ῥημά- C
των πρῶην ἐξανέστην. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδ'
ὄντινα τρόπον ἐπελθὼν ἴσως σιωπᾶσθαι δέον
ἐρρέθῃ.

Διογένης δὲ καὶ πένης ὦν καὶ χρημάτων ἐνδεὴς
εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐβάδιζεν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἤκειν
ἐκέλευε παρ' ἑαυτόν, εἴ τῳ πιστὸς ὁ Δίῳ. οὕτω
πρέπειν ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ D
τῶν θεῶν, τῷ βασιλικωτάτῳ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνουσίαν. ἃ δὲ πρὸς Ἀρχίδαμον
γέγραφεν, οὐ βασιλικαὶ παραινέσεις εἰσίν; οὐ
μόνον δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἦν ὁ Διογένης θεοσεβής,
ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. ἐλόμενον γὰρ αὐτὸν
οἰκεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰς τὴν
Κόρινθον ἀπήγαγεν, ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πριαμένου
τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτ' ᾤήθη δεῖν ἐκλιπεῖν· ἐπέπειστο 21
γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς μέλειν εἰς τε τὴν Κόρινθον οὐ

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

the Isthmian games and the Panathenaic festival? Then was it because he wished to meet there the most distinguished Greeks? But did they not go to the Isthmus too? So you cannot discover any other motive than that of doing honour to the god. He was not, you say, awestruck by a thunderstorm. Ye gods, I too have witnessed such signs from Zeus over and over again, without being awestruck! Yet for all that I feel awe of the gods, I love, I revere, I venerate them, and in short have precisely the same feelings towards them as one would have towards kind masters¹ or teachers or fathers or guardians or any beings of that sort. That is the very reason why I could hardly sit still the other day and listen to your speech. However, I have spoken thus as I was somehow or other impelled to speak, though perhaps it would have been better to say nothing at all.

To return to Diogenes: he was poor and lacked means, yet he travelled to Olympia, though he bade Alexander come to him, if we are to believe Dio.² So convinced was he that it was his duty to visit the temples of the gods, but that it was the duty of the most royal monarch of that day to come to him for an interview. And was not that royal advice which he wrote to Archidamus? Nay, not only in words but in deeds also did Diogenes show his reverence for the gods. For he preferred to live in Athens, but when the divine command had sent him away to Corinth, even after he had been set free by the man who had bought him, he did not think he ought to leave that city. For he believed that the gods took care of him, and that he had been sent to Corinth,

¹ Plato, *Phaedo* 63 c.

² Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 4. 12, Arnim.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

μάτην οὐδὲ κατὰ τινα συντυχίαν, τρόπον δέ τινα ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰσπεπέμφθαι, ὁρῶν τὴν πόλιν τρυφῶσαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων μᾶλλον καὶ δεομένην μεϊζονος καὶ γενναιοτέρου σωφρονιστοῦ.

Τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ Κράττητος μουσικὰ καὶ χαρίεντα φέρεται πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσιότητός τε καὶ εὐλαβείας; ἄκουε γοῦν αὐτὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, εἴ σοι μὴ σχολὴ γέγονε μαθεῖν B
ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτά.

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένῳ
Χόρτον ἐμῇ συνεχῇ δότε γαστέρι, καὶ δότε χωρὶς
Δουλοσύνης, ἣ δὴ λιτὸν ἔθηκε βίον.

* * * *

Ὀφέλιμον δὲ φίλοις, μὴ γλυκερὸν τίθετε.
Χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλω συνάγειν κλυτά, καν- C
θάρου ὄλβον

Μύρμηκός τ' ἄφενος χρήματα μαιόμενος,
Ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνης μετέχειν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀγεί-
ρειν¹

Εὐφορον, εὐκτητον, τίμιον εἰς ἀρετήν.
Τῶν δὲ τυχῶν Ἑρμῆν καὶ Μούσας ἰλάσομ'
ἀγνάς.

Οὐ δαπάναις τρυφεραῖς, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ὁσίαις. D

ὁρᾷς ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς εὐφημῶν, οὐχὶ δὲ ὡς σὺ βλασφημῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἠῤῃχετο; πόσαι γὰρ ἐκατόμβαι τῆς ὁσίας εἰσὶν ἀντάξιαι, ἣν καὶ ὁ δαιμόνιος Εὐριπίδης ὀρθῶς ὑμνησεν εἰπὼν

Ὅσία πότνα θεῶν, ὁσία;

¹ ἀγείρειν Cobet, ἀσινῇ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

not at random or by some accident, but by the gods themselves for some purpose. He saw that Corinth was more luxurious than Athens, and stood in need of a more severe and courageous reformer.

To give you another instance: Are there not extant many charming poems by Crates also which are proofs of his piety and veneration for the gods? I will repeat them to you if you have not had time to learn this from the poems themselves:

“Ye Muses of Pieria, glorious children of Memory and Olympian Zeus, grant me this prayer! Give me food for my belly from day to day, but give it without slavery which makes life miserable indeed. . . . Make me useful rather than agreeable to my friends. Treasure and the fame thereof I desire not to amass; nor do I crave the wealth of the beetle and the substance of the ant. But justice I desire to attain, and to collect riches that are easily carried, easily acquired, precious for virtue. If I attain these things I will worship Hermes and the holy Muses, not with costly and luxurious offerings, but with pious and virtuous actions.”¹

You see that, far from blaspheming the gods as you do, he adored and prayed to them? For what number of hecatombs are worth as much as Piety, whom the inspired Euripides celebrated appropriately in the verses “Piety, queen of the gods, Piety”?²

¹ Cf. *Oration* 6. 199 D.

² *Bacchae* 370.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἡ τοῦτό σε λέληθεν, ὅτι πάντα, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα
καὶ τὰ σμικρά, μετὰ τῆς ὁσίας τοῖς θεοῖς προσαγό-
μενα τὴν ἴσην ἔχει δύναμιν, ἐστερημένη δὲ τῆς
ὁσίας οὐχ ἑκατόμβη μὰ θεούς, ἀλλὰ ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμ- 214
πιάδος χιλιόμβη ἀνάλωμα μόνον ἐστίν, ἄλλο δὲ
οὐδέν; ὅπερ οἶμαι γινγνώσκων ὁ Κράτης αὐτός τε
διὰ μόνης ἧς εἶχεν ὁσίας τοὺς θεοὺς ἐτίμα σὺν
εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκε μὴ τὰ δαπανή-
ματα τῆς ὁσίας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐκείνων προτιμᾶν
ἐν ταῖς ἀγιστείαις. τοιούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρῳ τῷδε
γενομένῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀκροατήρια
συνεκροτεῖτην¹ οὐδ' ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ δι' εἰκόνων
καὶ μύθων τοῖς φίλοις συνεγινγέσθην·² λέγεται
γὰρ ὑπ' Εὐριπίδου καλῶς

B

Ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν·

σκιαγραφίας γὰρ φησι τὸν ψευδῆ καὶ ἄδικον δεῖ-
σθαι. τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς τῆς συνουσίας ἐγί-
νετο; τῶν λόγων ἡγείτο τὰ ἔργα, καὶ οἱ τὴν
πενίαν τιμῶντες αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι φαίνονται³ καὶ τῶν
πατρῶων χρημάτων ὑπεριδόντες, οἱ τὴν ἀτυφίαν
ἀσπασάμενοι πρῶτοι τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἥσκουν διὰ C
πάντων, οἱ τὸ τραγικὸν καὶ σοβαρὸν ἐκ τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων ἐξαιροῦντες βίῳ ὥκουν αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι
τὰς ἀγορὰς ἢ τὰ τῶν θεῶν τεμένη, τῇ τρυφῇ δὲ
καὶ πρὸ τῶν ῥημάτων διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπολέμουν,
ἔργοις ἐλέγχοντες, οὐ λόγῳ βοῶντες, ὅτι τῷ Διὶ
συμβασιλεύειν ἔξεστιν οὐδενὸς ἢ σμικρῶν πάνν

¹ συνεκροτεῖτην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεκροτεῖτον MSS.

² συνεγινγέσθην Cobet, Hertlein approves, συνεγίγγεσθον MSS.

³ φαίνονται Hertlein suggests, ἐφαίνοντο MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Or are you not aware that all offerings whether great or small that are brought to the gods with piety have equal value, whereas without piety, I will not say hecatombs, but, by the gods, even the Olympian sacrifice¹ of a thousand oxen is merely empty expenditure and nothing else?² This I believe Crates recognised, and so with that piety which was his only possession he himself used to honour the gods with praises, and moreover taught others not to honour expensive offerings more than piety in the sacred ceremonies. This then was the attitude of both those Cynics towards the gods but they did not crowd audiences together to hear them, nor did they entertain their friends with similes and myths, like the wise men of to-day. For as Euripides well says,³ "Simple and unadorned is the language of truth." Only the liar and the dishonest man, he says, have any use for a mysterious and allusive style. Now what was the manner of their intercourse with men? Deeds with them came before words, and if they honoured poverty they themselves seem first to have scorned inherited wealth; if they cultivated modesty, they themselves first practised plain living in every respect; if they tried to expel from the lives of other men the element of theatrical display and arrogance, they themselves first set the example by living in the open market places and the temple precincts, and they opposed luxury by their own practice before they did so in words; nor did they shout aloud but proved by their actions that a man may rule as the equal of Zeus if he needs nothing or very little and so is not

¹ i.e. in honour of Olympian Zeus.

² Cf. Themistius 182 A. ³ *Phoenissae* 472.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

δεόμενον οὐδὲ παρενοχλούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος,
ἐπετίμων δὲ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἥνικα ἔζων οἱ
πταίσαντες, οὐκ ἀποθανόντας ἐβλασφήμουν, ἥνικα D
καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οἱ μετριώτεροι σπένδονται τοῖς
ἀπελθοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ γε ἀληθινὸς κύων
ἐχθρὸν οὐδένα, καὶ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ τις
πατάξῃ, καὶ τοῦνομα περιέλκῃ, καὶ λοιδορῇται
καὶ βλασφημῇ, διότι τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐχθρας γίνεται
πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ ὑπερβαῖνον τὴν πρὸς 215
ἕτερον ἄμιλλαν εὐνοία τιμᾶσθαι φιλεῖ· καὶ τις
ἐτέρως ἔχῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, καθάπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ
πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐχθρὸς, οὐδὲ
γὰρ βλαβερός, αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτῷ βαρύτατον ἐπιτιθεῖς¹
τίμημα τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος ἄγνοίαν ἔρημος λείπεται
τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας.

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν νῦν μοι προύκειτο περὶ Κυνισμοῦ
γράφειν, εἶπον ἂν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔτι τὰ παριστάμενά B
μοι τῶν εἰρημένων ἴσως οὐκ ἐλάττω· νῦν δὲ ἀπο-
διδόντες τὸ συνεχὲς τῇ προαιρέσει περὶ τοῦ ποτα-
ποῦς εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς πλαττομένους τῶν μύθων
ἐφεξῆς σκοπῶμεν. ἴσως δὲ ἡγεῖται καὶ ταύτης
τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἐκείνη, ὅποια τινὲ φιλοσοφία
προσῆκον ἢ μυθογραφία. φαίνονται γὰρ πολλοὶ
καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν θεολόγων ποιή-
σαντες, ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς μὲν ὁ παλαιότατος ἐνθέως
φιλοσοφήσας, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνον· C
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ξενοφῶν φαίνεται καὶ Ἀντισθέ-
νης καὶ Πλάτων προσχρησάμενοι πολλαχοῦ τοῖς
μύθοις, ὥσθ' ἡμῖν πέφηεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ Κυνικῷ,
φιλοσόφῳ γοῦν τινι προσήκειν ἢ μυθογραφία.

¹ ἐπιτιθεῖς Hertlein suggests, ἐπιθεῖς MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

hampered by his body ; and they reproved sinners during the lifetime of those who had offended but did not speak ill of the dead ; for when men are dead even their enemies, at least the more moderate, make peace with the departed. But the genuine Cynic has no enemy, even though men strike his feeble body or drag his name in the mire, or slander and speak ill of him, because enmity is felt only towards an opponent, but that which is above personal rivalry is usually loved and respected. But if anyone is hostile to a Cynic, as indeed many are even to the gods, he is not that Cynic's enemy, since he cannot injure him ; rather he inflicts on himself the most terrible punishment of all, namely ignorance of one who is nobler than himself ; and so he is deserted and bereft of the other's protection.

Now if my present task were to write about the Cynic philosophy, I could add many details about the Cynics, not less important than what I have said already. But not to interrupt my main theme, I will now consider in due course the question what kind of myths ought to be invented. But perhaps another inquiry should precede this attempt, I mean to what branch of philosophy the composition of myths is appropriate. For we see that many philosophers and theologians too have employed it, Orpheus for instance, the most ancient of all the inspired philosophers, and many besides of those that came after him. Nay what is more, Xenophon as we know and Antisthenes and Plato often introduced myths, so that it is obvious that even if the use of myth be not appropriate for the Cynic, still it may be so for some other type of philosopher.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

Μικρὰ οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἶτε
 μορίων εἶτε ὀργάνων προρρητέον.¹ ἔστι γὰρ οὐ
 μέγα τὸ διαφέρειν ὅποτέρως ἂν τις τῷ πρακτικῷ²
 καὶ τῷ φυσικῷ τὸ λογικὸν προσαριθμῇ· ἀναγ- D
 καῖον γὰρ ὁμοίως φαίνεται κατ' ἀμφότερα. τριῶν
 δὴ τούτων αὐθις ἕκαστον εἰς τρία τέμνεται, τὸ μὲν
 φυσικὸν εἰς τὸ θεολογικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ μαθή-
 ματα καὶ τρίτον τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν γινομένων καὶ
 ἀπολλυμένων καὶ τῶν αἰδίων μέν, σωμάτων δὲ
 ὅμως θεωρίαν, τί τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία
 ἐκάστου· τοῦ πρακτικοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἓνα
 ἄνδρα, ἡθικόν, οἰκονομικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ μίαν οἰκίαν,
 πολιτικὸν δὲ τὸ περὶ πόλιν· ἔτι μέντοι τοῦ
 λογικοῦ τὸ μὲν ἀποδεικτικὸν διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν, τὸ
 δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων βιαστικόν, τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν 216
 φαινομένων ἐνδόξων παραλογιστικόν. ὄντων δὴ
 τοσούτων τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας μερῶν, εἰ μὴ τί με
 λέληθε· καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα στρατιώτην
 μὴ λίαν ἐξακριβοῦν μηδ' ἐξονυχίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα,
 ἅτε οὐκ ἐκ βιβλίων ἀσκήσεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς προσ-
 τυχούσης αὐτὰ ἕξεως ἀποφθεγγόμενον· ἔσεσθε
 γοῦν μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, εἰ τὰς ἡμέρας λογι-
 σαισθε,³ πόσαι τινές εἰσιν αἱ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ
 τῆς ἑναγχος ἡμῖν γενομένης ἀκροάσεως ὅσων τε
 ἡμῖν ἀσχολιῶν πλήρεις· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, εἰ καὶ B
 τι παραλέλειπται παρ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι νομίζω γε
 μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν· πλὴν ὁ προστιθεὶς οὐκ ἐχθρός,
 ἀλλὰ φίλος ἔσται.

¹ προρρητέον Reiske, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

² τῷ πρακτικῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ τε ἡθικῷ MSS.

³ λογίσαισθε Cobet, λογίσεσθε Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

I must first then say a few words about the subdivisions or instruments of philosophy. It does not make much difference in which of two ways one reckons logic, whether with practical or natural philosophy, since it is equally necessary to both these branches. But I will consider these as three separate branches and assign to each one three subdivisions. Natural philosophy consists of theology, mathematics, and thirdly the study of this world of generation and decay and things that though imperishable are nevertheless matter, and deals with their essential nature and their substance in each case. Practical philosophy again consists of ethics in so far as it deals with the individual man, economics when it deals with the household as a unit, politics when it deals with the state. Logic, again, is demonstrative in so far as it deals with the truth of principles; polemic when it deals with general opinions; eristic when it deals with opinions that only seem probabilities. These then are the divisions of philosophy, if I mistake not. Though indeed it would not be surprising that a mere soldier should be none too exact in these matters or not have them at his fingers' ends, seeing that I speak less from book-knowledge than from observation and experience. For that matter you can yourselves bear me witness thereto, if you count up how few days have elapsed between the lecture that we lately heard and to-day, and moreover the number of affairs with which they have been filled for me. But as I said if I have omitted anything—though I do not think I have—still if anyone can make my classification more complete he will be “no enemy but my friend.”¹

¹ Plato, *Timaeus* 54 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

Τούτων δὴ τῶν μερῶν οὔτε τῷ λογικῷ προσήκει τῆς μυθογραφίας οὔτε τοῦ φυσικοῦ¹ τῷ μαθηματικῷ, μόνον δέ, εἴπερ ἄρα, τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῷ πρὸς ἓνα γινομένῳ καὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ τῷ τελεστικῷ καὶ μυστικῷ· φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ φύσις κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται γυμνοῖς εἰς ἀκαθάρτους ἀκοὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ῥήμασιν. ὅπερ δὲ δὴ τῶν χαρακτήρων ἡ ἀπόρρητος φύσις ὠφελεῖν πέφυκε καὶ ἀγνωστομένη· θεραπεύει γοῦν οὐ ψυχὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώματα, καὶ θεῶν ποιεῖ παρουσίας· τοῦτ' οἶμαι πολλάκις γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν μύθων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοὰς οὐ δυναμένας τὰ θεία καθαρῶς δέξασθαι δι' αἰνιγμάτων αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς μύθων σκηνοποιίας ἐγχέηται. C D

Φανεροῦ δὲ ἤδη γενομένου τίνι καὶ ποίῳ φιλοσοφίας εἶδει καὶ μυθογραφεῖν ἔσθ' ὅτε προσήκει· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μαρτυρεῖ τούτοις ἡ τῶν προλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν προαίρεσις. ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτωνι πολλὰ μεμυθολόγηται περὶ τῶν ἐν ἅδου πραγμάτων θεολογοῦντι καὶ πρό γε τούτου τῷ τῆς Καλλιόπης, Ἀντισθέnei δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πραγματευομένοις ἠθικὰς τινὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος ἐμμελείας ἡ τῶν μύθων ἐγκαταμέμικται γραφή, οὗς σ'² ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ ἐβούλου, μιμούμενον ἀντὶ μὲν Ἡρακλέους μεταλαμβάνειν Περσέως ἢ Θησέως 217

¹ τοῦ φυσικοῦ τῷ Hertlein suggests, τῷ φυσικῷ οὔτε MSS.

² σ' ἐχρῆν Hertlein suggests, ἐχρῆν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Now of these branches of philosophy, logic has no concern with the composition of myths; nor has mathematics, the sub-division of natural philosophy; but they may be employed, if at all, by that department of practical philosophy which deals with the individual man, and by that department of theology which has to do with initiation and the Mysteries. For nature loves to hide her secrets,¹ and she does not suffer the hidden truth about the essential nature of the gods to be flung in naked words to the ears of the profane. Now there are certain characteristics of ours that derive benefit from that occult and unknown nature, which nourishes not our souls alone but our bodies also, and brings us into the presence of the gods, and this I think often comes about by means of myths; when through riddles and the dramatic setting of myths that knowledge is insinuated into the ears of the multitude who cannot receive divine truths in their purest form.

It is now evident what branch and what sort of philosophy may properly on occasion employ myths. And to support my argument I call to witness the authority of those philosophers who were the first to use myths. Plato for instance in his theological descriptions of life in Hades often uses myths, and the son² of Calliope before him. And when Antisthenes and Xenophon and Plato himself discuss certain ethical theories they use myths as one of the ingredients, and not casually but of set purpose. Now if you too wished to use myths you ought to have imitated these philosophers, and instead of Heracles you should have introduced the name of

¹ Heracleitus *fr.* 123, Diels; cf. Themistius 69 B.

² Orpheus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τινὸς ὄνομα καὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένειον τύπον ἐγχαράττειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς Προδίκου σκηνοποιίας ἀμφὶ τοῖν ἀμφοῖν τούτοις θεοῖν ἑτέραν ὁμοίαν εἰσάγειν εἰς B τὸ θέατρον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελεστικῶν μύθων ἐπεμνήσθην, φέρε νῦν ὁποίους εἶναι χρή τοὺς ἐκατέρω τῶν μερῶν ἀρμόττοντας αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἰδεῖν πειραθῶμεν, οὐκέτι μαρτύρων παλαιῶν ἐν πᾶσι προσδεόμενοι, ἐπόμενοι δὲ νέοις ἔχουσιν ἀνδρός, ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ Ἰσῆς Ἀριστοτέλει καὶ Πλάτῳ ἀγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε. φησὶ δὲ οὐχ C ὑπὲρ πάντων οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τελεστικῶν, οὓς παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας τελετὰς καταστησάμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μύθοις ἀπεμφαῖνον αὐτῷ τούτῳ προοδοποιεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὅσῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον παράδοξόν ἐστι καὶ τερατῶδες τὸ αἰνιγμα, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἔοικε διαμαρτύρεσθαι, μὴ τοῖς αὐτόθεν λεγομένοις πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ λεληθότα περιεργάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀφίστασθαι, πρὶν ἂν ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγε- D μόσιν ἐκφανῇ γενόμενα τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν τελέσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ τελειώσῃ νοῦν καὶ εἰ δὴ τι κρεῖττον ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει τοῦ νοῦ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ μοῖρά τις ὀλίγη τὸ πᾶν ἀμερίστως ἔχουσα, τῆς ψυχῆς πλήρωμα καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ συνέχουσα

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Perseus or Theseus, let us say, and have written in the style of Antisthenes; and in place of the dramatic setting used by Prodicus,¹ in treating of those two gods² you should have introduced into your theatre another setting of the same sort.

But since I have mentioned also the myths that are suited to initiation, let us ourselves independently try to see what sort of myths they must be that suit one or the other of those two branches of philosophy;³ and no longer need we call in the aid of witnesses from the remote past for all points, but we will follow in the fresh footprints of one⁴ whom next to the gods I revere and admire, yes, equally with Aristotle and Plato. He does not treat of all kinds of myths but only those connected with initiation into the Mysteries, such as Orpheus, the founder of the most sacred of all the Mysteries, handed down to us. For it is the incongruous element in myths that guides us to the truth.⁵ I mean that the more paradoxical and prodigious the riddle is the more it seems to warn us not to believe simply the bare words but rather to study diligently the hidden truth, and not to relax our efforts until under the guidance of the gods those hidden things become plain, and so initiate or rather perfect our intelligence or whatever we possess that is more sublime than the intelligence, I mean that small particle of the One and the Good which contains the whole indivisibly, the complement of the soul, and in the One and the Good comprehends the whole of soul itself

¹ i.e. in his allegory the Choice of Heracles; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 1. 2; Julian, *Oration* 2. 56 D.

² i.e. Pan and Zeus; cf. 208 B.

³ i.e. ethics and theology; cf. 216 B.

⁴ Iamblichus; cf. *Oration* 4. 157 D. ⁵ Cf. *Oration* 5. 170.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

πάσαν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ὑπερεχούσης καὶ χωριστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξηρημένης παρουσίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν Διόνυσον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπήλθέ μοι βακχεύοντι μανῆναι· τὸν βοῦν δὲ 218 ἐπιτίθημι τῇ γλώττῃ· περὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων γὰρ οὐδὲν χρὴ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ μοι θεοὶ μὲν ἐκείνων καὶ ὑμῶν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅσοι τέως ἐστὲ τούτων ἀμήτοι, τὴν ὄνησιν δοῖεν.

Ἔπερ δὲ ὧν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι θέμις καὶ ἀνεμέσητον ἀμφοτέροις ἐστί, πᾶς λόγος ὁ προφερόμενος ἔκ τε λέξεως καὶ διανοίας σύγκειται. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ μῦθος λόγος τίς ἐστιν, ἔκ δυοῖν τούτοις συγκείσεται. σκο- B
πῶμεν δὲ ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν. ἔστιν ἀπλῆ τις ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ διάνοια, καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ σχῆμα προάγεται, τὰ παραδείγματα δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἐστί πολλά. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπλοῦν ἐστί καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖται ποικιλίας, τὸ δ' ἐσχηματισμένον ἔχει δια-
φορὰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολλὰς, ὧν, εἴ τί σοι τῆς ῥητο-
ρικῆς ἐμέλησεν, οὐκ ἀξύνετος εἶ. τούτων δὲ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν σχημάτων ἀρμόττει τῷ μύθῳ τὰ πλείστα· πλὴν ἔμοιγε οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν οὐθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τά γε νῦν ῥητέον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δυοῖν, τοῦ τε σεμνοῦ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τοῦ ἀπεμφαίνοντος. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ C
τὴν λέξιν γίνεται. μορφοῦται γάρ πως καὶ σχη-
ματίζεται παρὰ τῶν μὴ προφερομένων εἰκῇ μηδ' ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἐλκόντων συρφετοὺς ῥημάτων ἐκ τῆς τριόδου· ἀλλὰ τοῖν δυοῖν τούτοις, ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν θείων πλάττωμεν, σεμνὰ χρὴ πάνυ

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

through the prevailing and separate and distinct presence of the One. But I was impelled I know not how to rave with his own sacred frenzy when I spoke like this of the attributes of great Dionysus¹; and now I set an ox on my tongue:² for I may not reveal what is too sacred for speech. However, may the gods grant to me and to many of you who have not as yet been initiated into these Mysteries to enjoy the blessings thereof!

And now to confine myself to what is lawful for us, both for me to say and for you to hear. Every discourse that is uttered consists of language and the thought to be expressed. Now a myth is a sort of discourse and so it will consist of these two. Let us consider them separately. In every discourse the thought is of two kinds, either simple or expressed in figures of speech; and there are many examples of both kinds. The one is simple and admits of no variety, but that which is embellished with figures has in itself many possibilities of variation with all of which you are yourself familiar if you have ever studied rhetoric; and most of these figures of thought are suited to myth. However I need not now discuss all or indeed many of them, but only two, that in which the thought is dignified and that in which it is paradoxical. The same rules apply also to diction. For this is given a certain shape and form by those who do not express themselves carelessly or sweep in the refuse of language from the highways like a winter torrent. And now to consider these two types. When we invent myths about sacred things our language must be wholly

¹ Cf. *Oration* 4. 144 A.

² A proverb for mysterious silence; cf. *Theognis* 815; *Aesch. Ag.* 36.

τὰ ῥήματα εἶναι καὶ τὴν λέξιν ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα
 σῶφρονα καὶ καλὴν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πρεπωδεστά-
 την, τῶν αἰσchrῶν δὲ μηδὲν καὶ βλασφήμων ἢ D
 δυσσεβῶν, ὅπως μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῆς τοιαύτης
 ἀρχηγοὶ θρασύτητος γενώμεθα, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
 πρὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡσε-
 βηκέναι προλάβωμεν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀπεμφαῖνον
 εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας λέξεις, ἀλλὰ σεμνὰ
 πάντα καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ θεῖα καὶ
 καθαρὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν οὐσίας εἰς δύναμιν
 ἐστοχασμένα· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπεμ- 219
 φαῖνον τοῦ χρησίμου γιγνόμενον χάριν ἐγκριτέον,
 ὥς ἂν μὴ τινος ὑπομνήσεως ἔξωθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 δεόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ λεγομένων τῷ
 μύθῳ διδασκόμενοι τὸ λανθάνον μῶσθαι καὶ πολυ-
 πραγμονεῖν ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τοῖς θεοῖς προθυμηθεῖεν.
 ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἔγωγε πολλῶν ἤκουσα λεγόντων ἄνθρω-
 πον μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ἐπεῖπερ ἐκ Σεμέλης ἐγένετο,
 θεὸν δὲ διὰ θεουργίας καὶ τελεστικῆς, ὥσπερ τὸν B
 δεσπότην Ἑρακλέα διὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρετῆς εἰς
 τὸν Ὀλυμπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῆχθαι τοῦ Διός.
 ἀλλ', ὦ τάν, εἶπον, οὐ ξυνίετε τοῦ μύθου φανερώς
 αἰνιττομένου. ποῦ γὰρ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶν ὥσπερ
 Ἑρακλέους, οὕτω δὴ¹ καὶ Διονύσου, ἔχουσα μὲν
 τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ὑπερέχον καὶ ἐξηρημένον, ἐν τῷ
 μετρίῳ δὲ ὅμως ἔτι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως
 μένουσα καὶ πῶς ἀφομοιούμενη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; Ἑρα- C
 κλῆς δὲ λέγεται παιδίον γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ
 μικρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τὸ θεῖον ἐπιδούναι, καὶ

¹ δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

dignified and the diction must be as far as possible sober, beautiful, and entirely appropriate to the gods; there must be nothing in it base or slanderous or impious, for fear we should lead the common people into this sort of sacrilegious rashness; or rather for fear we should ourselves anticipate the common people in displaying impiety towards the gods. Therefore there must be no incongruous element in diction thus employed, but all must be dignified, beautiful, splendid, divine, pure, and as far as possible in conformity with the essential nature of the gods. But as regards the thought, the incongruous may be admitted, so that under the guidance of the gods men may be inspired to search out and study the hidden meaning, though they must not ask for any hint of the truth from others, but must acquire their knowledge from what is said in the myth itself.¹ For instance I have heard many people say that Dionysus was a mortal man because he was born of Semele, and that he became a god through his knowledge of theurgy and the Mysteries, and like our lord Heracles for his royal virtue was translated to Olympus by his father Zeus. "Nay, my good sir," said I, "do you not perceive that the myth is obviously an allegory?" For in what sense do we regard the "birth" of Heracles, yes, and of Dionysus as well, since in their case birth has superior and surpassing and distinctive elements, even though it still falls within the limits of human nature, and up to a certain point resembles our own? Heracles for instance is said to have been a child, even as we are; his divine body grew gradually; we are informed that he was instructed

¹ Cf. *Oration* 5. 170 B.C.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

φοιτῆσαι διδασκάλοις ἱστόρηται, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι λέγεται καὶ κρατῆσαι πάντων, καμῖν δὲ ὁμῶς κατὰ¹ τὸ σῶμα. καίτοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνως δὲ ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἀποπνίγων τοὺς δράκοντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ παραταττόμενος τὰ τῆς φύσεως στοιχεῖα, θάληη καὶ κρυμούς, εἶτα τοῖς ἀπορωτά- D τοις καὶ ἀμαχωτάτοις, ἐνδεία λέγω τροφῆς καὶ ἐρημίας, καὶ τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πορείαν οἶμαι τοῦ πελάγους ἐπὶ τῆς χρυσῆς κύλικος, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ κύλिका εἶναι, βαδίσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης νενόμικα. τί γὰρ ἄπορον ἦν Ἡρακλεῖ; τί δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ θείῳ καὶ καθαρωτάτῳ σώματι, τῶν λεγομένων τούτων στοιχείων δουλευόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ δημιουργικῇ καὶ τελεσιουργῷ τοῦ ἀχράντου 220 καὶ καθαροῦ νοῦ δυνάμει; ὃν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐπιστήσας αὐτῷ φύλακα τὴν θεὸν ταύτην, ὅλην ἐξ ὅλου προέμενος αὐτοῦ,² τῷ κόσμῳ σωτήρα ἐφύτευσεν, εἴτ' ἐπανήγαγε διὰ τοῦ κεραυνίου πυρὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὑπὸ τῷ θείῳ συνθήματι τῆς αἰθερίας αὐγῆς ἤκειν παρ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ παιδὶ κελεύσας. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἴλεως Ἡρακλῆς εἶη.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς Διονύσου θρυλουμένης μὲν γενέσεως, οὕσης δὲ οὐ γενέσεως, ἀλλὰ δαιμονίας ἐκφάνσεως B κατὰ τί τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς προσέοικεν; ἢ μήτηρ

¹ κατὰ Cobet, καὶ Hertlein, MSS.

² Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

by teachers;¹ they say that he carried on wars and defeated all his opponents, but for all that his body had to endure weariness. And in fact all this did in his case occur, but on a scale greater than human. For instance, while still in swaddling clothes he strangled the serpents and then opposed himself to the very elements of nature, the extremes of heat and cold and things the most difficult and hardest to contend with, I mean lack of food and loneliness;² and then there is his journey over the sea itself in a golden cup,³ though, by the gods, I do not think it was really a cup, but my belief is that he himself walked on the sea as though it were dry land.⁴ For what was impossible to Heracles? Which was there of the so-called elements that did not obey his divine and most pure body since they were subdued to the creative and perfecting force of his stainless and pure intelligence? For him did mighty Zeus, with the aid of Athene goddess of Forethought, beget to be the saviour of the world, and appointed as his guardian this goddess whom he had brought forth whole from the whole of himself; and later on he called him to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt, thus bidding his son to come to him by the divine signal of the ethereal rays of light. Now when we meditate on this, may Heracles be gracious to you and to me!

As for the commonly received legend about the birth of Dionysus, which was in fact no birth but a divine manifestation, in what respect was it like the birth of men? While he was still in his mother's

¹ Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 1. 61, Arnim. ² Cf. 230 B.

³ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2; Athenaeus 11. 470.

⁴ This is perhaps a passing sneer at the Christians and need not be taken too seriously.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

αὐτὸν κύουσα, φασίν, ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας ζηλοτυπού-
σης ἑξαπατηθεῖσα τὸν ἔραστὴν ἐξελιπάρησεν
ἥκειν, ὡς παρὰ τὴν γαμετὴν εἶωθε φοιτᾶν, πρὸς
ἑαυτήν· εἶτα οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον τὸ σωματίον τῶν
κτυπημάτων¹ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ κατε-
φλέγετο. πάντων δ' ὁμοῦ πυρουμένων, Ἑρμῇ
κελεύσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀρπάσαι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τεμῶν
τὸν αὐτοῦ μηρὸν ἐρράπτει· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν, ἡνίκα
ἐτελεσφορήθη τὸ βρέφος, ὠδίνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς C
νύμφας ἔρχεται· τὸ Λῦθι ῥάμμα δὲ αὐται τῷ
μηρῷ προσεπάδουσαι τὸν διθύραμβον ἡμῖν εἰς
φῶς προήγαγον· εἶτα ἐμάνη, φασίν, ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ
τῆς Ἥρας, ἔπαυσε δ' αὐτῷ τὴν νόσον ἢ Μήτηρ
τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτίκα θεός. εἶποντο γοῦν οὐ
Λίχας αὐτῷ καθάπερ Ἑρακλεῖ οὐδὲ Ἰόλεως οὐδὲ
Τελαμῶν οὐδ' Ὑλας οὐδ' Ἀβδηρος, ἀλλὰ Σάτυροι D
καὶ Βακχαὶ καὶ Πᾶνες καὶ δαιμόνων στρατιά. D
ὁρᾷς ὅπως ἀνθρωπικὴ μὲν ἢ σπορὰ διὰ τῶν
κεραυνίων, ἢ δ' ἀποκύησις ἀνθρωπικωτέρα, ἀμφοῖν
δὲ τοῖν εἰρημένοιιν προσομοιότερα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις
τὰ ἔργα; τί οὖν οὐ καταβάλλοντες τὸν λῆρον
ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἴσμεν, ὡς Σεμέλη
σοφὴ τὰ θεῖα; παῖς γὰρ ἦν Κάδμου τοῦ Φοίνικος,
τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ

Πολλὰς καὶ Φοίνικες ὁδοὺς μακάρων ἐδάησαν
λέγων. αἰσθῆσθαι οὖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου 221
πρώτη παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπιφάνειαν

¹ σωματίον ἐν τῶν κτυπημάτων Friederich; Hertlein approves but would omit ἐν: δωμάτιον ἐν τῶν κτημάτων Hertlein, MSS., τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν κτύπημα τῶν Reiske, ἐν σκήψαντος Arnoldt.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

womb she, as the story goes, was beguiled by jealous Hera to entreat her lover to visit her as he was wont to visit his spouse. And then her frail body could not endure the thunders of Zeus and began to be consumed by the lightning. But when everything there was being devoured by flames, Zeus bade Hermes snatch Dionysus forth, and he cut open his own thigh and sewed the babe therein.¹ Then in due course when the time was ripe for the child's birth, Zeus in the pangs of travail came to the nymphs, and they by their song over the thigh "Undo the stitching"² brought to light for us the dithyramb. Whereupon the god was driven mad by Hera, but the Mother of the Gods healed him of his sickness and he straightway became a god. And he had for followers not, like Heracles, Lichas for instance or Iolaus or Telamon or Hylas or Abderos, but Satyrs, Bacchanals, Pans and a whole host of lesser divinities. Do you perceive how much of human there is in this generation through the fire of a thunderbolt, that his delivery is even more human, and that his deeds, even more than these two that we have mentioned, resemble those of human beings? Now why do we not set aside all this nonsense and recognise herein first the fact that Semele was wise in sacred things? For she was the daughter of Phoenician Cadmus, and the god himself bears witness to the wisdom of the Phoenicians³ when he says "The Phoenicians too have learned many of the roads travelled by the blessed gods."⁴ I think then that she was the first among the Greeks to perceive

¹ Cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 279 foll.

² Cf. Pindar *fr.* 85.

³ Cf. *Oration* 4. 134 A.

⁴ An oracular verse from an unknown source.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν προαγορεύσασα κινήσαι
 μὲν θάπτον ἢ προσήκον ἦν τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
 ὀργίων, οὐκ ἀνασχομένη τὸν εἰμαρμένον περιμεῖναι
 χρόνον, εἶτα ἀναλωθῆναι πρὸς τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ
 ῥυέντος ἐπ' αὐτήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο τῷ Διὶ
 κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐνδοῦναι ἀρχὴν κατα-
 στάσεως ἐτέρας καὶ μεταβαλεῖν¹ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
 νομαδικοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἡμερώτερον, ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ B
 Διόνυσος αὐτοπτος ἐφαίνετο δαίμων, ἐπιφοιτῶν
 τὰς πόλεις, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν πολλὴν
 δαιμονίων τινῶν² καὶ διδοὺς ἀνθρώποις κοινῇ μὲν
 ἅπασι σύμβολον τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς
 ἡμερίδος φυτόν, ὑφ' οὗ μοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐξημερωθέν-
 των αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, Ἕλληνες τῆς
 ἐπωνυμίας αὐτὸ ταύτης ἀξιῶσαι, μητέρα δ' αὐτοῦ
 προσεπειν τὴν Σεμέλην διὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν, ἄλλως
 τε καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμῶντος αὐτήν, ἅτε πρώτην ἱερό- C
 φαντιν τῆς ἔτι μελλούσης ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

Οὕσης δέ, ὥς ἂν τις ἀκριβῶς σκοπῶν ἐξετάσειε,
 τῆς ἱστορίας τοιαύτης, οἱ τὸν Διόνυσον ὅστις ποτ'
 ἐστὶ θεῶν ζητοῦντες τάληθές ἔχον ὥς ἔφην εἰς
 μῦθον διεσκεύασαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὴν τε οὐσίαν
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ
 κύησιν καὶ τὸν ἀγέννητον αὐτοῦ τόκον ἐν τῷ
 κόσμῳ³ . . . ἐν τῷ παντί, καὶ τὰλλα ἐφεξῆς ὅσα
 τοῦ ζητεῖν ἦν ἄξια,⁴ φράζειν δέ γ' οὐ ῥάδια ἐμοί,

¹ μεταβαλεῖν Hertlein suggests, μεταβάλλειν MSS.

² τινῶν Hertlein suggests, τινὰ MSS.

³ κόσμῳ . . . κατ . . . γματ . . . ξιν V, lacuna MSS.

⁴ ἄξια, φράζειν δέ γ' οὐ ῥάδια ἐμοί Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

that there was to be before long a visible manifestation of this god, and that she foretold it, and then that, sooner than was fitting, she gave the signal for certain of the mystic rites connected with his worship, because she had not the patience to wait for the appointed time, and thus she was consumed by the fire that fell upon her. But when it was the will of Zeus to bestow on all mankind in common a new order of things, and to make them pass from the nomadic to a more civilised mode of life, Dionysus came from India and revealed himself as very god made visible, visiting the cities of men and leading with him a great host of beings in some sort divine; and everywhere he bestowed on all men in common as the symbol of his manifestation the plant of "the gentle vine"; and since their lives were made more gentle by it the Greeks as I think gave it that name;¹ and they called Semele the mother of Dionysus because of the prediction that she had made, but also because the god honoured her as having been the first prophetess of his advent while it was yet to be.

Now since this is the historical truth of these events if they are accurately considered and examined, those who sought to discover what sort of god Dionysus is worked into a myth the truth which is as I said, and expressed in an allegory both the essential nature of the god and his conception in his father Zeus among the intelligible gods, and further his birth independently of generation in this our world.² . . . in the whole universe, and in their proper order all those other facts which are well worth

¹ ἡμερίς = the vine; ἡμερος = gentle.

² Here follows a lacuna of several words.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τυχὸν μὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν ἔτι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ D
ἀκριβές, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλονται τὸν κρύβιον
ἄμα καὶ φανερόν θεὸν ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ προβάλ-
λειν ἀκοαῖς ἀνεξετάστοις καὶ διανοαῖς ἐπὶ πάντα
μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν τετραμμέναις.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἴστω Διόνυσος αὐτός,
ὃ καὶ προσεύχομαι τὰς τε ἐμὰς καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας
ἐκβακχεῦσαι φρένας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ τῶν θεῶν
γνώσιν, ὥς ἂν μὴ πολὺν ἀβάκχευτοι χρόνον τῷ
θεῷ μένοντες ὅποσα ὁ Πενθεὺς¹ πάθωμεν, ἴσως 222
μὲν καὶ ζῶντες, πάντως δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ
σώματος. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἂν² μὴ τὸ πεπληθυσμένον
τῆς ζωῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνοειδούς καὶ ἐν τῷ μεριστῷ
παντελῶς ἀδιαιρέτου ὅλης τε ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμιγούς
προὑπαρχούσης οὐσίας τοῦ Διονύσου τελεσιουργ-
γηθῇ³ διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνθέου βακχείας,
τούτῳ κίνδυνος ἐπὶ πολλὰ ῥυῆναι τὴν ζωὴν,
ῥυεῖσαν δὲ διεσπᾶσθαι καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν οἴχε-
σθαι· τὸ δὲ ῥυεῖσαν καὶ διασπασθεῖσαν μὴ προ- B
σέχων τις τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὑδάτιον μηδὲ λίνου
μήρινθον ἀκροάσθω, ξυνιέτω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα
τρόπον ἄλλον, ὃν Πλάτων, ὃν Πλωτῖνος, ὃν
Πορφύριος, ὃν ὁ δαιμόνιος Ἰάμβλιχος. ὃς δ'
ἂν μὴ ταύτῃ ποιῇ, γελάσεται μὲν, ἴστω μέντοι

¹ Πενθεὺς ἔπαθε MSS. ; Hertlein would omit ἔπαθε.

² ἂν Hertlein would add.

³ τελεσιουργηθῇ Hertlein suggests, τελεσιουργηθείη MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

studying but too difficult for me at any rate to describe ; partly perhaps because I am still ignorant of the precise truth about them,¹ but perhaps also because I am unwilling to exhibit as in a theatre this god who is at once hidden and manifest, and that, too, to ears that have not sought after truth and to minds disposed to anything rather than the study of philosophy.

However let Dionysus himself decide about these things, though I do indeed implore him to inspire my mind and yours with his own sacred frenzy for the true knowledge of the gods, so that we may not by remaining too long uninspired by him have to suffer the fate of Pentheus, perhaps even while we are alive, but most certainly after death has freed us from the body. For he in whom the abundance of life has not been perfected by the essential nature of Dionysus, uniform and wholly indivisible as it is in the divisible world and pre-existing whole and unmixed in all things, he I say who has not been perfected by means of the Bacchic and divine frenzy for the god, runs the risk that his life may flow into too many channels, and as it flows be torn to shreds, and hence come to naught. But when I say "flow" or "torn to shreds" no one must consider the bare meaning of the words and suppose that I mean a mere trickle of water or a thread of linen, but he must understand these words in another sense, that used by Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry and the inspired Iamblichus. One who does not interpret them thus will laugh at them no doubt, but let me assure him that it will be a

¹ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 382 D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

Σαρδώνιον γελῶν ἔρημος ὧν ἀεὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν
γνώσεως, ἥς ἀντάξιον οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ μετὰ
τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι τὴν βαρβάρων C
ἔγωγε θείμην ἄν, οὐ μὰ τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην Ἥλιον.
ἀλλὰ με πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις θεῶν ἐπὶ ταύτ'
ἐβάκχευσεν οὐ προελόμενον.

Οὐ δὲ ἔνεκεν ἔφην αὐτά· κατὰ μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν
ἀπεμφαίνοντες ὅταν οἱ μῦθοι γίγνωνται περὶ τῶν
θείων, αὐτόθεν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ βοῶσι καὶ διαμαρτύ-
ρονται μὴ πιστεύειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεληθὸς
σκοπεῖν καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι. τοσοῦτῳ δ' ἐστὶ
κρεῖττον ἐν τούτοις τοῦ σεμνοῦ τὸ ἀπεμφαίνειν,
ὅσῳ διὰ μὲν ἐκείνου καλοὺς λίαν καὶ μεγάλους D
καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὅμως τοὺς θεοὺς D
κίνδυνος νομίσαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων
ὑπεριδόντας τῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λεγομένων ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐξηρημένην αὐτῶν οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπερέχουσιν πάντα
τὰ ὄντα καθαρὰν νόησιν ἐλπίς ἀναδραμεῖν.

Αἵτιαι μὲν οὖν αὐται τοῦ τὴν τελεστικὴν καὶ 223
μυσταγωγὸν φιλοσοφίαν τὰ μὲν ῥήματα παντὸς
μᾶλλον εὐαγῇ καὶ σεμνὰ προφέρεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ
τὴν διάνοιαν ἀλλοιοτέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν
τῶν τοιούτων. ὁ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπανορθώσεως
ἔνεκα τοὺς λόγους πλάττων καὶ μύθους παράγων
δράτῳ ¹ τοῦτο μὴ πρὸς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς παῖδας

¹ δράτῳ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, πρῶτον τῷ MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Sardonic laugh,¹ since he will be forever deprived of that knowledge of the gods which I hold to be more precious than to rule over the whole world, Roman and barbarian put together, yea, I swear it by my lord Helios. But again some god or other and no choice of my own has made me rave with this Bacchic frenzy.

To go back then to what led me to say all this. Whenever myths on sacred subjects are incongruous in thought, by that very fact they cry aloud, as it were, and summon us not to believe them literally but to study and track down their hidden meaning. And in such myths the incongruous element is even more valuable than the serious and straightforward, the more so that when the latter is used there is risk of our regarding the gods as exceedingly great and noble and good certainly, but still as human beings, whereas when the meaning is expressed incongruous there is some hope that men will neglect the more obvious sense of the words, and that pure intelligence may rise to the comprehension of the distinctive nature of the gods that transcends all existing things.

These then are the reasons why that branch of philosophy which is connected with initiation and the doctrines of the Mysteries ought by all means to be expressed in devout and serious language, while as regards the thought the narrative may be expounded in a style that has stranger qualities. But one who is inventing tales for the purpose of reforming morals and inserts myths therein, does so not for men but for those who are children whether in years

¹ A proverb for forced laughter, cf. *Odyssey* 22. 302; Plato, *Republic* 337 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἦτοι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν, πάντως δὲ τῶν
 λόγων τούτων δεομένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς σοι
 παῖδες ἐφάνημεν εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε Ἀνατόλιος οὐτοσί, B
 συγκαταρίθμει δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Μεμμόριον καὶ
 τὸν Σαλούστιον, πρὸς τούτοις δέ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆς, Ἀντικύρας σοι δεῖ· τί γὰρ ἂν
 ἀκκίζοιτό τις; ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ μύθου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ κοινῇ πάντων βασιλέως
 Ἡλίου, τί σοι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν πεποιήται ἔργον;
 τίτι παρέστης ἀγωνιζομένῳ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου; τίνα
 ἐθεράπευσας πενθοῦντα, τῷ λόγῳ διδάξας, ὅτι C
 μὴ κακὸν ὁ θάνατος μήτε τῷ παθόντι μήτε τοῖς
 οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ; τίς δ' αἰτιάσεται σε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 μειρακίσκος σωφροσύνης, ὅτι πεποιήκας αὐτὸν
 ἐξ ἀσώτου σῶφρονα καὶ καλὸν οὐ τὸ σῶμα μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ψυχὴν φαίνεσθαι; τίνα
 δὲ ἄσκησιν ἐποιήσω τοῦ βίου; τί δέ σοι ἄξιον
 τῆς Διογένους βακτηρίας ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία τῆς
 παρρησίας πεποιήται; ἔργον οἶε μέγα βακτηρίαν
 λαβεῖν ἢ τρίχας ἀνεῖναι, καὶ περινοστεῖν τὰς D
 πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, καὶ τοῖς μὲν βελτίσ-
 τοις λαιδορεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ χειρίστους θεραπεύειν;
 εἰπέ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ πρὸς τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀκρω-
 μένων, οἳ δι' ὑμᾶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐκτρέπονται,
 ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς μὲν τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνστάντιον
 εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἦλθες, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ μέχρι τῶν
 Γαλλίων; καίτοι πορευθεὶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴδὲν
 ἄλλο, ξυνεῖναι γοῦν σου τῆς φωνῆς μᾶλλον

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

or intelligence, and who on all accounts stand in need of such tales. If, however, you took us for children, me, for instance, or Anatolius here, and you may reckon with us Memmorius also and Sallust and add if you please all the others in due order, then you need a voyage to Anticyra.¹ For why should one pretend to be polite? Tell me, I ask, in the name of the gods, and of myth itself, or rather in the name of Helios the King of all the universe, what have you ever accomplished, great or small? When did you ever champion one who was resisting oppression and had right on his side? When did you ever comfort the mourner and teach him by your arguments that death is not an evil either for him who has suffered it or for his friends? What youth will ever give you the credit for his temperance, and say that you have made him show himself sober instead of dissolute, and beautiful not merely in body but far more in soul? What strenuous discipline have you ever embraced? What have you ever done to make you worthy of the staff of Diogenes or still more, by Zeus, of his freedom of speech? Do you really think it so great an achievement to carry a staff and let your hair grow, and haunt cities and camps uttering calumnies against the noblest men, and flattering the vilest? Tell me in the name of Zeus and of this audience now present, who are disgusted with philosophy because of men of your sort, why was it that you visited the late Emperor Constantius in Italy but could not travel as far as Gaul? And yet if you had come to me you would at any rate have associated with one who was better able to

¹ Hellebore, supposed to be a cure for madness, grew at Anticyra; hence the proverb: cf. Horace, *Satires* 2. 3. 166.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

δυναμένῳ πλησιάζειν ἔμελλες ἀνθρώπῳ. τί δὲ 224
 καὶ τὸ περιφοιτᾶν πανταχοῦ καὶ παρέχειν πρά-
 γματα ταῖς ἡμιόνοις; ἀκούω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ τοῖς
 τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐλαύνουσιν, οἳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἢ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας πεφρίκασι· χρῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 ξύλοις¹ ἀκούω τινὰς ὑμῶν χαλεπώτερον ἢ τοῖς
 ξίφεσιν ἐκείνοι. γίνεσθε οὖν αὐτοῖς εἰκότως
 φοβερώτεροι. πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν ἐθέμην ἐγὼ
 τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔοικα καὶ γράφειν. B
 ἀποτακτιστάς τινας ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς
 Παλιλαῖοι· τούτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ προέμενοι
 πολλὰ πάνυ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα πανταχόθεν
 ξυγκομίζουσι, καὶ προσκτῶνται² τὸ τιμᾶσθαι
 καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. τοιοῦτόν
 τι καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστί, πλὴν ἴσως τοῦ
 χρηματίζεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ παρ' ὑμᾶς γίνεται,
 παρ' ἡμᾶς δέ· συνετώτεροι γάρ ἐσμεν τῶν ἀνοήτων
 ἐκείνων· ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑμῖν εἶναι πρό- C
 σχημα τοῦ φορολογεῖν εὐπροσώπως, ὁποῖον C
 ἐκείνοις, ἣν λέγουσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐλεημοσύνην,
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα γε πάντα ἐστὶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἐκείνοις
 παραπλήσια. καταλελοίπατε τὴν πατρίδα ὥσπερ
 ἐκείνοι, περιφοιτᾶτε πάντα καὶ τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον διωχλήσατε μᾶλλον ἐκείνων καὶ ἱταμώ-
 τερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλούμενοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ
 ἀπελαννόμενοι. καὶ τί χρηστὸν ἐκ τούτων ὑμῖν
 ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις; ἀνῆλ- D
 θεν ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, εἶτα ὁ Σερηνιανός, εἶτα ὁ
 Χύτρων, εἶτα οὐκ οἶδα παιδάριον ὃ, τι ξανθὸν καὶ
 εὐμηκες, εἶτα σύ, καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἄλλοι δις τοσοῦτοι.

¹ τοῖς ξύλοις Hertlein would add ; Naber suggests βάκτροις.

² προσκτῶνται Hertlein suggests, προσῆν οἶμαι MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

comprehend your language. What do you gain by travelling about in all directions and wearing out the very mules you ride? Yes, and I hear that you wear out the mule drivers as well, and that they dread the sight of you Cynics even more than of soldiers. For I am told that some of you belabour them more cruelly with your staffs than do the soldiers with their swords, so that they are naturally more afraid of you. Long ago I gave you a nickname and now I think I will write it down. It is "monks,"¹ a name applied to certain persons by the impious Galilaeans. They are for the most part men who by making small sacrifices gain much or rather everything from all sources, and in addition secure honour, crowds of attendants and flattery. Something like that is your method, except perhaps for uttering divine revelations: but this is not your custom, though it is ours; for we are wiser than those insensate men. And perhaps too there is this difference that you have no excuse for levying tribute on specious pretexts as they do; which they call "alms," whatever that may mean. But in all other respects your habits and theirs are very much alike. Like them you have abandoned your country, you wander about all over the world, and you gave more trouble than they did at my headquarters, and were more insolent. For they were at any rate invited to come, but you we tried to drive away. And what good have you, or rather, what have the rest of us derived from all this? First arrived Asclepiades, then Serenianus, then Chytron, then a tall boy with yellow hair—I don't know his name—then you, and with you all

¹ Or "solitaries"; the word also means "heretic"; but Julian evidently alludes to Christian monks who lived on charity.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀνόδου γέγονεν ἀγαθόν,
ὦ λῶστοι; τίς ἤσθετο πόλις ἢ τίς ἰδιώτης τῆς
ὑμετέρας παρρησίας; οὐκ ἀφρόνως μὲν τὸ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς εἴλεσθε τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς θέλοντα
βασιλέα πορείαν, ἀνελθόντες δὲ ἀφρονέστερον
αὐτῇ καὶ ἀμαθέστερον καὶ μανιωδέστερον ἐχρή-
σασθε, κολακεύσαντες ἅμα καὶ ὑλακτήσαντες καὶ
βιβλία δόντες καὶ ταῦτα προσαχθῆναι¹ προσ- 225
λιπαρήσαντες; οὐδένα ὑμῶν οἶμαι ἐγὼ τοσαν-
τάκεις εἰς φιλοσόφου φοιτῆσαι, ὅσάκεις εἰς
ἀντιγραφέως, ὥστε ὑμῖν Ἀκαδήμεια καὶ Λύκειον
ἀντὶ τῆς Ποικίλης τε ἦν τῶν βασιλείων τὰ
πρόθυρα.

Οὐκ ἀπάξετε ταῦτα; οὐ καταβαλεῖτε νῦν
γούν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὅτε ὑμῖν οὐδέν ἐστι
πλέον ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης καὶ τῆς βακτηρίας; πῶς δὲ
καὶ γέγονεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐκαταφρόνητος ἢ φιλο-
σοφία; τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ δυσμαθέστατοι καὶ οὐδ' B
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἑρμοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν
ἐκκαθαρθῆναι δυνάμενοι, φρενωθῆναι δὲ οὐδὲ
πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς σὺν τῷ Ἑρμῇ, τοῦτο ἐκ
τῆς ἀγοραίου καὶ περιτρεχούσης ἀρπάσαντες
ἐντρεχείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν παροιμία περιφερόμενον
αὐτὸ γινώσκουσι τὸ ὅτι βότρυν πρὸς βότρυν
πεπαίνεται· ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κυνισμόν· βακτη-
ρία, τρίβων, κόμη, τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀμαθία, θράσος, C
ἱταμότης καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὴν
σύντομον, φασίν, ὁδὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐπὶ τὴν

¹ προσαχθῆναι Hertlein suggests, πραχθῆναι MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

twice as many more. And now, my good sirs, what good has come from your journey? What city or individual has had any experience of your alleged freedom of speech? Was it not foolish of you to choose in the first place to make this journey to an Emperor who did not even wish to set eyes on you? And when you had arrived, did you not behave even more foolishly and ignorantly and insanely in flattering and barking at me in the same breath, and offering me your books, and moreover imploring that they should be taken to me? I do not believe that any one of you ever visited a philosopher's school as diligently as you did my secretary: in fact the entrance to the Palace stood for you in place of the Academy and the Lyceum and the Portico.

Have done with all this nonsense! At any rate lay it aside now if not before, when you can get no advantage from your long hair and your staff. Shall I tell you how you have caused philosophy to be lightly esteemed? It is because the most ignorant of the rhetoricians, those whose tongues not King Hermes himself could purify, and who could not be made wise by Athene herself with the aid of Hermes, having picked up their knowledge from their industry in frequenting public places,—for they do not know the truth of the current proverb, "Grape ripens near grape"¹—then all rush into Cynicism. They adopt the staff, the cloak, the long hair, the ignorance that goes with these, the impudence, the insolence, and in a word everything of the sort. They say that they are travelling the short and ready road to virtue.² I would that you

¹ A proverb to express emulation; cf. Juvenal 2. 81.

² Plutarch, *Erotici* p. 759, says this of the Cynics; cf. Diogenes Laertius 7. 121.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἀρετὴν ἰέναι¹ ὄφελον καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν μακρὰν ἐπο-
 ρεύεσθε· ῥᾶον ἂν δι' ἐκείνης ἢ διὰ ταύτης ἤλθετε.
 οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχουσιν αἱ σύντομοι τὰς
 χαλεπότητας; καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς λεωφόροις ὁ μὲν
 τὴν σύντομον ἐλθεῖν δυνηθεὶς ῥᾶον ἐκπερίεισι τὴν
 κύκλῳ, οὐκέτι μέντοι τὸ ἀνάπαλιν ὁ κύκλῳ πορευ-
 θεὶς ἔλθοι ἂν πάντως καὶ τὴν ἐπίτομον, οὕτω δὴ² D
 καὶ ἐν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τέλος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀρχὴ μία
 γινῶναι τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀφομοιωθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς·
 ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι, τέλος δὲ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς
 κρείττους ὁμοιότης.

“Ὅστις οὖν Κυνικὸς εἶναι ἐθέλει, -πάντων ὑπερ-
 ιδὼν τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
 δοξῶν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπέστραπται
 πρότερον. ἐκείνῳ τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ἔστι χρυσίον,
 οὐχ ἡ ψάμμος ψάμμος, εἰ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν τις
 αὐτὰ ἐξετάξοι καὶ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέψειεν
 αὐτῷ τιμητῇ γενέσθαι· γῆν γὰρ αὐτὰ οἶδεν 226
 ἀμφοτέρα. τὸ σπανιώτερον δὲ καὶ τὸ ῥᾶον ἀν-
 θρώπων εἶναι κενοδοξίας ταῦτα καὶ ἀμαθίας νενό-
 μικεν ἔργα· τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
 ἐπαινουμένοις ἢ ψεγομένοις τίθεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ
 φύσει· φεύγει τὰς περιττὰς τροφάς· ἀποστρέ-
 φεται δὲ τὰ ἀφροδίσια. βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ
 σώματος, οὐ δόξῃ προστέτηκεν οὐδὲ περιμένει τὸν
 μάγειρον καὶ τὰ ὑποτρίμματα καὶ τὴν κνίσσαν,
 οὐδὲ τὴν Φρύνην οὐδὲ τὴν Λαῖδα οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ
 δαίμονος³ περιβλέπεται γαμετὴν οὐδὲ τὸ θυγάτριον B
 οὐδὲ τὴν θεράπαιναν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐκ τῶν

¹ ἰέναι Cobet, πορευόμεθα Hertlein suggests, lacuna V.

² δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

³ τοῦ δαίμονος Cobet, τοῦ δε Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

were going by the longer! For you would more easily arrive by that road than by this of yours. Are you not aware that short cuts usually involve one in great difficulties? For just as is the case with the public roads, a traveller who is able to take a short cut will more easily than other men go all the way round, whereas it does not at all follow that he who went round could always go the short cut, so too in philosophy the end and the beginning are one, namely, to know oneself and to become like the gods. That is to say, the first principle is self-knowledge, and the end of conduct is the resemblance to the higher powers.

Therefore he who desires to be a Cynic despises all the usages and opinions of men, and turns his mind first of all to himself and the god. For him gold is not gold or sand sand, if one enquire into their value with a view to exchanging them, and leave it to him to rate them at their proper worth: for he knows that both of them are but earth. And the fact that one is scarcer and the other easier to obtain he thinks is merely the result of the vanity and ignorance of mankind. He will judge of the baseness or nobility of an action, not by the applause or blame of men but by its intrinsic nature. He avoids any excess in food, and renounces the pleasures of love. When he is forced to obey the needs of the body he is not the slave of opinion, nor does he wait for a cook and sauces and a savoury smell, nor does he ever look about for Phryne or Lais or So-and-so's wife or young daughter or serving-maid. But as far as possible he satisfies his body's needs

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

προστυχόντων ἀποπλήσας τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸ ἐνοχλοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρῳσάμενος, ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύμπου κορυφῆς ἐπιβλέπει τοὺς ἄλλους

Ἄτης ἐν λειμῶνι κατὰ σκότον ἡλάσκοντας, ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ἀπολαύσεων ὑπομένοντας ὅσα οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν Κωκυτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θρυλοῦσιν οἱ κομφότεροι τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ σύντομος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη. δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀθρόως ἐκστῆναι ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γινῶναι, ὅτι θεὸς ἐστι, καὶ τὸν νοῦν μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀτρύτως καὶ ἀμετακινήτως συνέχειν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ καθαροῖς νοήμασιν, ὀλιγωρεῖν δὲ πάντα τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον κοπρίων ἐκβλητότερον, ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτάτῃ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς φασὶ ταύτη.¹ ἐπανάξω δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβην. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς μύθους προσήκει πρὸς παῖδας ἥτοι τῷ φρονεῖν, κἂν ἄνδρες ὦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν παιδαρίοις ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἐξεταστέον ὅπως μήτε εἰς θεοὺς μήτε εἰς ἀνθρώπους πλημμελὲς ἦ, καθάπερ ἔναγχος, δυσσεβὲς τι ῥηθείη· καὶ προσέτι τοῦτο ἐν ἅπασιν ἀκριβῶς βασανιστέον, εἰ πιθανός, εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι προσφυής, εἰ μῦθός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ πλαττόμενος. ἐπεὶ τό γε νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεποιημένον οὐ μῦθός ἐστι σός.² καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐνεανιεύσω· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν μῦθος

¹ ὡς φασὶ ταύτη Cobet, cf. *Oration* 4. 148 B, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

² σός. Hertlein suggests; σός, ὡς ἔφησς MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

with whatever comes to hand, and by thrusting aside all hindrances derived from the body he contemplates from above, from the peaks of Olympus, other men who are "Wandering in darkness in the meadow of Ate,"¹ and for the sake of a few wholly trifling pleasures are undergoing torments greater than any by the Cocytus or Acheron such as the most ingenious of the poets are always telling us about. Now the true short cut to philosophy is this. A man must completely come out of himself and recognise that he is divine, and not only keep his mind untiringly and steadfastly fixed on divine and stainless and pure thoughts, but he must also utterly despise his body, and think it, in the words of Heracleitus, "more worthless than dirt."² And by the easiest means he must satisfy his body's needs so long as the god commands him to use it as an instrument.

So much for that, as the saying is.³ Now to go back to the point at which I digressed.⁴ Since, as I was saying, myths ought to be addressed either to those who though grown men are children in intelligence, or to those who in actual years are mere children, we must take pains to utter in them no word that is offensive to gods or men or anything impious, as was done recently. And moreover we must in all cases apply careful tests to see whether the myth is plausible, closely related to the matter discussed and whether what is invented is really a myth. Now what you composed lately is not your own myth though you boasted that it was. Nay, your myth was an old one and you did

¹ Empedocles, *fr.* 21, Diels.

² Heracleitus, *fr.* 96, Diels.

³ Cf. *Oration* 4. 148 B.

⁴ 223 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἐστὶ παλαιός, ἐφήρμοσας δὲ αὐτὸν σὺ πράγμασιν 227
 ἑτέροις, ὅπερ οἶμαι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ τῇ τροπικῇ
 χρώμενοι τῶν νοημάτων κατασκευῇ· πολὺς δὲ ἐν
 τούτοις ὁ Πάριός ἐστι ποιητής. ἔοικας οὖν οὐδὲ
 πεποικῶς μῦθον, ὃ ξυνετώτατε, μάτην νεανιεύε-
 σθαι· καίτοι τοῦτο τίτθης ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐτρα-
 πέλου. Πλουτάρχου δὲ εἰ τὰ μυθικὰ διηγήματα
 τῶν σῶν εἴσω χειρῶν ἀφίκτο, οὐποτ' ἂν ἐλελήθει
 σε, τίνι διαφέρει πλάσαι τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς μῦθον καὶ
 τὸν κείμενον ἐφαρμόσαι πράγμασιν οἰκείοις. ἀλλ' B
 ἵνα μὴ σε τὴν σύντομον ὁδεύοντα βίβλοισι ἐμβα-
 λὼν μακραῖς καὶ δυσελίκτοις ἐπίσχω μικρὰ καὶ
 πεδήσω· σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Δημοσθένους ἀκήκοας
 μῦθον, ὃν ἐποίησεν ὁ Παιανιεύς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους, ἡνίκα ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐξήτει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 ῥήτορας. ἐχρῆν οὖν τι τοιοῦτο πλάσαι· ἢ πρὸς
 τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν μυθάριον τι τοιοῦτον;
 ἀναγκάσεις δέ με καὶ μυθοποιὸν γενέσθαι.

Πλουσίῳ ἀνδρὶ πρόβατα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ ἀγέλαι C
 βοῶν καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν, ἵπποι δὲ αὐτῷ
 πολλάκις μυρίαί ἔλος κάτα βουκολέοντο, καὶ
 ποιμένες δοῦλοί τε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι μισθωτοί, καὶ
 βουκόλοι βοῶν καὶ αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι καὶ ἵπποφορβοὶ
 τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πλείστα κτήματα. τούτων δὲ
 αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ἀπελελοίπει, πολ-
 λαπλάσια δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπεκτήσατο,¹ πλουτεῖν θέλων

¹ ἐπεκτήσατο Naber, ἐκτήσατο Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

but adapt it to fresh circumstances, as I believe people are in the habit of doing who use tropes and figures of thought. The poet of Paros¹ for instance is much given to this style. It seems then that you did not even invent your myth, my very clever friend, and that yours was an idle boast. Though in fact the thing is done by any nurse with an inventive turn. And if the mythical tales of Plutarch had ever fallen into your hands you would not have failed to observe what a difference there is between inventing a myth from the beginning and adapting to one's own purpose a myth that already exists. But I must not detain you even for a moment or hinder you on your way along that short cut to wisdom by making you embark on books that are long and hard to read. You have not even heard of the myth by Demosthenes which he of the Paeanian deme addressed to the Athenians when the Macedonian demanded that the Athenian orators be given up. You ought to have invented something of that sort. In Heaven's name was it too hard for you to relate some little myth of the kind? You will force me too to become a myth-maker.

A certain rich man² had numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and "ranging flocks of goats"³ and many times ten thousand mares "grazed his marsh-meadows."⁴ Many shepherds too he had, both slaves and hired freedmen, neatherds and goat-herds and grooms for his horses, and many estates withal. Now much of all this his father had bequeathed to him, but he had himself acquired

¹ Archilochus.

² Constantine.

³ *Iliad* 2. 474.

⁴ *Iliad* 20. 221.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἐν δίκη τε καὶ παρὰ δίκην· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν¹
 θεῶν ὀλίγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ γυναῖκες πολλαὶ D
 καὶ υἱεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες, οἷς ἐκείνος
 διανείμας τὴν οὐσίαν ἔπειτα ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν
 αὐτοὺς οἰκονομίας περὶ διδάξας, οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν τις
 δύναιτο τὰ τοιαῦτα κτᾶσθαι μὴ παρόντα ἢ πα-
 ρόντα διαφυλάττειν. ᾤετο γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας
 ἀρκεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν οὐ μάλα
 ἐπιστήμων τῆς τοιαύτης τέχνης, ἅτε μὴ λόγῳ
 προσειληφὼς αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ συνηθείᾳ τινὶ καὶ
 πείρᾳ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ οἱ φαῦλοι τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐκ 228
 τῆς ἐμπειρίας μόνον ἰώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅθεν
 καὶ διαφεύγει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων αὐτοῦς.
 ἀρκεῖν οὖν νομίσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν υἱέων πρὸς τὸ
 φυλάξαι τὴν οὐσίαν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως
 ἔσονται σπουδαῖοι. τὸ δὲ ἄρα αὐτοῖς ἥρξε πρῶ-
 του μὲν τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικημάτων. ἐπιθυμῶν
 γὰρ ἕκαστος ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ πολλὰ ἔχειν καὶ
 μόνος πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν πέλας ἐτράπετο. τέως μὲν B
 οὖν τοῦτο ἐπράττετο. προσαπέλανον δὲ καὶ οἱ
 ξυγγενεῖς, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ παιδευθέντες καλῶς, τῆς
 τῶν παίδων ἀνοίας τε καὶ ἀμαθίας. εἶτα ἐπίμ-
 πλατο φόνων πάντα, καὶ ἡ τραγικὴ κατὰ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ δαίμονος εἰς ἔργον ἤγετο· τὰ πατρῷα γὰρ
 θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ διελάγχανον, καὶ ἦν πάντα ἀκοσμίας
 πλήρη· πατρῷα μὲν ἱερὰ κατεσκάπτετο παρὰ τῶν
 παίδων ὀλιγορηθέντα πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 καὶ ἀποσυληθέντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἃ ἐτέθειτο C

¹ αὐτῷ τῶν Klimek, αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

many times more, being eager to enrich himself whether justly or unjustly ; for little did he care for the gods. Several wives he had, and sons and daughters by them, among whom he divided his wealth before he died. But he did not teach them how to manage it, or how to acquire more if it should fail, or how to preserve what they had. For in his ignorance he thought that their mere numbers would suffice, nor had he himself any real knowledge of that sort of art, since he had not acquired his wealth on any rational principle but rather by use and wont, like quack doctors who try to cure their patients by relying on their experience only, so that many diseases escape them altogether.¹ Accordingly since he thought that a number of sons would suffice to preserve his wealth, he took no thought how to make them virtuous. But this very thing proved to be the beginning of their iniquitous behaviour to one another. For every one of them desired to be as wealthy as his father and to possess the whole for himself alone, and so attacked the brother that was his neighbour. Now for a time they continued to behave thus. And their relatives also shared in the folly and ignorance of those sons, since they themselves had had no better education. Then ensued a general slaughter, and heaven brought the tragic curse² to fulfilment. For "by the edge of the sword they divided their patrimony" and everything was thrown into confusion. The sons demolished the ancestral temples which their father before them had despised and had stripped of the votive offerings

¹ Cf. Plato, *Charmides* 156 E.

² The curse of Oedipus on his sons ; cf. Euripides, *Phoenissae* 67 ; Plato, *Alcibiades* 2. 138 C ; Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 817, 942.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

παρὰ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν προπατέρων αὐτοῦ. καθαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνωκοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνήματα, προαγορεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης, ὅτι ἄρα πολλῶν αὐτοῖς δεήσει μνημάτων οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγον ἔμελε τῶν θεῶν.

Πάντων οὖν ὁμοῦ φυρομένων καὶ ξυντελουμένων γάμων τε οὐ γάμων καὶ βεβηλουμένων ὁμοῦ τοῖς θείοις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τὸν Δία ἔλεος ὑπήλθεν· D
εἶτα ἀπιδὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον· ὦ παῖ, εἶπεν, οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἀρχαιότερον ἐν θεοῖς βλάστημα, μνησικακεῖν ἔτι διανοῇ τῆς ὑπεροφίας ἀνδρὶ αὐθάδει καὶ τολμηρῷ, ὅς σε ἀπολιπὼν αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει αἷτιος¹ ἐγένετο τῶν τηλικούτων παθημάτων; ἢ νομίζεις, ὅτι μὴ χαλεπαίνεις αὐτῷ μηδ' ἀγανακ- 229
τεῖς μηδ' ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἰστοὺς θήγεις, ἔλαττον εἶναι ταύτης αἷτιος αὐτῷ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ἔρημον αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφείς; ἀλλ', ἔφη, καλῶμεν τὰς Μοίρας, εἴ πη βοηθητέος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐστίν. αἱ δὲ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτίκα τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἥλιος, ὥσπερ ἐννοῶν τι καὶ λογιζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, προσεῖχεν εἰς τὸν Δία πῆξας τὰ ὄμματα. τῶν Μοιρῶν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη· Κωλύετον, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἢ Ὅσιότης ξὺν τῇ Δίκῃ. σὸν οὖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ἐπεὶπερ ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευσας ὑπεικαθεῖν αὐταῖς, B
πείσαι καὶ ἐκείνας. ἀλλ' ἐμαὶ γάρ εἰσιν, ἔφη, θυγατέρες, καὶ ἄξιον δὴ ἐρέσθαι αὐτάς· τί τοίνυν,

¹ γένει αἷτιος Cobet, γένει καὶ παισὶν αἷτιος Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

that had been dedicated by many worshippers, but not least by his own ancestors. And besides demolishing the temples they erected sepulchres¹ both on new sites and on the old sites of the temples, as though impelled by fate or by an unconscious presentiment that they would ere long need many such sepulchres, seeing that they so neglected the gods.

Now when all was in confusion, and many marriages that were no marriages² were being concluded, and the laws of god and man alike had been profaned, Zeus was moved with compassion and addressing himself to Helios he said: "O my son, divine offspring more ancient than heaven and earth, art thou still minded to resent the insolence of that arrogant and audacious mortal, who by forsaking thee brought so many calamities on himself and his race? Thinkest thou that, though thou dost not show thine anger and resentment against him nor whet thine arrows against his children, thou art any less the author of his destruction in that thou dost abandon his house to desolation? Nay," said Zeus, "let us summon the Fates and enquire whether any assistance may be given the man." Forthwith the Fates obeyed the call of Zeus. But Helios who was as though absorbed in thought and inward debate yet gave constant heed and fixed his eyes on Zeus. Then spoke the eldest of the Fates: "O our father, Piety and Justice both restrain us. Therefore it is thine to prevail on them also, since thou hast ordered us to be subservient to them." And Zeus made answer, "Truly they are my daughters, and it

¹ The Christian churches were so called because they were built over the tombs of the martyrs. ² *i.e.* between cousins.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ὦ ποτνία, φατόν; ἀλλὰ τούτου μέν, εἰπέτην, ὦ πάτερ, αὐτὸς εἰ κύριος. σκόπει δὲ ὅπως ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πονηρὸς οὐτοσί τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ζήλος μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπικρατήσῃ.¹ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω, εἶπεν, ἐγὼ σκέψομαι. καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι πλησίον παροῦσαι πάντα ἐπέκλωθον, ὥς ὁ πατὴρ ἐβούλετο. C

Λέγειν δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἄρχεται πρὸς τὸν Ἥλιον· τουτὶ τὸ παιδίον, ἔφη· ξυγγενὲς δὲ ἦν αὐτῶν ἄρα παρερριμμένον που καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἀδελφιδοῦς ἐκείνου τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῶν κληρονόμων· τοῦτο, ἔφη, σὸν ἐστίν ἔκγονον. ὁμοσον οὖν τὸ ἐμόν τε καὶ τὸ σὸν² σκῆπτρον, ἢ μὴν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι διαφέροντως αὐτοῦ καὶ ποιμανεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ θεραπεύσειν τῆς νόσου. ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅπως οἶον ὑπὸ D καπνοῦ ῥύπου τε ἀναπέπλησται καὶ λιγνύος, κίνδυνός τε τὸ ὑπὸ σοῦ σπαρὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πῦρ ἀποσβῆναι, ἢ μὴ σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκήν. σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ τε ξυγχωρῶ καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι· κόμιζε οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ τρέφε. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος ἠὺφράνθη τε ἡσθεὶς τῷ βρέφει, σωζόμενον ἔτι καθορῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σπινθήρα μικρὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἔτρεφεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ παιδίον, ἐξαγαγὼν

ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ

Ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης.

230

ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν ἀμήτορα, τὴν παρθένον ἅμα τῷ Ἠλίῳ τὸ παιδάριον ἐκτρέφειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτράφη καὶ νεανίας ἐγένετο

Πρώτον ὑπηνήτης, τοῦπερ χαριεστάτη ἦβη,

¹ ἐπικρατήσῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐπικρατήσῃ MSS.

² τὸ σὸν Hertlein suggests, σὸν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

is meet that I question them. What then have ye to say, ye venerable goddesses?" "Nay, father," they replied, "that is as thou thyself dost ordain. But be careful lest this wicked zeal for impious deeds prevail universally among men." "I will myself look to both these matters," Zeus replied. Then the Fates approached and spun all as their father willed.

Next Zeus thus addressed Helios: "Thou seest yonder thine own child."¹ (Now this was a certain kinsman of those brothers who had been cast aside and was despised though he was that rich man's nephew and the cousin of his heirs.) "This child," said Zeus, "is thine own offspring. Swear then by my sceptre and thine that thou wilt care especially for him and cure him of this malady. For thou seest how he is as it were infected with smoke and filth and darkness and there is danger that the spark of fire which thou didst implant in him will be quenched, unless thou clothe thyself with might.² Take care of him therefore and rear him. For I and the Fates yield thee this task." When King Helios heard this he was glad and took pleasure in the babe, since he perceived that in him a small spark of himself was still preserved. And from that time he reared the child whom he had withdrawn "from the blood and noise of war and the slaughter of men."³ And father Zeus bade Athene also, the Motherless Maiden, share with Helios the task of bringing up the child. And when, thus reared, he had become a youth "With the first down on his chin, when youth has all its charms,"⁴ he learned

¹ Julian himself.

³ *Iliad* 11. 164.

² *Iliad* 9. 231.

⁴ *Iliad* 24. 348.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

κατανοήσας τῶν κακῶν τὸ πλήθος, ὅπόσον τι περὶ
 τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιούς ἐγεγόνει,
 ἐδέησε μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τάρταρον προέσθαι πρὸς
 τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλαγεῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἥλιος B
 εὐμενὴς ὢν μετὰ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ὕπνου τινὰ
 καὶ κάρου ἐμβαλὼν τῆς ἐπινοίας ταύτης ἀπήγαγεν,
 αὐθις ἀνεγερθεὶς ἅπεισιν εἰς ἐρημίαν. εἶτα ἐκεῖ
 λίθον τινὰ εὐρὼν μικρὸν ἀνεπαύσατο καὶ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἐσκόπει, τίνα τρόπον ἐκφεύξεται τῶν τοσού-
 των κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ πάντα C
 ἐφαίνετο μοχθηρά, καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τέως.
 Ἑρμῆς οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν οἰκείως πρὸς
 αὐτόν· ὥσπερ ἡλικιώτης νεανίσκος φανεὶς ἡσπά-
 σατό τε φιλοφρόνως καί, Δεῦρο, εἶπεν, ἡγεμῶν σοι
 ἐγὼ ἔσομαι λειοτέρας¹ καὶ ὀμαλεστέρας ὁδοῦ
 τουτὶ τὸ μικρὸν ὑπερβάντι τὸ σκολιὸν καὶ ἀπό-
 τομον χωρίον, οὗ πάντας ὁρᾶς προσπταίοντας καὶ
 ἀπιόντας ἐντεῦθεν ὀπίσω. καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀπιὼν
 ὥχετο μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ
 ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ,² γυμνὰ δὲ αὐτῷ D
 τέως ἦν τὰ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. πεποιθὼς οὖν αὐτῷ
 προῆγεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ λείας ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀθρύπτου
 καθαρᾶς τε πάνυ καὶ καρποῖς βριθούσης ἄνθεσί
 τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, ὅσα ἐστὶ θεοῖς φίλα, καὶ
 δένδρεσι κιττοῦ καὶ δάφνης καὶ μυρρίνης. ἀγαγὼν
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ
 τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατὴρ πάντων
 κάθηται τῶν θεῶν. ὅρα οὖν· ἐνταυθὰ ἐστὶν ὁ
 μέγας κίνδυνος· ὅπως αὐτὸν ὡς εὐαγέστατα
 προσκυνήσεις, αἰτήσῃ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὃ, τι ἂν

¹ λειοτέρας, Klimmek, λείας Hertlein, MSS.

² δόρυ Hertlein suggests, μάχαιραν MSS ; cf. 231 c.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

the numerous disasters that had befallen his kinsmen and his cousins, and had all but hurled himself into Tartarus, so confounded was he by the extent of those calamities. Then Helios of his grace, aided by Athene, Goddess of Forethought, threw him into a slumber or trance, and so diverted him from that purpose. Then when he had waked from this he went away into the desert. And there he found a stone and rested for a while thereon, debating within himself how he should escape evils so many and so vast. For all things now appeared grievous to him and for the moment there was no hope anywhere. Then Hermes, who had an affinity for him,¹ appeared to him in the guise of a youth of his own age, and greeting him kindly said, "Follow me, and I will guide thee by an easier and smoother road as soon as thou hast surmounted this winding and rugged place where thou seest all men stumbling and obliged to go back again." Then the youth set out with great circumspection, carrying a sword and shield and spear, though as yet his head was bare. Thus relying on Hermes he went forward by a road smooth, untrodden and very bright, and overhung with fruits and many lovely flowers such as the gods love, and with trees also, ivy and laurel and myrtle. Now when Hermes had brought him to the foot of a great and lofty mountain, he said, "On the summit of this mountain dwells the father of all the gods. Be careful then—for herein lies the greatest risk of all²—to worship him with the utmost piety and ask of him whatever thou wilt. Thou wilt choose,

¹ *i.e.* as the god of eloquence.

² Plato, *Republic* 618 B.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἐθέλῃς· ἔλοιο δέ, ὦ παῖ, τὰ βέλτιστα. ταῦτα 231
εἰπὼν ἀπέκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν Ἑρμῆς πάλιν. ὁ δὲ
ἐβούλετο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πυθέσθαι, τί ποτε
αἰτήσασθαι χρή παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὥς
δὲ πλησίον ὄντα οὐ κατείδεν, Ἐνδεὴς μὲν, ἔφη,
καλὴ δὲ ὁμῶς ἡ ξυμβουλή. αἰτώμεθα οὖν ἀγαθῇ
τύχῃ τὰ κράτιστα καίπερ οὐπω σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα
τῶν θεῶν ὀρώντες. ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡ-ὄ, τι σοι φίλον
ὄνομα καὶ ὅπως ὀνομάζεσθαι· δείκνυέ μοι τὴν ἐπὶ B
σε φέρουσιν ὁδὸν ἄνω. κρείττονα γάρ μοι τὰ ἐκεῖ
φαίνεται χωρία παρὰ σὲ μαντευομένῳ τὸ παρὰ
σοὶ κάλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ὁθεν πεπορεύμεθα
τέως ἀγλαίας.

Εὐξαμένῳ ταῦτα εἶτε ὕπνος τις εἶτε ἔκστασις
ἐπῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἥλιον.
ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ὑπὸ τῆς θεάς, Ἀλλὰ
σοὶ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ θεῶν πάτερ, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ
τούτων ἕνεκα πάντων ἑμαυτὸν φέρων ἀναθήσω. C
περιβαλὼν¹ δὲ τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ Ἥλιου τὰς χεῖρας
ἀπριξ εἵχετο σώζειν ἑαυτὸν δεόμενος. ὁ δὲ, καλέ-
σας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον ἀνακρίνειν αὐτόν,
ὅποσα ἐκόμισεν ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τὴν τε ἀσπίδα
καὶ τὸ ξίφος μετὰ τοῦ δόρατος, Ἀλλὰ ποῦ σοι,
ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τὸ Γοργόνειον καὶ τὸ κράνος; ὁ δὲ,
Καὶ ταῦτα, εἶπε, μόγις ἐκτησάμην· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν
ὁ ξυμπουῶν ἐν τῇ τῶν συγγενῶν οἰκίᾳ παρερρι-
μένῳ. Ἰσθι οὖν, εἶπεν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος, ὅτι σε
πάντως χρή ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκείσε. ἐνταῦθα ἐδεῖτο D

¹ περιβαλὼν Cöbet, περιβάλλων Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

my child, only what is best." So saying Hermes once more became invisible, though the youth was fain to learn from him what he ought to ask from the father of the gods. But when he saw that he was no longer at his side he said, "The advice though incomplete is good nevertheless. Therefore let me by the grace of fortune ask for what is best, though I do not as yet see clearly the father of the gods. Father Zeus—or whatever name thou dost please that men should call thee by,¹—show me the way that leads upwards to thee. For fairer still methinks is the region where thou art, if I may judge of the beauty of thy abode from the splendour of the place whence I have come hither."

When he had uttered this prayer a sort of slumber or ecstasy came over him. Then Zeus showed him Helios himself. Awestruck by that vision the youth exclaimed, "For this and for all thy other favours I will dedicate myself to thee, O Father of the Gods!" Then he cast his arms about the knees of Helios and would not let go his hold but kept entreating him to save him. But Helios called Athene and bade her first enquire of him what arms he had brought with him. And when she saw his shield and sword and spear, she said, "But where, my child, is thy ægis² and thy helmet?" "Even these that I have," he replied, "I procured with difficulty. For in the house of my kinsfolk there was none to aid one so despised." "Learn therefore," said mighty Helios, "that thou must without fail return thither." Thereupon he entreated him

¹ Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 160.

² Literally "the Gorgon's head," which formed the centre of the ægis or breastplate of Athene; cf. 234 A.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

μὴ πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πάλιν, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν,
 ὥς οὐκέθ' ὕστερον ἐπανήξοντα, ἀπολούμενον δὲ
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν. ὥς δὲ ἐλιπάρει δακρύων,
 Ἄλλὰ νέος εἶ, ἔφη, καὶ ἀμύητος. ἴθι οὖν παρ'
 ὑμᾶς, ὥς ἂν μνηθείης ἀσφαλῶς τε ἐκεῖ διάγοις·
 χρή γάρ σ' ἀπιέναι καὶ καθαίρειν ἐκεῖνα πάντα τὰ
 ἀσεβήματα, παρακαλεῖν δὲ ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανί- 232
 σκος εἰστήκει σιωπῇ. καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἡλῖος ἐπὶ
 τινα σκοπιὰν ἀγαγὼν αὐτόν, ἧς τὸ μὲν ἄνω φῶτος
 ἦν πλήρες, τὸ δὲ ὑποκάτω μυρίας ἀχλὺς, δι' ἧς
 ὥσπερ δι' ὕδατος ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς διικνεῖτο τῆς ἐκ
 τοῦ βασιλέως αὐγῆς Ἡλίου, Ὁρᾶς, εἶπε, τὸν
 ἀνεψιὸν τὸν κληρονόμον; καὶ ὅς, Ὁρῶ, ἔφη. Τί
 δέ; τοὺς βουκόλους τουτουσὶ καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας;
 καὶ τούτους ὁρᾶν εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος. Ποταπὸς οὖν B
 τίς σοὶ ὁ κληρονόμος φαίνεται; ποταποὶ δ' αὖ οἱ
 ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι; καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ὁ μὲν
 μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ νυστάζειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ καταδύο-
 μενος¹ λεληθότως ἡδυπαθεῖν, τῶν ποιμένων δὲ
 ὀλίγον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀστεῖον, τὸ πλῆθος δὲ
 μοχθηρὸν καὶ θηριῶδες. ἐσθίει γὰρ καὶ πιπράσκει
 τὰ πρόβατα καὶ ἀδικεῖ διπλῇ τὸν δεσπότην. τά
 τε γὰρ ποίμνια αὐτοῦ φθείρει καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν
 μικρὰ ἀποφέρων ἄμισθον εἶναί φησι καὶ ὀδύρεται. C
 καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ἐντελεῖς
 ἢ φθείρειν τὴν ποίμνην. Ἄν οὖν, ἔφη, σὲ ἐγὼ
 μετὰ ταυτησὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων, ἐπιτάττοντος τοῦ

¹ καταδύομενος Naber thinks corrupt, but cf. *Letter to the Athenians* 285 A.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

not to send him to earth again but to detain him there, since he would never be able to mount upwards a second time but would be overwhelmed by the ills of earth. But as he wept and implored. Helios replied, "Nay, thou art young and not yet initiated. Return therefore to thine own people that thou mayst be initiated and thereafter dwell on earth in safety. For return thou must, and cleanse away all impiety and invoke me to aid thee, and Athene and the other gods." When Helios had said this the youth remained silent. Then mighty Helios led him to a high peak whose upper region was filled with light but the lower with the thickest mist imaginable, through which, as through water, the light of the rays of King Helios penetrated but faintly. "Thou seest," said Helios, "thy cousin the heir?"¹ "I see him," the youth replied. "Again, dost thou see yonder herdsmen and shepherds?" The youth answered that he did. "Then what thinkest thou of the heir's disposition? And what of his shepherds and herdsmen?" "He seems to me," replied the youth, "to be for the most part asleep, sunk in forgetfulness and devoted to pleasure; and of his shepherds a few are honest, but most are vicious and brutal. For they devour or sell his sheep, and doubly injure their master, in that they not only ruin his flocks but besides that they make great gain and return him but little thereof, while they declare with loud complaint that they are defrauded of their wages. And yet it were better that they should demand and obtain their full pay than that they should destroy the flock." "Now what if I and Athene here," said

¹ Constantius.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

Διός, ἀντὶ τοῦ κληρονόμου τούτου πάντων ἐπι-
τροπον τούτων καταστήσω—; πάλιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ
νεανίσκος ἀντείχετο καὶ πολλὰ ἰκέτευεν αὐτοῦ
μένειν. ὁ δέ, Μὴ λίαν ἀπειθῆς ἔσο, φησί, μὴ
ποτέ

σ' ἀπεχθήρω, ὥς νῦν ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα.

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, Ἄλλ', ὦ μέγιστε, εἶπεν, Ἦλιε
καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ, σέ τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμαρτύρομαι τὸν
Δία, χρήσθέ μοι πρὸς ὃ, τι βούλεσθε. πάλιν οὖν D
ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἄφνω φανείς ἐποίησε τὸν νεανίσκον
θαρραλεώτερον. ἤδη γὰρ διανοεῖτο τῆς τε ὀπίσω
πορείας καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διατριβῆς ἡγρηκέναι τὸν
ἡγεμόνα. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Μάνθανε, εἶπεν, ὦ λῶστε,
πατὴρ ἀγαθοῦ τουτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐμὸν βλά-
στημα. τοῦτον, ἔφη, τὸν κληρονόμον οἱ βέλτιστοι
μὲν οὐκ εὐφραίνουσι τῶν ποιμένων, οἱ κόλακες δέ
καὶ οἱ μοχθηροὶ δοῦλον καὶ ὑποχείριον πεποίηνται.
συμβαίνει οὖν αὐτῷ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν μὴ 233
φιλεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων φιλεῖν¹ εἰς
τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι. σκόπει οὖν ὅπως ἐπαν-
ελθὼν μὴ πρὸ τοῦ φίλου θήσῃ τὸν κόλακα.
δευτέραν ἄκουέ μου παραίνεσιν, ὦ παῖ. νυστάζων
οὗτος ἐξαπατᾶται τὰ πολλὰ· σὺ δὲ νῆφε καὶ
γρηγόρει, μὴ σε διὰ τῆς τοῦ φίλου παρρησίας ὁ
κόλαξ ἐξαπατήσας λάθῃ,² χαλκεὺς οἶά τις γέμων
καπνοῦ καὶ μαρίλης, ἔχων ἱμάτιον λευκὸν καὶ τὰ B
πρόσωπα τῷ ψιμυθίῳ κεχρισμένος, εἴτα αὐτῷ
δοίῃς γῆμαί τινα τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων. τρίτης
ἐπάκουέ μου παραινέσεως, καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς
φύλαττε σαυτόν, αἰδοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀνδρῶν

¹ φιλεῖν Cobet, φίλων Hertlein, MSS.

² λάθοι Hertlein suggests, λάθῃ MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Helios, "obeying the command of Zeus, should appoint thee to govern all these, in place of the heir?" Then the youth clung to him again and earnestly entreated that he might remain there. "Do not be obstinate in disobedience," said Helios, "lest perchance I hate thee beyond measure, even as I have loved thee."¹ Then said the youth, "Do thou, O most mighty Helios, and thou, Athene,—and thee too, Father Zeus, do I call to witness,—dispose of me as ye will." Then Hermes suddenly appeared once more, and inspired him with greater courage. For now he thought that he had found a guide for the journey back, and for his sojourn on earth. Then said Athene, "Attend, good youth, that art born of myself and of this god, thy noble sire! The most virtuous of the shepherds do not please this heir, for flatterers and profligates have made him their slave and tool. Thus it is that he is not beloved by the good, and is most deeply wronged by those who are supposed to love him. Be careful then when thou returnest that he make thee not his flatterer rather than his friend. This second warning also do thou heed, my son. Yonder man slumbers, and hence he is often deceived, but do thou be sober and vigilant,² lest the flatterer assume the frankness of a friend and so deceive thee; which is as though a smith covered with smoke and cinders should come wearing a white garment and with his face painted white, and thus induce thee to give him one of thy daughters in marriage.³ My third warning to thee is this: do thou very zealously keep watch over thyself, and reverence us in the first

¹ *Iliad* 3. 415.

² *Peter* 1. 5. 8; *Thessalonians* 1. 5. 6.

³ An echo of Plato, *Republic* 495 E.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

δὲ ὅστις ἡμῖν προσόμοιός ἐστιν, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα-
 ὁρᾷς ὅπως τοῦτον τὸν ἡλίθιον ἔβλαψεν αἰσχύνῃ
 καὶ τὸ λῖαν ἄγαν εἶναι καταπλήγα;

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος αὖθις τὸν λόγον δια-
 δεξάμενος εἶπεν. Ἐλόμενος φίλους ὡς φίλοις C
 χρῶ, μηδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰκέτας μηδὲ θεράποντας
 νόμιζε, πρόσιθι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ
 ἀπλούστατα καὶ γενναίως, μὴ λέγων μὲν ἄλλα,
 φρονῶν δὲ ἕτερα περὶ αὐτῶν. ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ
 τοῦτον τὸν κληρονόμον τοῦτο ἐπέτριψεν, ἢ πρὸς
 τοὺς φίλους ἀπιστία; φίλει τοὺς ἀρχομένους
 ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς σέ. τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡγείσθω σοι τῶν
 καλῶν ἀπάντων. ἐσμέν γάρ σου καὶ εὐεργεταὶ καὶ D
 φίλοι καὶ σωτῆρες. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος
 διεχύθη καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἅπαντα ἤδη τοῖς θεοῖς
 πειθόμενος. Ἄλλ' ἴθι, ἔφη, πορεύου μετὰ ἀγαθῆς
 ἐλπίδος. ἡμεῖς γάρ σοι πανταχοῦ συνεσόμεθα
 ἐγὼ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὁδε καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν
 οἱ θεοὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν
 αἴρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν πανταχοῦ τὸ θεῖον
 γένος, ἕως ἂν τά τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅσιος ᾗς καὶ τὰ
 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πιστὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς 234
 ὑπηκόους φιλάνθρωπος, ἀρχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἡγού-
 μενος ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιστα· ἀλλὰ μήτε ταῖς σεαυτοῦ
 μήτε ταῖς ἐκείνων¹ ἐπιθυμίαις δουλεύων ὑπεικά-
 θης. ἔχων οὖν τὴν πανοπλίαν,² ἣν ἐκόμισας
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἅπιθι προσλαβὼν ταύτην μὲν τὴν
 δᾶδα παρ' ἐμοῦ, ἵνα σοι καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ φῶς
 λάμπῃ μέγα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιποθῆς τῶν τῇδε,
 ταυτησι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς καλῆς τό τε Γοργόνειον

¹ ταῖς ἐκείνων Cobet, ἐκείνων ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

² τὴν πανοπλίαν Hertlein suggests, πανοπλίαν MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

place, and among men only him who resembles us, and no one besides. Thou seest how false shame and excessive timidity have injured this foolish man."

Then mighty Helios took up the tale and said, "When thou hast chosen thy friends treat them as friends and do not regard them as thy servants and attendants, but let thy conduct towards them be generous, candid, and honourable: say not one thing about them while thou thinkest another. Thou seest that it was treachery to his friends that destroyed this heir. Love thy subjects even as we love thee. Prefer our worship to all other blessings. For we are thy benefactors and friends and preservers." At these words the youth became calm and showed plainly that he was already obedient in all things to the gods. "Come," said Helios, "now depart with good hope. For everywhere we shall be with thee, even I and Athene and Hermes here, and with us all the gods that are on Olympus or in the air or on earth and the whole race of gods everywhere, so long as thou art pious towards us and loyal to thy friends, and humane towards thy subjects, ruling them and guiding them to what is best. But never yield to thy own passions or become the slave of theirs. Keep the armour that thou hast brought hither, and depart, but first receive from me this torch so that even on earth a great light may shine for thee and that thou mayst not long for the things of earth. And from fair Athene here receive an

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

καὶ τὸ κράνος· πολλὰ γάρ, ὁράς, ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, καὶ
 δίδωσιν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ. δώσει δέ σοι καὶ Ἑρμῆς B
 χρυσὴν ῥάβδον. ἔρχου οὖν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ κοσμη-
 θείς ταύτῃ διὰ πάσης μὲν γῆς, διὰ πάσης δὲ
 θαλάττης, ἀμετακινήτως τοῖς ἡμετέροις πειθόμενος
 νόμοις, καὶ μηδεὶς σε μήτε ἀνδρῶν μήτε γυναικῶν,
 μήτε τῶν οἰκείων μήτε τῶν ξένων ἀναπέσῃ τῶν
 ἐντολῶν¹ ἐκλαθέσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἐμμένων γὰρ
 αὐταῖς ἡμῖν μὲν ἔσῃ φίλος καὶ τίμιος, αἰδοῖος
 δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῶν ὑπηρέταις, φοβερὸς δὲ C
 ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς καὶ κακοδαίμοσιν. ἴσθι δὲ C
 σεαυτῷ τὰ σαρκία δεδόσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας
 ἕνεκα ταυτησί. βουλόμεθα γάρ σοι τὴν προ-
 γονικὴν οἰκίαν αἰδοῖ τῶν προγόνων ἀποκαθῆραι.
 μέμνησο οὖν, ὅτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχεις καὶ
 ἔκγονον ἡμετέραν, ἐπόμενός τε ἡμῖν ὅτι θεὸς
 ἔσῃ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ὄψει σὺν ἡμῖν πατέρα.

Τοῦτο εἴτε μῦθος εἴτε ἀληθής ἐστὶ λόγος οὐκ
 οἶδα. τὸ παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πεποιημένον, τίνα βούλει
 τὸν Πᾶνα, τίνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν Δία, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο,² D
 ὡς ἐσμέν ἐγὼ τε καὶ σύ, σὺ μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ δὲ
 ὁ Πᾶν; ὦ τοῦ γελοίου Ψευδόπανος, γελοιοτέρου
 μέντοι νῆ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν τοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον
 ἢ Διὸς ἀνθρώπου. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτεχνῶς
 ἐκ μαινομένου³ στόματος οὔτι τὴν ἔνθεον, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν ἐκπληκτον μανίαν; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ
 Σαλμωνεὺς ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς δίκην, 235
 ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐπεχείρει Ζεὺς εἶναι; τὸ δὲ
 ἐκ τῶν Ἡσιόδου λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομασάντων

¹ τῶν ἐντολῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐντολῶν MSS.

² τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, τοῦτον MSS.

³ μαινομένου Hertlein suggests, τοῦ μαινομένου MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

aegis and helmet. For as thou seest she has many, and she gives them to whom she will. And Hermes too will give thee a golden wand. Go then thus adorned in full armour over sea and land, steadfastly obeying our laws, and let no man or woman or kinsman or foreigner persuade thee to neglect our commands. For while thou dost abide by them thou wilt be loved and honoured by us and respected by our good servants and formidable to the wicked and impious. Know that a mortal frame was given to thee that thou mightest discharge these duties. For we desire, out of respect for thy ancestor to cleanse the house of thy forefathers. Remember therefore that thou hast an immortal soul that is our offspring, and that if thou dost follow us thou shalt be a god and with us shalt behold our father."

Now whether this be a fable or a true narrative I cannot say. But in your composition, whom do you mean by Pan, and whom by Zeus unless you and I are they, that is, you are Zeus and I am Pan? What an absurd counterfeit Pan! But you are still more absurd, by Asclepius, and very far indeed from being Zeus! Is not all this the utterance of a mouth that foams with morbid rather than inspired madness?¹ Do you not know that Salmoneus² in his day was punished by the gods for just this, for attempting, though a mortal man, to play the part of Zeus? Then too there is the account in Hesiod's poems of those who styled them-

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus* 244 foll.

² *Odyssey* 11. 235; Pindar, *Pythian* 4. 143; Salmoneus was destroyed by a thunder-bolt for imitating the thunder and lightning of Zeus.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν, "Ἦρας τε καὶ
 Διός, εἰ μήπω καὶ νῦν ἀκήκοας, ἔχω σοι συγγνώ-
 ναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιδοτριβήθης καλῶς οὐδὲ ἔτυχες
 καθηγεμόνος, ὁποίου περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐγὼ
 τουτουὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, μεθ' ὃν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα
 τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἦλθον ὑπ' ἀνδρὶ τελεσθηςόμενος,
 ὃν νενόμικα τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν πάντων διαφέρειν. B
 ὁ δέ με πρὸ πάντων ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ θεοὺς
 ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν νομίζειν ἡγεμόνας ἐδίδασκεν.
 εἰ μὲν οὖν τι προὔργου πεποίηκεν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἰδείη
 καὶ πρὸ τούτου γε οἱ βασιλεῖς θεοί· τουτὶ δὲ
 ἐξήρει τὸ μανιώδες καὶ θρασύ, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτό με
 ποιεῖν ἑμαυτοῦ σωφρονέστερον. ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ,
 ὥς οἴσθα, τοῖς ἔξωθεν πλεονεκτήμασιν ἐπτερω-
 μένος ὑπέταξα ὅμως ἑμαυτὸν τῷ καθηγεμόνι C
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου φίλοις καὶ ἡλικιώταις καὶ
 συμφοιτηταῖς, καὶ ὧν ἤκουον ἐπαινουμένων παρ'
 αὐτοῦ, τούτων ἔσπευδον ἀκροατὴς εἶναι, καὶ
 βιβλία ταῦτα ἀνεγίνωσκον, ὅποσα αὐτὸς δοκι-
 μάσειεν.

Οὕτως ἡμεῖς ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι τελούμενοι, φιλο-
 σόφῳ μὲν τῷ τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας με τελέ-
 σαντι, φιλοσοφωτάτῳ δὲ τῷ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς
 φιλοσοφίας δείξαντι, σμικρὰ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἔξωθεν
 ἡμῖν προσπεσούσας ἀσχολίας, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀπε- D
 λαύσαμεν τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς, οὐ τὴν σύντομον,
 ἣν σὺ φῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν κύκλῳ πορευθέντες· καίτοι
 νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν οἶμαι ὅτι σου
 συντομωτέραν ἐτραπόμην. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς,

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

selves by the names of the gods, even of Hera and of Zeus, but if you have not heard of it till this moment I can excuse you for that. For you have not been well educated, nor did fate bestow on you such a guide to the poets as I had—I mean this philosopher¹ now present: and later on I arrived at the threshold of philosophy to be initiated therein by the teaching of one² whom I consider superior to all the men of my own time. He used to teach me to practise virtue before all else, and to regard the gods as my guides to all that is good. Now whether he accomplished anything of real profit he himself must determine, or rather the ruling gods; but at least he purged me of such infatuate folly and insolence as yours, and tried to make me more temperate than I was by nature. And though, as you know, I was armed³ with great external advantages, nevertheless I submitted myself to my preceptor and to his friends and compeers and the philosophers of his school, and I was eager to be instructed by all whose praises I heard uttered by him, and I read all the books that he approved.

Thus then I was initiated by those guides, in the first place by a philosopher who trained me in the preparatory discipline, and next by that most perfect philosopher who revealed to me the entrance to philosophy; and though I achieved but little on account of the engrossing affairs that overwhelmed me from without, still for all that I have had the benefit of right training, and have not travelled by the short road as you say you have, but have gone all the way round. Though indeed I call the gods to witness, I

¹ Maximus of Ephesus.

² Iamblichus.

³ Literally "winged."

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

εἰ μὴ φορτικὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοῖς προθύροις ἔστηκα,
 σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν προθύρων εἰ πόρρω. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς
 ἢ τοῖς σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς —, ἀφελὼν δὲ τὸ δύσφημον
 τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον· εἰ βούλει
 δέ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτὸ ἀνάσχου πράως λεγό-
 μενον, — τίς μετουσία; πᾶσιν ἐπιτιμᾶς αὐτὸς 236
 οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου πράττων, ἐπαινεῖς φορτικῶς
 ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ῥητόρων, οἷς διὰ
 τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀπορίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν εὐρεῖν
 ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὅ, τι φῶσιν, ἢ Δῆλος ἐπέρχεται
 καὶ ἡ Λητὼ μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν, εἴτα κύκνοι λιγυρὸν
 ἄδοντες καὶ ἐπηχοῦντα αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα, λειμῶνές
 τε ἔνδροσοι μαλακῆς πόας καὶ βαθείας πλήρεις,
 ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων ὁδμὴ καὶ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτὸ καί
 τινες εἰκόνες τοιαῦται. ποῦ τοῦτο Ἰσοκράτης B
 ἐν τοῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοῖς ἐποίησε λόγοις; ποῦ δὲ
 τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ταῖς Μούσαις
 ἐτελοῦντο γνησίως, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν;
 ἀφήμι δὲ τὰ ἐξῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτους
 ἀπεχθανόμενος ἅμα τοῖς τε φαυλοτάτοις τῶν
 Κυνικῶν καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων προσκρούσαιμι· ὥς
 ἔμοιγε πρὸς τε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Κυνικῶν,

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

believe that the road I took was really a shorter road to virtue than yours. For I, at any rate, if I may say so without bad taste, am standing at the entrance, whereas you are a long way even from the entrance. "But as for virtue, you and your brethren—,"¹ omit the ill-sounding phrase and fill in the blank yourself! Or rather, if you please, bear with me when I "put it mildly"²—"what part or lot have you in it?" You criticise everybody, though you yourself do nothing to deserve praise; your praises are in worse taste than those of the most ignorant rhetoricians. They, because they have nothing to say and cannot invent anything from the matter in hand, are always dragging in Delos and Leto with her children, and then "swans singing their shrill song and the trees that echo them," and "dewy meadows full of soft, deep grass," and the "scent of flowers," and "the season of spring," and other figures of the same sort.³ When did Isocrates ever do this in his panegyrics? Or when did anyone of those ancient writers who were genuine votaries of the Muses, and not like the writers of to-day? However, I omit what I might add, lest I should make them also my enemies, and offend at once the most worthless Cynics and the most worthless rhetoricians. Though indeed I have nothing but friendly feelings for the really virtuous Cynics, if

¹ A direct quotation from Demosthenes, *De Corona* 128; the word omitted by Julian is *κάθαρμα* = "off-scourings," or "outcast," addressed by Demosthenes to Aeschines.

² An echo of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1. 5. 14.

³ For this device of introducing hackneyed poetical and mythological allusions cf. Themistius 330, 336 c; Aristides, *Oration* 20. 428 d; Himerius, *Oration* 18. 1. Epictetus 3. 282.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

εἴ τις ἄρα ἔστι νῦν τοιοῦτος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
γενναίους ῥήτοράς ἐστι φίλα¹ πάντα. τῶν μὲν C
δὴ τοιούτων λόγων, εἰ καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἐπιρρεῖ·
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅσον οὐχὶ λέγειν ἐθέλων τις ἐκ
πάνυ δαψιλοῦς ἀντλήσειεν ἀν πίθου· τῆς προ-
κειμένης ἡμῖν ἀσχολίας ἔνεκεν ἀφέξομαι. μικρὰ
δὲ ἔτι τῷ λόγῳ προσθεὶς ὥσπερ ὀφλήματι τὸ
ἐνδέον ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τρέψομαι, ταυτηνὶ τὴν ξυγ- D
γραφὴν αὐτοῦ που πληρώσας.

Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν εὐλάβεια περὶ τὰ
τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα, τίς δὲ ἡ Πλάτωνος; ποταπὸς
δὲ ἦν ἐν τούτοις Ἀριστοτέλης; ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτὸ
ἰδεῖν; ἢ τὸν μὲν Σάμιον οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ τοιοῦτον
γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τὸ ὀνόματα θεῶν ἐν τῇ
σφραγίδι φορεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν οὔτε τὸ ὄρκῳ χρῆσθαι
προπετῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν. εἰ δὲ νῦν
λέγοιμι, ὅτι καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐπορεύθη καὶ 237
Πέρσας εἶδε καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντα ἐπειράθη τὰ
μυστήρια τῶν θεῶν ἐποπτεῦσαι καὶ τελεσθῆναι
παντοίας πανταχοῦ τελετάς, ἐρῶ μὲν ἴσως ἄγνω-
στά σοι, γνώριμα μέντοι καὶ σαφῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς.
ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκουε· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὦ
Πρώταρχε, πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι
κατ' ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου.
καὶ νῦν τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, ὅπῃ ἐκείνη φίλον,
ταύτην προσαγορεύω· τὴν δ' ἡδονὴν οἶδα ὡς B
ἔστι ποικίλον· ταῦτα ἐν Φιλήβῳ λέγεται, καὶ
τοιαῦτα ἕτερα πάλιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ· πιστεύειν γὰρ

¹ φίλα Cobet, φιλικὰ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

indeed there be any such nowadays, and also for all honest rhetoricians. But though a vast number of illustrations of this sort flow into my mind—for anyone who desired to use them could certainly draw from an ample jar¹—I shall refrain because of the present pressure of business. However I have still somewhat to add to my discourse, like the balance of a debt, and before I turn to other matters let me complete this treatise.

I ask you then what reverence for the names of the gods was shown by the Pythagoreans and by Plato? What was Aristotle's attitude in these matters? Is it not worth while to pay attention to this? Or surely no one will deny that he of Samos² was reverent? For he did not even allow the names of the gods to be used on a seal, nor oaths to be rashly uttered in the names of the gods. And if I should go on to say that he also travelled to Egypt and visited Persia, and everywhere endeavoured to be admitted to the inner mysteries of the gods and everywhere to be initiated into every kind of rite, I shall be saying what is familiar and obvious to most people, though you may not have heard of it. However, listen to what Plato says: "But for my part, Protarchus, I feel a more than human awe, indeed a fear beyond expression, of the names of the gods. Now therefore I will address Aphrodite by whatever name pleases her best; though as for pleasure, I know that it has many forms." This is what he says in the *Philebus*³ and he says the same sort of thing again in the *Timaeus*.⁴ For he says that we

¹ A proverb for wealth; cf. Theocritus 10. 13.

² Pythagoras.

³ *Philebus* 12 c.

⁴ *Timaeus* 40 D; Julian fails to see that Plato is not speaking seriously.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

ἀπλῶς ἀξιοὶ καὶ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεως λεγόμενοις, ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν φασιν οἱ ποιηταί. ταῦτα δὲ παρέθηκεν, μὴ ποτέ σοι παράσχη πρόφασιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τῶν Πλατωνικῶν πολλοῖς, ὁ Σωκράτης εἴρων ὧν φύσει τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἀτιμάσαι δόξαν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐχ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ὁ Τίμαιος ταῦτα C λέγει ἥκιστα ὧν εἴρων. καίτοι τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν οὐχ ὑγιὲς μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λέγοντας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς τίνας οἱ λόγοι γίνονται. βούλει δῆτα¹ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πάνσοφον ὑπαγορεύσω σειρήνα, τὸν τοῦ λογίου τύπον Ἑρμοῦ, τὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις φίλον; ἐκεῖνος ἀξιοὶ τοὺς ἐπερωτῶντας ἢ ζητεῖν ὅλως ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀποκρίσεως τυγχάνειν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ θηρία κολάσεως. εἰ δὲ ἀνεγνώ- D κεις τὸν συστατικὸν² αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὃς ὥσπερ τῆς Πλάτωνος, οὕτω δὴ³ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς προυγγέγραπτο, ἔγνωσ ἂν πρὸ πάντων, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι καὶ μεμνήσθαι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ τετελέσθαι τὰς ἀγνωτάτας τελετὰς καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν μαθημάτων ἡχθαι τοῖς εἴσω τοῦ περιπάτου βαδίζουσι προηγόρευτο.⁴

Σὺ δὲ ὅπως ἡμῖν μὴ τὸν Διογένη προβαλὼν 238 ὥσπερ τι μορμολυκεῖον ἐκφοβήσεις.⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἐμνήθη, φασίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν προτρεπόμενον μνηθῆναι, Γελοῖον, εἶπεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, εἰ τοὺς μὲν τελώνας οἶει ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς τελετῆς κοινωνή- σειν τοῖς ὁσίοις τῶν ἐν ἄδου καλῶν, Ἀγησίλαον

¹ δῆτα Cobet adds, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

² συστατικὸν Cobet, ἀστατικὸν V, Hertlein, ἐνστατικὸν Reiske, εὐστατικὸν Spanheim. ³ δὴ Cobet, δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

⁴ προηγόρευτο Cobet, προηγορεύετο Hertlein, MSS.

⁵ ἐκφοβήσεις Cobet, ἐκφοβήσης Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

ought to believe directly and without proof what we are told, I mean what the poets say about the gods. And I have brought forward this passage for fear that Socrates may furnish you with an excuse,—as I believe he does to many Platonists because of his natural tendency to irony,—to slight the doctrine of Plato. For it is not Socrates who is speaking here, but Timaeus, who had not the least tendency to irony. Though for that matter it is not a sound principle to enquire who says a thing and to whom, rather than the actual words. But now will you allow me to cite next that all-wise Siren, the living image of Hermes the god of eloquence, the man dear to Apollo and the Muses?¹ Well, he declares that all who raise the question or seek to enquire at all whether gods exist ought not to be answered as though they were men but to be chastised as wild beasts. And if you had read that introductory sentence which was inscribed over the entrance to his school, like Plato's, you would most surely know that those who entered the Lyceum were warned to be reverent to the gods, to be initiated into all the mysteries, to take part in the most sacred ceremonies, and to be instructed in knowledge of every kind.

And do not try to frighten me by bringing forward Diogenes as a sort of bogey. He was never initiated, they tell us, and replied to some one who once advised him to be initiated: "It is absurd of you, my young friend, to think that any tax-gatherer, if only he be initiated, can share in the rewards of the just in the next world, while Agesilaus and

¹ Aristotle.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

δὲ καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ κείσεσθαι. τοῦτο, ὦ νεανίσκε, βαθὺ λίαν ἐστὶ καὶ δεόμενον ἐξηγήσεως, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μείζονος, ὁποίας ¹ B ἡμῖν αὐταὶ δοῖεν αἱ θεαὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν· νομίζω δὲ αὐτὴν ἤδη καὶ δεδοσθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁ Διογένης οὐχ, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἀξιούτε, δυσσεβής, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις, ὧν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, προσόμοιος. ἀπιδὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν περίστασιν τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν αὐτόν, εἶτα εἰς τὰς ἐντολὰς βλέπων τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ συνιείς ² ὅτι τὸν μνούμενον ἐχρῆν πολιτογραφηθῆναι πρότερον καὶ Ἀθηναῖον, εἰ καὶ μὴ C φύσει, τῷ νόμῳ γε γενέσθαι, τοῦτο ἔφυγεν, οὐ τὸ μνηθῆναι, νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου πολίτην, καὶ ταῖς ὅλαις τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαις, αἱ τὸν ὅλον κοινῇ κόσμον ἐπιτροπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῖς τὰ μέρη κατανειμαμέναις αὐτοῦ, διὰ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀξιῶν συμπολιτεύεσθαι· τό τε νόμιμον οὐ παρέβη αἰδοῖ τῶν θεῶν, καίτοι τὰλλα πατῶν καὶ παραχαράττων· αὐτόν τε οὐκ ἐπανήγαγεν, ὅθεν D ἄσμενος ἡλευθέρωτο. τί δ' ἦν τοῦτο; τὸ πόλεως μιᾶς δουλεῦσαι νόμοις ἑαυτόν τε ὑποθεῖναι τούτῳ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνάγκη παθεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ γενομένῳ. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἔνεκεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζων, ὁ τῷ Πυθίῳ πεισθεὶς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας ὥσπερ Σωκράτης· φησὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πύθιον οἶκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὁρμὴ

¹ ὁποίας Hertlein suggests, ὅπως MSS.

² συνιείς Hertlein suggests, συνείς MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

Epameinondas are doomed to lie in the mire.”¹ Now this, my young friend, is a very hard saying and, I am persuaded, calls for more profound discussion. May the goddesses themselves grant us understanding thereof! Though indeed I think that has already been bestowed by them. For it is evident that Diogenes was not impious, as you aver, but resembled those philosophers whom I mentioned a moment ago. For having regard to the circumstances in which his lot was cast, and next paying heed to the commands of the Pythian god, and knowing that the candidate for initiation must first be registered as an Athenian citizen, and if he be not an Athenian by birth must first become one by law, it was this he avoided, not initiation, because he considered that he was a citizen of the world; and moreover such was the greatness of his soul that he thought he ought to associate himself with the divine nature of all the gods who in common govern the whole universe, and not only with those whose functions are limited to certain portions of it. And out of reverence for the gods he did not transgress their laws, though he trampled on all other opinions and tried to give a new stamp to the common currency. And he did not return to that servitude from which he had joyfully been released. What servitude do I mean? I mean that he would not enslave himself to the laws of a single city and submit himself to all that must needs befall one who had become an Athenian citizen. For is it likely that a man who in order to honour the gods journeyed to Olympia, and like Socrates embraced philosophy in obedience to the Pythian oracle,—for

¹ *Diogenes Laertius* 6. 39.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VII

πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο· παριέναι τῶν ἀνακτό- 239
ρων εἶσω καὶ μάλα ἀσμένως, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἐξέκλινε
τὸ ὑποθεῖναι νόμοις ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ἀποφῆναι
πολιτείας; ἀλλὰ διὰ τί μὴ ταύτην αὐτὴν εἶπε τὴν
αἰτίαν, ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων δὲ τὴν παραιρουμένην οὐ
σμικρὰ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων σεμνότητος; ἴσως μὲν
ἂν τις τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Πυθαγόρα μάλιστα ἐπισκῆ-
ψειεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ῥητέον
πάντα ἐστίν, αὐτῶν τε οἶμαι τούτων, ὧν θέμις
φάναι, ἕνια πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σιωπητέον εἶναι
μοι φαίνεται. φανερὰ δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ καὶ τούτων ἡ B
αἰτία. κατανοήσας γὰρ ἀμελοῦντα μὲν τῆς περὶ
τὸν βίον ὀρθότητος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μεμνησθαι μέγα
φρονοῦντα¹ τὸν παραινοῦντα αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα, σω-
φρονίζων ἅμα καὶ διδάσκων αὐτόν, ὅτι τοῖς² μὲν,
οἷς ἀξίως τοῦ μνηθῆναι βεβίωται, καὶ μὴ μνη-
θεῖσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀκεραίους φυλάττουσι, C
τοῖς δὲ μοχθηροῖς οὐδέν ἐστι πλεόν, κἂν εἶσω τῶν
ιερῶν εἰσφρήσωσι περιβόλων. ἡ γὰρ οὐ ταῦτα
καὶ ὁ ἱεροφάντης προαγορεύει, ὅστις χεῖρα μὴ
καθαρὸς καὶ ὄντινα μὴ χρή, τούτοις ἀπαγορεύων
μὴ μνεῖσθαι;

Τί πέρας ἡμῖν ἔσται τῶν λόγων, εἰ ταῦτα μήπω
σε πείθει;

¹ μέγα φρονοῦντα Cobet, μεγαλοφρονοῦντα Hertlein, MSS,

² τοῖς Naber, τούτοις Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE CYNIC HERACLEIOS

he says himself that at home and in private he received the commands of that oracle and hence came his impulse to philosophy¹—is it likely I say that such a man would not very gladly have entered the temples of the gods but for the fact that he was trying to avoid submitting himself to any set of laws and making himself the slave of any one constitution? But why, you will say, did he not assign this reason, but on the contrary a reason that detracted not a little from the dignity of the Mysteries? Perhaps one might bring this same reproach against Pythagoras as well, but the reasoning would be incorrect. For everything ought not to be told, nay more, even of those things that we are permitted to declare, some, it seems to me, we ought to refrain from uttering to the vulgar crowd.² However the explanation in this case is obvious. For since he perceived that the man who exhorted him to be initiated neglected to regulate his own life aright, though he prided himself on having been initiated, Diogenes wished at the same time to reform his morals and to teach him that the gods reserve their rewards without stint for those whose lives have earned them the right to be initiated, even though they have not gone through the ceremony, whereas the wicked gain nothing by penetrating within the sacred precincts. For this is what the hierophant proclaims, when he refuses the rite of initiation to him “whose hands are not pure or who for any reason ought not!”³

But where would this discourse end if you are still unconvinced by what I have said?

¹ Diogenes like Socrates claimed that he had a *δαίμόνιον*, a private revelation to guide his conduct; cf. 212 D.

² Cf. *Oration* 4. 148 A, note.

³ This was the *πρόρρησις* or *præfatio sacrorum*; cf. Livy 45. 5.

ORATION VIII

INTRODUCTION TO ORATION VIII

THE Eighth Oration is a "speech of consolation" (*παρὰμυθητικὸς λόγος*), a familiar type of Sophistic composition. In consequence of the attacks on Sallust by sycophants at court, and moreover jealous of his friendship with Julian, Constantius ordered him to leave Gaul. In this discourse, which was written before the open rupture with Constantius, Julian alludes only once and respectfully to his cousin. But Asmus thinks he can detect in it a general resemblance to the Thirteenth Oration of Dio Chrysostom, where Dio tries to comfort himself for his banishment by the tyrant Domitian, and that Sallust was expected to appreciate this and the veiled attack on Constantius. Julian addresses the discourse to himself, but it was no doubt sent to Sallust.

After Julian's accession Sallust was made prefect in 362 and consul in 363. He was the author of a manifesto of Neo Platonism, the treatise *On the Gods and the World*, and to him was dedicated Julian's Fourth Oration.¹

¹ cf. vol. i, p. 351.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΕΞΟΔΩΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΣΑΛΟΥΣΤΙΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ

240

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς σέ διαλεχθείην ὅσα πρὸς
ἐμαυτὸν διελέχθην, ἐπειδὴ σε βαδίζειν ἐπυθόμην.
χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἔλαττον ἔχειν οἰήσομαι πρὸς
παραψυχήν, ὧ φίλε ἑταῖρε, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν
ἀρχὴν πεπορίσθαι τινα ῥαστώνην ἐμαυτῷ νομιῶ,
ἧς σοί γε οὐ μεταδέδωκα. κοινωνήσαντας γὰρ B
ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν μὲν ἀλγεινῶν, πολλῶν
δὲ ἡδέων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων, ἐν πράγμασιν ἰδίοις
τε καὶ δημοσίοις, οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου,
κοινὸν¹ εὐρίσκεσθαι χρὴ τῶν παρόντων, ὅποιά
ποτ' ἂν ᾖ, παιώνιον ἄκος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ
τὴν Ὀρφέως μιμήσαιο² λύραν ἢ τοῖς Σειρήνων
ἀντηχήσειε³ μέλεσιν ἢ τὸ νηπενθὲς ἐξεύροι
φάρμακον; εἴτε λόγος ἦν ἐκείνο πλήρης Αἰ-
γυπτίων διηγημάτων, εἴθ' ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν,
ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐνυφήνας τὰ Τρωικὰ πάθη, C
τοῦτο τῆς Ἑλένης παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μαθούσης, οὐχ
ὅσα Ἕλληνες καὶ Τρῶες ἀλλήλους ἔδρασαν, ἀλλὰ
ποταποὺς εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ τὰς μὲν

¹ κοινὸν Wright, κοινὸν Hertlein, MSS.

² ἂν—μιμήσαιο Hertlein suggests, μιμήσεται MSS.

³ ἀντηχήσειε Hertlein suggests, ἀντηχήσει MSS,

A CONSOLATION TO HIMSELF UPON THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXCELLENT SALLUST

AH, my beloved comrade, unless I tell you all that I said to myself when I learned that you were compelled to journey far from my side, I shall think I am deprived of some comfort ; or rather, I shall consider that I have not even begun to procure some assuagement for my grief unless I have first shared it with you. For we two have shared in many sorrows and also in many pleasant deeds and words, in affairs private and public, at home and in the field, and therefore for the present troubles, be they what they may, we must needs discover some cure, some remedy that both can share.

But who will imitate for us the lyre of Orpheus, who will echo for us the songs of the Sirens or discover the drug *nepenthe* ? ¹ Though that was perhaps some tale full of Egyptian lore or such a tale as the poet himself invented, when in what follows he wove in the story of the sorrows of the Trojans, and Helen had learned it from the Egyptians ; I do not mean a tale of all the woes that the Greeks and Trojans inflicted on one another, but rather tales such as

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 227 ; a sophistic commonplace ; cf. 412 D, Themistius 357 A ; Julian seems to mean that the *nepenthe* was not really a drug but a story told by Helen.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

ἀλγηδόνας ἀφαιρήσουσι τῶν ψυχῶν, εὐφροσύνης δὲ καὶ γαλήνης αἴτιοι καταστήσονται. καὶ γὰρ πῶς ἔοικεν ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη τῆς αὐτῆς κορυφῆς ἐξῆφθαι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀλλήλαις ἀντιμεθίστασθαι. 241 τῶν προσπιπτόντων δὲ καὶ τὰ λίαν ἐργώδη φασὶν οἱ σοφοὶ τῷ νοῦν ἔχοντι φέρειν οὐκ ἐλάττωνα τῆς δυσκολίας τὴν εὐπάθειαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μέλιτταν ἐκ τῆς δριμυτάτης πόας τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὑμηττὸν φυομένης γλυκεῖαν ἀνιμᾶσθαι δρόσον καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος εἶναι δημιουργόν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὅσα μὲν ὑγιεινὰ καὶ ῥωμαλέα καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων τρέφεται σιτίων, B καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ δοκοῦντα πολλάκις ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀβλαβῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος αἷτια γέγονεν· ὅσοις δὲ πονηρῶς ἔχει φύσει καὶ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν πάντα βίον νοσηλευομένοις, τούτοις καὶ τὰ κουφότατα βαρυτάτας εἴωθε προστιθέναι βλάβας. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς διανοίας ὅσοι μὲν οὕτως ἐπεμελήθησαν, ὥς μὴ παμπονήρως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὑγιαίνειν μετρίως, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντισθένης καὶ Σωκράτους ῥώμην μηδὲ τὴν Καλλισθένης ἀνδρείαν μηδὲ C τὴν Πολέμωνος ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε δύνασθαι τὸ μέτριον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰρεῖσθαι, τυχὸν ἂν καὶ ἐν δυσκολωτέροις εὐφραίνονται.

Ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς πείραν ἐμαντοῦ λαμβάνων, ὅπως πρὸς τὴν σὴν πορείαν ἔχω τε καὶ ἔξω, τοσοῦτον ὠδυνήθην, ὅσον ὅτε πρῶτον τὸν ἐμαντοῦ καθηγεμόνα κατέλιπον οἴκοι· πάντων γὰρ ἀθρόως εἰσῆει με μνήμη, τῆς τῶν πόνων κοινωνίας, ὧν ἀλλήλοις συνδιηνέγκαμεν, τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ

TO SALLUST

they must be that will dispel the griefs of men's souls and have power to restore cheerfulness and calm. For pleasure and pain, methinks, are connected at their source¹ and succeed each other in turn. And philosophers assert that in all that befalls the wise man the very greatest trials afford him as much felicity as vexation; and thus, as they say, does the bee extract sweet dew from the bitterest herb that grows on Hymettus and works it into honey.² Even so bodies that are naturally healthy and robust are nourished by any kind of food, and food that often seems unwholesome for others, far from injuring them, makes them strong. On the other hand, the slightest causes usually inflict very serious injuries on persons who by nature or nurture, or owing to their habits, have an unsound constitution and are lifelong invalids. Just so with regard to the mind: those who have so trained it that it is not altogether unhealthy but moderately sound, though it do not indeed exhibit the vigour of Antisthenes or Socrates, or the courage of Callisthenes, or the imperturbability of Polemon, but so that it can under the same conditions as theirs adopt the golden mean, they, I say, will probably be able to remain cheerful in more trying conditions.

For my part, when I put myself to the proof to find out how I am and shall be affected by your departure, I felt the same anguish as when at home I first left my preceptor.³ For everything flashed across my mind at once; the labours that we shared and endured together; our unfeigned and candid conversation; our innocent and upright intercourse;

¹ Plato, *Phaedo* 60 B.

² Cf. *Oration* 2. 101 A.

³ Mardonius,

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

καθαρᾶς ἐντεύξεως, τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ δικαίας D
ὁμιλίας, τῆς ἐν ᾧ πασι τοῖς καλοῖς κοινοπραγίας,
τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἰσορρόπου τε καὶ ἀ-
μεταμελήτου προθυμίας τε καὶ ὁρμῆς, ὥς μετ'
ἀλλήλων ἔστημεν πολλάκις ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
ὁμότροποι καὶ ποθεινοὶ φίλοι. πρὸς δὲ αὐ τοῦτοις
εἰσῆει με μνήμη τοῦ Οἰώθη δ' Ὀδυσέως· εἰμὶ
γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν ἐκείνῳ παραπλήσιος, ἐπεὶ σὲ μὲν
κατὰ τὸν Ἑκτορα θεὸς ἐξήγαγεν ἔξω βελῶν,
ὧν οἱ συκοφάνται πολλάκις ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ σέ, 242
μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἐμέ, διὰ σοῦ τρώσαι βουλόμενοι,
ταύτη με μόνον ἀλώσιμον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εἰ
τοῦ πιστοῦ φίλου καὶ προθύμου συνασπιστοῦ
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀπροφασίστου κοινωνοῦ
τῆς συνουσίας στερήσειαν. οὐ μὲν ἔλαττον οἶμαί
σε διὰ τοῦτο ἀλγεῖν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν, ὅτι σοι τῶν
πόνων καὶ τῶν κινδύνων ἔλαττον μέτεστιν, ἀλλὰ B
καὶ πλέον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δεδιέναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς
κεφαλῆς, μή τι πάθῃ. καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς
οὐκ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐθέμην τὰ σά, καὶ σοῦ
δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡσθόμην. ὅθεν
εἰκότως καὶ μάλα δάκνομαι, ὅτι σοι, τῶν ἄλλων
ἔνεκα λέγειν δυναμένῳ

Οὐδὲν μέλει μοι· τὰ μὰ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχει,
Μόνος εἰμὶ λύπης αἷτιος καὶ φροντίδος.¹

C

ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν ἐξ ἴσης, ὥς ἔοικε, κοινωνοῦμεν,
σὺ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀλγῶν μόνον, ἐγὼ δὲ αἰεὶ ποθῶν
τὴν σὴν συνουσίαν καὶ τῆς φιλίας μεμνημένος,
ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς μὲν μάλιστα καὶ προηγουμένως,

¹ μόνος—φροντίδος Brambs regards as a verse; Hertlein prints as prose.

TO SALLUST

our co-operation in all that was good; our equally-matched and never-repentèd zeal and eagerness in opposing evildoers. How often we supported each other with one equal temper!¹ How alike were our ways! How precious our friendship! Then too there came into my mind the words, "Then was Odysseus left alone."² For now I am indeed like him, since the god has removed you, like Hector,³ beyond the range of the shafts which have so often been aimed at you by sycophants, or rather at me, since they desired to wound me through you; for they thought that only thus should I be vulnerable if they should deprive me of the society of a faithful friend and devoted brother-in-arms—one who never on any pretext failed to share the dangers that threatened me. Moreover the fact that you now have a smaller share than I in such labours and dangers does not, I think, make your grief less than mine; but you feel all the more anxiety for me and any harm that may befall my person.⁴ For even as I never set your interests second to mine, so have I ever found you equally well disposed towards me. I am therefore naturally much chagrined that to you who with regard to all others can say, "I heed them not, for my affairs are prosperous,"⁵ I alone occasion sorrow and anxiety. However this sorrow it seems we share equally, though you grieve only on my account, while I constantly feel the lack of your society and call to mind the friendship that we pledged to one another—that friendship which we ever cemented afresh, based as it was, first and foremost, on virtue,

¹ *Iliad* 17. 720.

² *Iliad* 11. 401.

³ *Iliad* 11. 163.

⁴ *Iliad* 17. 242.

⁵ Nauck, *Adespota fragmenta* 430.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ μὲν σοί, σὺ δὲ ἐμοὶ συνεχῶς παρέσχες, ἀνακραθέντες ἀλλήλοις ὡμολογήσαμεν, οὐχ ὄρκοις οὐδὲ τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις ταῦτα πιστούμενοι, ὥσπερ ὁ Θησεὺς καὶ ὁ Πειρίθους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ ταῦτα νοοῦντες καὶ προαιρούμενοι κακὸν μὲν δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν τινι τοσοῦτον δέω λέγειν ἀπέσχομεν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐβουλεύσαμεθά ποτε μετὰ ἀλλήλων· χρηστὸν δὲ εἴ τι γέγονεν ἢ βεβούλευται κοινῇ παρ' ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ἄλλοις εἰπεῖν μελήσει.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰκότως ἀλγῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, οὐ φίλου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργοῦ πιστοῦ, δοίῃ δὲ ὁ δαίμων, καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀπαλλαττόμενος, οἶμαι καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀρετῆς κήρυκα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἔμοιγε συνομολογήσειν ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνον γνωρίζομεν, λέγω δὲ τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. φησὶ γοῦν ὅτι Χαλεπώτερον ἐφαίνετό μοι ὀρθῶς τὰ πολιτικά διοικεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄνευ φίλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐταίρων πιστῶν οἷόν τε εἶναι πράττειν, οὔτ' εὐπορεῖν τούτων ξὺν πολλῇ ῥαστώνῃ. καίτοι τοῦτό γε εἰ Πλάτωνι μείζον ἐφαίνετο τοῦ διορύττειν τὸν Ἄθω, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλέον ἀπολειπομένους τῆς ἐκείνου συνέσεώς τε καὶ γνώμης ἢ 'κεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ; ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς χρείας μόνον ἔνεκα, ἣν ἀντιδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ῥᾶον εἴχομεν πρὸς τὰ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἡμῖν πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ¹ καὶ τῆς μόνης αἰεὶ μοι θαλπωρῆς τε

¹ ἀλλὰ Reiske supplies, lacuna Hertlein : after πραττόμενα several words are lost,

TO SALLUST

and secondly on the obligations which you continually conferred on me and I on you. Not by oaths or by any such ties did we ratify it, like Theseus and Peirithous, but by being of the same mind and purpose, in that so far from forbearing to inflict injury on any citizen, we never even debated any such thing with one another. But whether anything useful was done or planned by us in common, I will leave to others to say.

Now that it is natural for me to be grieved by the present event, on being parted for ever so short a time—and God grant that it may be short!—from one who is not only my friend but my loyal fellow-worker, I think even Socrates, that great herald and teacher of virtue, will agree; so far at least as I may judge from the evidence on which we rely for our knowledge of him, I mean the words of Plato. At any rate, what he says is: “Ever more difficult did it seem to me to govern a state rightly. For neither is it possible to achieve anything without good friends and loyal fellow-workers, nor is it very easy to obtain enough of these.”¹ And if Plato thought this more difficult than digging a canal through Mount Athos,² what must we expect to find it, we who in wisdom and knowledge are more inferior to him than he was to God? But it is not only when I think of the help in the administration that we gave one another in turn, and which enabled us to bear more easily all that fate or our opponents brought to pass contrary to our purpose; but also because I am destined soon to be bereft also of what has ever

¹ Julian quotes from memory and paraphrases *Epistle* 7. 325 c.

² This feat of Xerxes became a rhetorical commonplace.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

καὶ τέρψεως ἐνδεῆς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔσεσθαι C
 μέλλων, εἰκότως δάκνομαί τε καὶ δέδηγμαι τὴν
 ἑμαυτοῦ καρδίαν. ἐς τίνα γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται μοι
 λοιπὸν εὖνουν ἀποβλέψαι φίλον; τίνας δὲ ἀνα-
 σχέσθαι τῆς ἀδόλου καὶ καθαρᾶς παρρησίας; τίς
 δὲ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει μὲν ἐμφρόνως, ἐπιτιμήσει
 δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας, ἐπιρρώσει δὲ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ χωρὶς
 αὐθαδείας καὶ τύφου, παρρησιάζεται δὲ τὸ πικρὸν
 ἀφελὼν τῶν λόγων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν φαρμάκων D
 ἀφαιροῦντες μὲν τὸ λίαν δυσχερές, ἀπολείποντες
 δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ χρήσιμον; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς
 φιλίας ὄφελος ἐκαρπώσάμην. τοσούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ
 ἐστερημένος, τίνων ἂν εὐπορήσαιμι λόγων, οἳ με,
 διὰ τὸν σὸν πόθον σά τε μῆδεα σὴν τε ἀγανοφρο-
 σύνην αὐτὴν προέσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν κινδυνεύοντα,
 πείσουσιν ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ φέρειν ὅσα δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς
 γενναίως; εἰς ταῦτό γὰρ ἔοικεν αὐτῷ νοῶν ὁ μέγας 244
 αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦθ' οὕτω νυνὶ βουλεύσασθαι. τί
 ποτε οὖν ἄρα χρὴ διανοηθέντα καὶ τίνας ἐπ' ὧδας
 εὐρόντα πείσαι πράως ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους θορυ-
 βουμένην τὴν ψυχὴν; ἄρα ἡμῖν οἱ Ζαμόλξιδός
 εἰσι μιμητέοι λόγοι, λέγω δὲ τὰς ἐκ Θράκης
 ἐπ' ὧδας, ἃς Ἀθήναζε φέρων ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸ τοῦ
 τὴν ὀδύνην ἰᾶσθαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπάδειν ἡξίου τῷ
 καλῷ Χαρμίδῃ; ἢ τούτους μὲν ἄτε δὴ μείζονας
 καὶ περὶ μειζόνων οὐ κινητέον, ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ

TO SALLUST

been my only solace and delight, it is natural that I am and have been cut to the very heart.¹ For in the future to what friend can I turn as loyal as yourself? With whose guileless and pure frankness shall I now brace myself? Who now will give me prudent counsel, reprove me with affection, give me strength for good deeds without arrogance and conceit, and use frankness after extracting the bitterness from the words, like those who from medicines extract what is nauseating but leave in what is really beneficial?² These are the advantages that I reaped from your friendship! And now that I have been deprived of all these all at once, with what arguments shall I supply myself, so that when I am in danger of flinging away my life out of regret for you and your counsels and loving kindness,³ they may persuade me to be calm and to bear nobly whatever God has sent?⁴ For in accordance with the will of God our mighty Emperor has surely planned this as all else. Then what now must be my thoughts, what spells must I find to persuade my soul to bear tranquilly the trouble with which it is now dismayed? Shall I imitate the discourses of Zamolxis⁵—I mean those Thracian spells which Socrates brought to Athens and declared that he must utter them over the fair Charmides before he could cure him of his headache?⁶ Or must we leave these alone as being, like large machinery in a small theatre, too lofty for

¹ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1; cf. 248 D.

² A commonplace; Plato, *Laws* 659 E; Julian, *Caesars* 314 C; Dio Chrysostom 33. 10; Themistius 63 B, 302 B; Maximus of Tyre 10. 6.

³ *Odyssey* 11. 202.

⁴ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 97; cf. Julian, *Epistle* 53. 439 D.

⁵ Cf. *Caesars* 309 C note.

⁶ Plato, *Charmides* 156 D.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

μικρῷ μηχανὰς μεγάλας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν B
ἔργων, ὧν ἐπυθόμεθα τὰ κλέα, φησὶν ὁ ποιητής,
ὥσπερ ἐκ λειμώνος δρεψάμενοι ποικίλου καὶ
πολυειδοῦς¹ ἄνθη τὰ κάλλιστα ψυχαγωγήσομεν
αὐτοὺς τοῖς διηγήμασι, μικρὰ τῶν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας
αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες; ὥσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς λίαν
γλυκέσιν οἱ παρεγχείοντες οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποι' ἅττα
φάρμακα τὸ προσκορὲς αὐτῶν ἀφαιροῦσιν, οὕτω
τοῖς διηγήμασιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἓνια προστιθέμενα
τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξ ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ὄχλον ἐπείσάγειν, C
οὐδὲν δέον, καὶ περιττὴν ἀδολεσχίαν ἀφαιρεῖται.

Τί πρῶτον; τί δ' ἔπειτα; τί δ' ὑστάτιον κατα-
λέξω;

πότερον ὡς ὁ Σκηπίων ἐκείνος, ὁ τὸν Λαίλιον
ἀγαπήσας καὶ φιληθεὶς τὸ λεγόμενον ἴσῳ ζυγῷ
παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν, ἡδέως μὲν αὐτῷ συνῆν,
ἔπραττε δὲ οὐδέν, ὧν μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνος πύθοιτο
καὶ φήσειεν εἶναι πρακτέον; ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ λόγον D
παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Σκηπίωνα λοιδο-
ροῦσιν, ὡς ποιητῆς μὲν ὁ Λαίλιος εἶη τῶν ἔργων,
Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὁ τούτων ὑποκριτής. αὕτη τοι καὶ
ἡμῖν ἡ φήμη πρόσκειται, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ δυχε-
ραίνω² χαίρω δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πλέον. τὸ γὰρ τοῖς
ὀρθῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γνωσθείσι πεισθῆναι μείζονος
ἀρετῆς³ ὁ Ζήνων ποιεῖται γνώρισμα τοῦ γινῶναι 245
τινα αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ δέοντα, τὴν Ἑσιόδου
μεθαρμόττων ῥῆσιν,

Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθεται

¹ πολυειδοῦς Cobet, πολυτελοῦς Hertlein, MSS.

² οὐ μόνον οὐ δυσχεραίνω χαίρω δὲ Hertlein suggests, cf.
37 B, 255 D; καὶ χαίρω γε MSS.

³ ἀρετῆς Hertlein suggests, τῆς ἀρετῆς MSS.

TO SALLUST

our purpose and suited to greater troubles; and rather from the deeds of old whose fame we have heard told, as the poet says,¹ shall we gather the fairest flowers as though from a variegated and many-coloured meadow, and thus console ourselves with such narratives and add thereto some of the teachings of philosophy? For just as, for instance, certain drugs are infused into things that have too sweet a taste, and thus their cloying sweetness is tempered, so when tales like these are seasoned by the maxims of philosophy, we avoid seeming to drag in a tedious profusion of ancient history and a superfluous and uncalled-for flow of words.

“What first, what next, what last shall I relate?”² Shall I tell how the famous Scipio, who loved Laelius and was loved by him in return with equal yoke of friendship,³ as the saying is, not only took pleasure in his society, but undertook no task without first consulting with him and obtaining his advice as to how he should proceed? It was this, I understand, that furnished those who from envy slandered Scipio with the saying that Laelius was the real author of his enterprises, and Africanus merely the actor. The same remark is made about ourselves, and, far from resenting this, I rather rejoice at it. For to accept another’s good advice Zeno held to be a sign of greater virtue than independently to decide oneself what one ought to do; and so he altered the saying of Hesiod; for Zeno says: “That man is best who follows good advice” instead of “decides all things for himself.”⁴ Not that the alteration is to my

¹ *Iliad* 9. 524. ² *Odyssey* 9. 14. ³ Theocritus 12. 15.

⁴ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 293, 295 *ὅς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ*; Diogenes Laertius 7. 25.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

λέγων ἀντὶ τοῦ νοήσῃ πάνθ' ἑαυτῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ
 διὰ τοῦτο χαρίεν εἶναι δοκεῖ· πείθομαι γὰρ ἀληθέ-
 στερον μὲν Ἡσίοδον λέγειν, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἄμεινον
 Πυθαγόραν, ὃς καὶ τῇ παροιμίᾳ παρέσχε τὴν
 ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ λέγεσθαι κοινὰ τὰ φίλων ἔδωκε τῷ B
 βίῳ, οὐ δῆπου τὰ χρήματα λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὴν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς φρονήσεως κοινωνίαν, ὥσθ'
 ὅσα μὲν εὗρες αὐτός, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ταῦτα τοῦ
 πεισθέντος ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ τῶν σῶν ὑπεκρινάμην,
 τούτων αὐτῶν εἰκότως τὸ ἴσον μετέχεις. ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα μὲν ὁποτέρου μᾶλλον ἂν φαίνεται, καὶ¹
 θατέρῳ προσήκει, καὶ τοῖς βασκάνοις οὐδὲν ἔσται
 πλέον ἐκ τῶν λόγων.

Ἡμῖν δὲ ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν
 Λαίλιον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνήρητο μὲν ἡ Καρχηδὼν
 καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἅπαντα τῆς Ῥώμης C
 ἐγεγόνει δούλα, πέμπει μὲν Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν
 Λαίλιον· ἀνήγετο δὲ ἐκείνος εὐαγγέλια τῇ πατρίδι
 φέρων· καὶ ὁ Σκηπίων ἤχθετο μὲν ἀπολειπόμενος
 τοῦ φίλου, οὐ μὲν ἀπαραμύθητον αὐτῷ τὸ πάθος
 ᾤετο. καὶ τὸν Λαίλιον δὲ δυσχεραίνειν εἰκός,
 ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἀνήγετο, οὐ μὲν ἀφόρητον ἐποιεῖτο
 τὴν συμφοράν. ἔπλει καὶ Κάτων ἀπολιπὼν οἶκοι
 τοὺς αὐτοῦ συνήθεις, καὶ Πυθαγόρας, καὶ Πλάτων
 καὶ Δημόκριτος οὐδένα παραλαβόντες κοινωνὸν
 τῆς ὁδοῦ, καίτοι πολλοὺς οἶκοι τῶν φιλάτων D
 ἀπολιμπάνοντες. ἐστρατεύσατο καὶ Περικλῆς
 ἐπὶ τὴν Σάμον οὐκ ἄγων τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, καὶ τὴν
 Εὐβοίαν παρεστήσατο ταῖς μὲν ἐκείνου βουλαῖς,
 ἐπεπαίδευτο γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, τὸ σῶμα δὲ οὐκ ἐφελ-
 κόμενος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὰς 24'

¹ καὶ θατέρῳ Hertlein suggests, θατέρῳ MSS.

TO SALLUST

liking. For I am convinced that what Hesiod says is truer, and that Pythagoras was wiser than either of them when he originated the proverb and gave to mankind the maxim, "Friends have all things in common."¹ And by this he certainly did not mean money only, but also a partnership in intelligence and wisdom. So all that you suggested belongs just as much to me who adopted it, and whenever I was the actor who carried out your plans you naturally have an equal share in the performance. In fact, to whichever of us the credit may seem to belong, it belongs equally to the other, and malicious persons will gain nothing from their gossip.

Let me go back now to Africanus and Laelius. When Carthage had been destroyed² and all Libya made subject to Rome, Africanus sent Laelius home and he embarked to carry the good news to their fatherland. And Scipio was grieved at the separation from his friend, but he did not think his sorrow inconsolable. Laelius too was probably afflicted at having to embark alone, but he did not regard it as an insupportable calamity. Cato also made a voyage and left his intimate friends at home, and so did Pythagoras and Plato and Democritus, and they took with them no companion on their travels, though they left behind them at home many whom they dearly loved. Pericles also set out on his campaign against Samos without taking Anaxagoras, and he conquered Euboea by following the latter's advice, for he had been trained by his teaching: but the philosopher himself he did not drag in his train as though he were part of the

¹ Diogenes Laertius 8. 10; Pythagoras persuaded his disciples to share their property in common. ² Cf. Livy 27. 7.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

μάχας. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτον ἄκοντα, φασίν, Ἀθηναῖοι
 τῆς πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπέστησαν συνουσίας.
 ἀλλ' ἔφερεν ὡς ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων ὧν¹ τὴν ἄνοιαν τῶν
 αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ πρᾶως. καὶ γὰρ
 ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι καθάπερ μητρὶ δικαίως μὲν οὐ,
 χαλεπῶς δὲ ὁμῶς ἐχούσῃ πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν
 αὐτῶν, εἴκειν ᾧετο χρῆναι, ταῦτα, ὡς εἰκός,
 λογιζόμενος· ἀκούειν δὲ χρὴ τῶν ἐξῆς ὡς τοῦ
 Περικλέους αὐτοῦ· Ἐμοὶ πόλις μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ
 πατρίς ὁ κόσμος, καὶ φίλοι θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες
 καὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ ὅπου οὖν² σπουδαῖοι. χρὴ B
 δὲ καὶ τὴν οὐ³ γεγόναμεν τιμᾶν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο
 θεῖός ἐστι νόμος, καὶ πείθεσθαί γε οἷς ἂν ἐπιτάτῃ
 καὶ μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδέ, ὃ φησιν ἡ παροιμία,
 πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν· ἀπαραίτητον γὰρ ἐστὶ
 τὸ λεγόμενον ζυγὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης. οὐ μὴν ὀδυρτέον
 οὐδὲ θρηνητέον ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιτάττει τραχύτερον,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα λογιστέον αὐτό. νῦν ἀπαλλάτ-
 τεσθαι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ἀφ' ἡμῶν κελεύει, καὶ C
 τὸν ἄριστον οὐκ ὀψόμεθα τῶν ἐταίρων, δι' ὃν
 ἡχθόμην μὲν τῇ νυκτί, ὅτι μοι τὸν φίλον οὐκ
 ἐδείκνυνεν, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ χάριν ἡπιστάμην,
 ὅτι μοι παρεῖχεν ὁρᾶν οὐ μάλιστα ἥρων. ἀλλ'
 εἰ μὲν ὁμματά σοι δέδωκεν ἡ φύσις, ὦ Περικλεῖς,
 μόνον ὥσπερ τοῖς θηρίοις,⁴ οὐδὲν ἀπεικός ἐστι
 σε διαφερόντως ἄχθεσθαι· εἰ δέ σοι ψυχὴν ἐνέ- D

¹ ὧν Hertlein would add.

² ὅπου οὖν Cobet, ὅπου Hertlein, MSS.

³ τὴν οὐ Hertlein suggests, οὐ MSS.

⁴ θηρίοις Cobet, ὕρμισιν Hertlein, MSS.

TO SALLUST

equipment needed for battle. And yet in his case too we are told that much against his will the Athenians separated him from the society of his teacher. But wise man that he was, he bore the folly of his fellow-citizens with fortitude and mildness. Indeed he thought that he must of necessity bow to his country's will when, as a mother might, however unjustly, she still resented their close friendship; and he probably reasoned as follows. (You must take what I say next as the very words of Pericles.¹)

"The whole world is my city and fatherland, and my friends are the gods and lesser divinities and all good men whoever and wherever they may be. Yet it is right to respect also the country where I was born, since this is the divine law, and to obey all her commands and not oppose them, or as the proverb says kick against the pricks. For inexorable, as the saying goes, is the yoke of necessity. But we must not even complain or lament when her commands are harsher than usual, but rather consider the matter as it actually is. She now orders Anaxagoras to leave me and I shall see no more my best friend, on whose account the night was hateful to me because it did not allow me to see my friend, but I was grateful to daylight and the sun because they allowed me to see him whom I loved best.² But, Pericles, if nature had given you eyes only as she has to wild beasts, it would be natural enough for you to feel excessive grief. But since she has

¹ Cobet rejects this sentence as a gloss; but Julian perhaps echoes Plato, *Menexenus* 246 c.

² This a very inappropriate application to Pericles of the speech of Critoboulos in Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 12; cf. Diogenes Laertius 2. 49.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

πνευσε καὶ νοῦν ἐνήκεν, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν γεγενημένων καίπερ οὐ παρόντα νῦν ὀρᾷς διὰ τῆς μνήμης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ὁ λογισμὸς ἀνευρίσκων ὥσπερ ὄμμασιν ὀρᾷν προσβάλλει τῷ νῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οὐ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἢ φαντασία μόνον ἀποτυπυμένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κρίνειν καὶ καθορᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πόρρω καὶ μυριάσι σταδίων ἀπφικισμένα τῶν γενομένων παρὰ πόδα καὶ πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν 247 δείκνυσιν ἐναργέστερον, τί χρὴ τοσοῦτον ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ σχετλίως φέρειν; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ μοι,

Νοῦς ὀρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει

φησὶν ὁ Σικελιώτης, οὕτως ὁξὺν χρῆμα καὶ τάχει χρώμενον ἀμηχάνῳ, ὥσθ' ὅταν τινὰ τῶν δαιμόνων Ὀμηρος ἐθέλῃ κεχρημένον ἀπίστῳ πορείας ἐπιδείξαι τάχει,

'Ως δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξῃ νόος ἀνέρος

φησί. τούτῳ τοι χρώμενος ῥᾶστα μὲν Ἀθήνηθεν Β ὄψῃ τὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, ῥᾶστα δὲ ἐκ Κελτῶν τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θράκῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ', ὥσπερ τοῖς φυτοῖς οὐκ ἐνὶ σῶζεσθαι τὴν συνήθη χώραν μεταβάλλουσιν, ὅταν ἢ τῶν ὥρων ἢ κράσις ἐναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεταβάλλουσιν ἢ διαφθείρεσθαι παντελῶς ἢ τὸν τρόπον ἀμείβειν καὶ μετατίθεσθαι περὶ ὧν ὀρθῶς πρόσθεν ἐγνώκεσαν. οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν C ἀμβλυτέραν ἔχειν εἰκός, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν

TO SALLUST

breathed into you a soul, and implanted in you intelligence by means of which you now behold in memory many past events, though they are no longer before you : and further since your reasoning power discovers many future events and reveals them as it were to the eyes of your mind ; and again your imagination sketches for you not only those present events which are going on under your eyes and allows you to judge and survey them, but also reveals to you things at a distance and many thousand stades¹ removed more clearly than what is going on at your feet and before your eyes, what need is there for such grief and resentment ? And to show that I have authority for what I say, 'The mind sees and the mind hears,' says the Sicilian ;² and mind is a thing so acute and endowed with such amazing speed that when Homer wishes to show us one of the gods employing incredible speed in travelling he says : 'As when the mind of a man darts swiftly.'³ So if you employ your mind you will easily from Athens see one who is in Ionia ; and from the country of the Celts one who is in Illyria or Thrace ; and from Thrace or Illyria one who is in the country of the Celts. And moreover, though plants if removed from their native soil when the weather and the season are unfavourable cannot be kept alive, it is not so with men, who can remove from one place to another without completely deteriorating or changing their character and deviating from the right principles that they had before adopted. It is therefore unlikely that our affection will become blunted, if indeed we do not love and

¹ The Attic stade=about 600 feet.

² Epicharmus *fr.* 13. ³ *Iliad* 15. 80.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

καὶ στέργειν ἔπεται γὰρ ὕβρις μὲν κόρῳ, ἔρως
 δὲ ἐνδεία. καὶ ταύτῃ τοίνυν ἔξομεν βέλτιον,
 ἐπιτεινομένης ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας,
 καθέξομέν τε ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν διανοαῖς
 ἰδρυμένους ὥσπερ ἀγάλματα. καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ
 τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὄψεται ἐμέ·
 κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν καὶ ἅμα βλέπειν ἀλλήλους, D
 οὐχὶ σαρκία καὶ νεῦρα καὶ μορφῆς τύπωμα,
 στέρνα τε ἐξεικασμένα πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον σώματος·
 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει τυχὸν οὐδὲν ταῖς διανοαῖς
 ἡμῶν ἐμφαίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰς
 πράξεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ
 τὰς ἐντεῦξεις, ἃς πολλάκις ἐποιησάμεθα μετ'
 ἀλλήλων, οὐκ ἀμούσως ὑμνοῦντες παιδείαν καὶ
 δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα νοῦν τὰ
 θνητὰ καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ 248
 νόμων καὶ τρόπων ἀρετῆς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτη-
 δευμάτων διεξιόντες, ὅσα γε ἡμῖν ἐπῆει¹ ἐν καιρῷ
 τούτων μεμνημένοις. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες, τούτοις
 τρεφόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις τυχὸν οὐκ ὀνείρων
 νυκτέρων² ἰνδάλασι προσέξομεν οὐδὲ κενὰ καὶ
 μάταια προσβαλεῖ τῷ νῷ φαντάσματα πονηρῶς
 ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κράσεως αἰσθησις διακει-
 μένη. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παραληψόμεθα τὴν αἰ-
 σθησιν ὑπουργεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' B
 ἀποφυγὼν αὐτὴν ὁ νοῦς ἐμμελετήσῃ τούτοις
 πρὸς κατανόησιν καὶ συνεθισμὸν τῶν ἀσωμάτων

¹ ἐπῆει Reiske adds.

² νυκτέρων Cobet, νυκτερινῶν Hertlein, MSS.

cherish each other the more for the separation. For 'wantonness attends on satiety,'¹ but love and longing on want. So in this respect we shall be better off if our affection tends to increase, and we shall keep one another firmly set in our minds like holy images. And one moment I shall see Anaxagoras, and the next he will see me. Though nothing prevents our seeing one another at the same instant; I do not mean our flesh and sinews and "bodily outline and breasts in the likeness"² of the bodily original—though perhaps there is no reason why these too should not become visible to our minds—but I mean our virtue, our deeds and words, our intercourse, and those conversations which we so often held with one another, when in perfect harmony we sang the praises of education and justice and mind that governs all things mortal and human: when too we discussed the art of government, and law, and the different ways of being virtuous and the noblest pursuits, everything in short that occurred to us when, as occasion served, we mentioned these subjects. If we reflect on these things and nourish ourselves with these images, we shall probably pay no heed to the 'visions of dreams in the night,'³ nor will the senses corrupted by the alloy of the body exhibit to our minds empty and vain phantoms. For we shall not employ the senses at all to assist and minister to us, but our minds will have escaped from them and so will be exercised on the themes I have mentioned and aroused to comprehend and associate with things incorporeal.

¹ Theognis 153. *τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπηται.*

² Euripides, *Phoenissae* 165, *μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ' ἐξηκασμένα.*

³ Nauck, *Adespota trag. frag.* 108.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

διεγειρόμενος· νῶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῷ κρείττονι σύνε-
σμεν, καὶ τὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποφυγόντα καὶ
διεστηκότα τῷ τόπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ δεόμενα
τόπου ὁρᾶν τε καὶ αἰρεῖν πεφύκαμεν, ὅσοις ἀξίως
βεβίωται τῆς τοιαύτης θέας, ἐννοοῦντες αὐτὴν καὶ
συναπτόμενοι.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς, ἅτε δὴ μεγαλόφρων
ἀνὴρ καὶ τραφεὶς ἐλευθέρως ἐν ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ πόλει, C
ὑψηλοτέροις ἐψυχαγῶγει λόγοις αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δὲ
γεγονῶς ἐκ τῶν οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἀνθρωπικω-
τέροις ἐμαυτὸν θέλγω καὶ παράγω λόγοις, καὶ τὸ
λίαν πικρὸν ἀφαιρῶ τῆς λύπης, πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν
αἰέ μοι προσπιπτόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος
δυσχερῶν τε καὶ ἀτόπων φαντασμάτων ἐφαρ- D
μόζειν τινὰ παραμυθίαν πειρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπω-
δὴν θηρίου δήγματι δάκνοντος αὐτὴν ἔσω τὴν
καρδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς φρένας. ἐκείνῳ τοι πρῶτόν
ἐστί μοι τῶν φαινομένων δυσχερῶν. νῦν ἐγὼ
μόνος ἀπολελείψομαι καθαρᾶς ἐνδεῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ
ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι τέως ὅτῳ
διαλέξομαι θαρρῶν ὁμοίως. πότερον οὖν οὐδ'
ἐμαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι ῥᾶδιόν ἐστί μοι; ἀλλ' ἀφαι-
ρήσεται μέ τις καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ προσαναγκάσει
νοεῖν ἕτερα καὶ θαυμάζειν παρ' ἃ βούλομαι; ἢ
τοῦτο μὲν ἐστί τέρας ἤδη καὶ προσόμοιον τῷ
γράφειν ἐφ' ὕδατος καὶ τῷ λίθον ἔφειν καὶ τῷ
ἵπταμένων ὀρνίθων ἐρευνᾶν ἵχνη τῆς πτήσεως;
οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται, 249
συνεσόμεθα δήπουθεν αὐτοὶ πως ἑαυτοῖς, ἴσως δὲ
καὶ ὁ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται τι χρηστόν· οὐ γὰρ
εἰκὸς ἄνδρα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα τῷ κρείττονι

TO SALLUST

For by the mind we commune even with God, and by its aid we are enabled to see and to grasp things that escape the senses and are far apart in space, or rather have no need of space: that is to say, all of us who have lived so as to deserve such a vision, conceiving it in the mind and laying hold thereof."

Ah, but Pericles, inasmuch as he was a man of lofty soul and was bred as became a free man in a free city, could solace himself with such sublime arguments, whereas I, born of such men as now are,¹ must beguile and console myself with arguments more human; and thus I assuage the excessive bitterness of my sorrow, since I constantly endeavour to devise some comfort for the anxious and uneasy ideas which keep assailing me as they arise from this event, like a charm against some wild beast that is gnawing into my very vitals² and my soul, And first and foremost of the hardships that I shall have to face is this, that now I shall be bereft of our guileless intercourse and unreserved conversation. For I have no one now to whom I can talk with anything like the same confidence. What, you say, cannot I easily converse with myself? Nay, will not some one rob me even of my thoughts, and besides compel me to think differently, and to admire what I prefer not to admire? Or does this robbery amount to a prodigy unimaginable, like writing on water or boiling a stone,³ or tracing the track of the flight of birds on the wing? Well then since no one can deprive us of our thoughts, we shall surely commune with ourselves in some fashion, and perhaps God will suggest some alleviation. For it is not likely that he who entrusts himself to God will be utterly

¹ *Iliad* 5. 304.

² Cf. 243 c.

³ Two familiar proverbs.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

παντάπασιν ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ καταλειφθῆναι παν-
 τελῶς ἔρημον· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς χεῖρα ἐῖν
 ὑπερέσχε καὶ θάρσος ἐνδίδωσι¹ καὶ μένος ἐμπνεῖ B
 καὶ τὰ πρακτέα τίθησιν ἐπὶ νοῦν καὶ τῶν μὴ
 πρακτέων ἀφίστησιν. εἶπετό τοι καὶ Σωκράτει
 δαιμονία φωνὴ κωλύουσα πράττειν ὅσα μὴ χρεῶν
 ἦν· φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρος ὑπὲρ Ἀχιλλέως· τῷ γὰρ
 ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκεν, ὥς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας
 ἡμῶν ἐγείροντος, ὅταν ἐπιστρέψας ὁ νοῦς εἰς
 ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ ἵε πρότερον ξυγγένηται καὶ τῷ θεῷ
 δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, κωλυόμενος ὑπ' οὐδενός. οὐ γὰρ C
 ἀκοῆς ὁ νοῦς δεῖται πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ
 θεὸς φωνῆς πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι τὰ δέοντα· ἀλλ'
 αἰσθήσεως ἕξω πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἢ
 μετουσία γίνεται τῷ νῷ· τίνα μὲν τρόπον καὶ
 ὅπως οὐ σχολὴ νῦν ἐπεξιέναι, τὸ δ' ὅτι γίνεται
 δῆλον² καὶ σαφεῖς οἱ μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἄδοξοί τινες
 οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Μεγαρέων ἄξιοι τάττεσθαι μερίδι, ἀλλὰ D
 τῶν ἀπενεγκαμένων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τὰ πρωτεῖα.³

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν καὶ θεὸν ἡμῖν
 παρέσεσθαι πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς συνέ-
 σεσθαι, τὸ λίαν δυσχερὲς ἀφαιρετέον ἐστὶ τῆς
 λύπης. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά μόνον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
 καθειργμένοι ἐπὶ τὰ τοὺς πάντας ἐνιαυτούς, εἴτ'
 ὀδυρόμενον, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐπαινῶ καρτερίας, τῶν
 θρήνων δὲ οὐκ ἄγαμαι. τί γὰρ ὄφελος πόντον ἐπ' 250
 ἰχθυόεντα δέρκεσθαι καὶ λείβειν δάκρυα; τὸ

¹ ἐνδίδωσι Hertlein suggests, δίδωσι MSS.

² δῆλον Cobet, δῆλοι Hertlein, MSS.

³ πρωτεῖα Cobet, πρῶτα Hertlein, MSS.

TO SALLUST

neglected and left wholly desolate. But over him God stretches his hand,¹ endues him with strength, inspires him with courage, and puts into his mind what he must do. We know too how a divine voice accompanied Socrates and prevented him from doing what he ought not. And Homer also says of Achilles, "She put the thought in his mind,"² implying that it is God who suggests our thoughts when the mind turns inwards and first communes with itself, and then with God alone by itself, hindered by nothing external. For the mind needs no ears to learn with, still less does God need a voice to teach us our duty: but apart from all sense-perception, communion with God is vouchsafed to the mind. How and in what manner I have not now leisure to inquire, but that this does happen is evident, and there are sure witnesses thereof—men not obscure or only fit to be classed with the Megarians,³—but such as have borne the palm for wisdom.

It follows therefore that since we may expect that God will be present with us in all our doings, and that we shall again renew our intercourse, our grief must lose its sharpest sting. For indeed in the case of Odysseus⁴ too, who was imprisoned on the island for all those seven years and then bewailed his lot, I applaud him for his fortitude on other occasions, but I do not approve those lamentations. For of what avail was it for him to gaze on the fishy sea and shed

¹ *Iliad* 9. 420.

² *Iliad* 1. 55.

³ The Megarians on inquiring their rank among the Greeks from the Delphic oracle were told that they were not in the reckoning at all, *ὅμεις δ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ*; cf. Theocritus 14. 47.

⁴ Cf. Dio Chrysostom 13. 4, Arnim.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

δὲ μὴ προέσθαι μηδ' ἀπαγορεύσαι πρὸς τὴν τύχην, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα μέχρ' ἐσχάτων γενέσθαι πόνων¹ καὶ κινδύνων, τοῦτο ἔμοιγε φαίνεται μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. οὐ δὲ δίκαιον ἐπαινεῖν μὲν αὐτούς, μὴ μιμῆσθαι δέ, οὐδὲ νομίζειν, ὥς ἐκείνοις μὲν ὁ θεὸς προθύμως συνελάμβανε, τοὺς δὲ νῦν περιόψεται B τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁρῶν ἀντιποιοιμένους, δι' ἣν περ ἄρα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἔχαιρεν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος, ἐπεὶ τοι τὸν Νιρέα μᾶλλον ἐχρῆν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν ἰσχύν, ἀπείρω γὰρ ὄσφ Λαιστρυγόνες καὶ Κύκλωπες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ κρείττους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἔμεινεν ἀπόρθητος Τροία. τί δὲ δεῖ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπιζητοῦντα τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν Ὀδυσσεὰ φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς θεοφιλῇ, αὐτοῦ γε ἔξον ἀκούειν; C

Οὐνεκ' ἐπητῆς ἐσσι καὶ ἀγχίνοος καὶ ἐχέφρων.

δῆλον οὖν ὥς, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ταῦτα προσγένειτο, τὸ κρείττον οὐκ ἐλλείψει τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν δοθέντα πάλαι ποτὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρησμὸν καλούμενός τε καὶ ἄκλητος ὁ θεὸς παρέσται.

Τούτοις ἑμαυτὸν ψυχαγωγήσας ἐπ' ἐκείνο τὸ D μέρος ἄπειμι πάλιν, ὃ δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ μικρὸν εἶναι, πρὸς δόξαν δὲ ὅμως οὐκ ἀγεννές. Ὅμηρον τοί φασι δεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, οὐ δῆπου συνόντος, ἀλλὰ κηρύττοντος ὥσπερ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ Πάτροκλον καὶ Αἴαντας ἄμφω καὶ τὸν

¹ πόνων Hertlein suggests, φόβων MSS.

TO SALLUST

tears?¹ Never to abandon hope and despair of one's fate, but to play the hero in the extremes of toil and danger, does indeed seem to me more than can be expected of any human being. But it is not right to praise and not to imitate the Homeric heroes, or to think that whereas God was ever ready to assist them he will disregard the men of our day, if he sees that they are striving to attain that very virtue for which he favoured those others. For it was not physical beauty that he favoured, since in that case Nireus² would have been more approved; nor strength, for the Laëstrygons³ and the Cyclops were infinitely stronger than Odysseus; nor riches, for had that been so Troy would never have been sacked. But why should I myself labour to discover the reason why the poet says that Odysseus was beloved by the gods, when we can hear it from himself? It was "Because thou art so wary, so ready of wit, so prudent."⁴ It is therefore evident that if we have these qualities in addition, God on His side will not fail us, but in the words of the oracle once given of old to the Lacedaemonians, "Invoked or not invoked, God will be present with us."⁵

Now that I have consoled myself with these arguments I will go back to that other consideration which, though it seems trivial, nevertheless is generally esteemed to be not ignoble. Even Alexander, we are told, felt a need for Homer, not, of course, to be his companion, but to be his herald, as he was for Achilles and Patroclus and the two Ajaxes and

¹ *Odyssey* 5. 84

² *Iliad* 2. 673.

³ *Odyssey* 10. 119 foll.

⁴ *Odyssey* 13. 332.

⁵ Cf. *Oration* 6. 201 c; Thucydides 1. 118.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

Ἀντίλοχον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπερορῶν αἰὲ τῶν παρ-
 όντων, ἐφίεμενος δὲ τῶν ἀπόντων οὐκ ἡγάπα
 τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὐδὲ ἠρκεῖτο τοῖς δοθεῖσι· καὶ 251
 εἴπερ ἔτυχεν Ὀμήρου, τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἴσως ἂν
 ἐπόθησε λύραν, ἥ τοῖς Πηλέως ἐκείνος ἐφύμνησε
 γάμοις, οὐ τῆς Ὀμήρου συνέσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα
 νομίσας, ἀλλ' ἀληθὲς ἔργον ἐνυφανθὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν,
 ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὸ

Ἦὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
 καὶ

Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε
 καὶ

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστί,
 καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτά φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, δῆλα καὶ
 ἔναργῇ τὰ μὲν ὄντα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, τὰ δὲ γιγνό-
 μενα.

Ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν εἴτε μέγεθος ἀρετῆς ὑπερέχον¹ B
 καὶ τῶν προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐλάττων
 σύνεσις εἰς τοσαύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξήγεγν,
 ὥστε μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀρέγεσθαι,²
 εἴθ' ὑπερβολὴ τις ἀνδρείας καὶ θάρρους εἰς ἀλα-
 ζονείαν ἄγουσα³ καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδειαν βλέπουσα,
 ἀφείσθω σκοπεῖν ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπαι-
 νεῖν ἢ ψέγειν αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ταύτης ὑπολαμ- C
 βάνει τῆς μερίδος προσήκειν ἐκείνῳ. ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς
 παροῦσιν ἀγαπῶντες αἰὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων ἥκιστα
 μεταποιούμενοι στέργομεν μὲν, ὁπότεν ὁ κήρυξ

¹ ὑπερέχον Naber, ὑπάρχον Hertlein, MSS.

² ὀρέγεσθαι Petavius, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

³ ἄγουσα Cobet, ῥέπουσα Hertlein, . . . οὔσα V.

TO SALLUST

Antiochus. But Alexander, ever despising what he had and longing for what he had not, could never be content with his contemporaries or be satisfied with the gifts that had been granted to him. And even if Homer had fallen to his lot he would probably have coveted the lyre of Apollo on which the god played at the nuptials of Peleus;¹ and he would not have regarded it as an invention of Homer's genius but an actual fact that had been woven into the epic, as when for instance Homer says, "Now Dawn with her saffron robe was spread over the whole earth";² and "Then uprose the Sun";³ and "There is a land called Crete";⁴ or other similar statements of poets about plain and palpable things partly existing to this very day, partly still happening.

But in Alexander's case, whether a superabundance of virtue and an intelligence that matched the advantages with which he was endowed exalted his soul to such heights of ambition that he aimed at greater achievements than are within the scope of other men; or whether the cause was an excess of courage and valour that led him into ostentation and bordered on sinful pride, must be left as a general topic for consideration by those who desire to write either a panegyric of him or a criticism; if indeed anyone thinks that criticism also can properly be applied to him. I on the contrary can always be content with what I have and am the last to covet what I have not, and so am well content when my praises are uttered by a herald who has been an eyewitness and comrade-in-arms in all

¹ *Iliad* 24. 63.

³ *Odyssey* 3. 1.

² *Iliad* 8. 1.

⁴ *Odyssey* 19. 172.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

ἐπαινῇ, θεατῆς τε καὶ συναγωνιστῆς πάντων ἡμῖν
γεγονώς, μὴ τοὺς λόγους παραδεξάμενος εἰς χάριν
καὶ ἀπέχθειαν εἰκῇ πεπλασμένους· ἀρκεῖ δὲ ἡμῖν
καὶ φιλεῖν ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα σιωπη-
λότερος ὦν καὶ τῶν Πυθαγόρα τελεσθέντων.

Ἐνταῦθα ὑπέρχεται μοι καὶ τὸ θρυλούμενον, D
ὡς οὐκ εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Θράκας
ἀφίξῃ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκείνην οἰκοῦν-
τας Ἑλληνας, ἐν οἷς γενομένῳ μοι καὶ τραφέντι
πολὺς ἐντέτηκεν ἔρως ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ χωρίων καὶ
πόλεων. ἴσως δὲ οὐ φαῦλος οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἐναπο-
λέλειπται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔρως ἡμῶν, οἷς εἴ οἶδ' ὅτι
τὸ λεγόμενον ἀσπᾶσιος ἐλθὼν ἂν γένοιτο, δικαίαν 252
ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδιδούς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἀπολέ-
λοιπας ἐνθάδε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ὡς εὐχόμενος·
ἐπεὶ τό γε ἶέναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ταχέως
ἄμεινον· ἀλλ' ὡς, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦθ' ἔξω
οὐκ ἀπαραμυθῆτως οὐδὲ ἀψυχαγωγῆτως ἐννοῶ,
συγχαίρων ἐκείνοις, ὅτι σε παρ' ἡμῶν ὄψονται.
Κελτοῖς γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν ἤδη διὰ σέ συντάττω, ἄνδρα
εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελούντα καὶ κατ'
εὐνομίαν καὶ κατὰ ἀρετὴν τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ῥητορείαν B
ἄκρον καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρον, ἧς Ἑλληνες
μόνοι τὰ κράτιστα μετεληλύθασιν, λόγῳ τάληθές,
ὥσπερ οὖν πέφυκε, θηρεύσαντες, οὐκ ἀπίστοις
μύθοις οὐδὲ παραδόξῳ τερατείᾳ προσέχειν ἡμᾶς,
ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐάσαντες.

TO SALLUST

that I have done; and who has never admitted any statements invented at random out of partiality or prejudice. And it is enough for me if he only admit his love for me, though on all else he were more silent than those initiated by Pythagoras.

Here however I am reminded of the report current that you are going not only to Illyria but to Thrace also, and among the Greeks who dwell on the shores of that sea.¹ Among them I was born and brought up, and hence I have a deeply rooted affection for them and for those parts and the cities there. And it may be that in their hearts also there still remains no slight affection for me: I am therefore well assured that you will, as the saying is, gladden their hearts by your coming, and there will be a fair exchange, since they will gain in proportion as I lose by your leaving me here. And I say this not because I wish you to go—for it were far better if you should return to me by the same road without delay—but the thought in my mind is that even for this loss I shall not be without comfort or consolation, since I can rejoice with them on seeing you just come from us. I say “us,” since on your account I now rank myself among the Celts,² seeing that you are worthy to be counted among the most distinguished Greeks for your upright administration and your other virtues; and also for your consummate skill in oratory; in philosophy too you are thoroughly versed, a field wherein the Greeks alone have attained the highest rank; for they sought after truth, as its nature requires, by the aid of reason and did not suffer us to pay heed to incredible fables or impossible miracles like most of the barbarians.

¹ The Propontis.

² Sallust was a native of Gaul.

THE ORATIONS OF JULIAN, VIII

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ἔχει, τανῦν ἀφείσθω. σὲ δέ· προπέμπειν ἤδη γὰρ ἄξιον μετ' εὐφημίας· ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέῃ πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος C εὖνους, ἄγοι τε διὰ γῆς ἀσφαλῶς· κἂν πλεῖν δέῃ, στορεννύσθω τὰ κύματα· πᾶσι δὲ φανείης φίλος καὶ τίμιος, ἡδὺς μὲν προσιῶν, ἀλγεινὸς δὲ ἀπολείπων αὐτούς· στέργων δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡκιστα ποθήσειας ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου καὶ φίλου πιστοῦ κοινωνίαν. εὐμενῇ δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σοι θεὸς ἀποφήνιε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν διδοίῃ, καὶ τὴν D οἴκαδε παρ' ἡμᾶς πορείαν ἀσφαλῇ παρασκευάζοι καὶ ταχεῖαν.

Ταῦτά σοι μετὰ τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεύχομαι, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις

Οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν, Νοστήσαι οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

TO SALLUST

However, this subject also, whatever the truth about it may be, I must lay aside for the present. But as for you—for I must needs dismiss you with auspicious words—may God in His goodness be your guide wherever you may have to journey, and as the God of Strangers and the Friendly One¹ may He receive you graciously and lead you safely by land; and if you must go by sea, may He smooth the waves!² And may you be loved and honoured by all you meet, welcome when you arrive, regretted when you leave them! Though you retain your affection for me, may you never lack the society of a good comrade and faithful friend! And may God make the Emperor gracious to you, and grant you all else according to your desire, and make ready for you a safe and speedy journey home to us!

In these prayers for you I am echoed by all good and honourable men; and let me add one prayer more: "Health and great joy be with thee, and may the gods give thee all things good, even to come home again to thy dear fatherland!"³

¹ These are regular epithets of Zeus.

² Theocritus 7. 57. ³ *Odyssey* 24. 402; and 10. 562.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE
PHILOSOPHER

INTRODUCTION

ON the strength of his Aristotelian "Paraphrases" Themistius may be called a scholar, though hardly a philosopher as he himself claimed. Technically he was a Sophist: that is to say he gave public lectures (ἐπιδείξεις), wrote exercises after the Sophistic pattern and went on embassies, which were entrusted to him solely on account of his persuasive charm. But he insisted that he was no Sophist, because he took no fees¹ and styled himself a practical philosopher.² He was indifferent to the Neo-Platonic philosophy,³ and, since Constantius made him a Senator, he cannot have betrayed any zeal for the Pagan religion. From Julian's Pagan restoration he seems to have held aloof, and, though Julian had been his pupil, probably at Nicomedia, he did not appoint him to any office. Under the Christian Emperor Theodosius he held a prefecture. There is no evidence for a positive coolness, such as Zeller⁴ assumes, between Themistius and Julian, and we know too little of their relations to assert with some critics that the respectful tone of this letter is ironical.⁵ It was probably written after Julian had

¹ Themistius 260 c, 345 c.

² 245 d.

³ 33, 295 b.

⁴ Vol. 5, p. 742.

⁵ Libanius *Epistle* 1061 mentions an Oration by Themistius in praise of Julian, but this is not extant.

INTRODUCTION

become Emperor, though there is nothing in it that would not suit an earlier date; it is sometimes assigned to 355 when Julian was still Caesar. The quotations from Aristotle are appropriately addressed to Themistius as an Aristotelian commentator.

Ἐγὼ σοι βεβαιῶσαι μὲν, ὥσπερ οὖν γράφεις, τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ σφόδρα εὐχομαι, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ διαμάρτω, μείζονος οὐσης τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς σεαυτὸν ποιῇ· καὶ μοι πάλαι μὲν οἰομένῳ πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος γέγονεν ἀρετῇ διαφέρων, εἶναι B τὴν ἄμιλλαν φρίκη τις προσήει καὶ δέος θαυμαστόν, μὴ τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπεσθαι παντελῶς τῆς ἀνδρείας δόξω, τοῦ δὲ τῆς τελείας ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐφίκωμαι. εἰς ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ἀνεπειθόμην τὴν σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν διαιτημάτων¹ αὐτός τε ἡδέως ἐμεμνήμην καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ὑμῖν προσάδειν ἡξίου, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ βαρέα φορτία φέροντες ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς ἐπικουφίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν τάλαιπωρίαν. σὺ δέ μοι νῦν μείζον ἐποίη- C σας διὰ τῆς ἑναγχος ἐπιστολῆς τὸ δέος καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ παντὶ χαλεπώτερον ἔδειξας, ἐν ταύτῃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τετάχθαι με τῇ μερίδι λέγων, ἐν ἣ πρότερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφούντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντες καὶ πᾶσαν

¹ διαιτημάτων Naber, διηγημάτων Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

I EARNESTLY desire to fulfil your hopes of me even as you express them in your letter, but I am afraid I shall fall short of them, since the expectations you have raised both in the minds of others, and still more in your own, are beyond my powers. There was a time when I believed that I ought to try to rival men who have been most distinguished for excellence, Alexander, for instance, or Marcus;¹ but I shivered at the thought and was seized with terror lest I should fail entirely to come up to the courage of the former, and should not make even the least approach to the latter's perfect virtue. With this in mind I convinced myself that I preferred a life of leisure, and I both gladly recalled the Attic manner of living, and thought myself to be in sweet accord with you who are my friends, just as those who carry heavy burdens lighten their labour by singing.² But by your recent letter you have increased my fears, and you point to an enterprise in every way more difficult. You say that God has placed me in the same position as Heracles and Dionysus of old who, being at once philosophers and

¹ The Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

² Apparently an echo of Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 1. 9, Arnim.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

σχεδὸν τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαιρό- 254
 μενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. κελεύεις δὲ πᾶσαν
 ἀποσεισάμενον σχολῆς ἔννοιαν καὶ ῥαστώνης
 σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίως ἀγωνιούμεθα·
 εἶτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν νομοθετῶν μέμνησαι, Σόλωνος,
 Πιττακοῦ, Λυκούργου, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων μεί-
 ζονα χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν λέγεις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν
 δίκη νῦν περιμένειν. τούτοις ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις
 ἐντυχὼν ἐξεπλάγην μικροῦ· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπελάμ- B
 βανον οὐδαμῶς θεμιτὸν κολακεύειν ἢ ψεύδεσθαι,
 ἐμαυτῷ δὲ συνειδῶς φύσεως μὲν ἔνεκα διαφέρων
 οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε νῦν ὑπάρξαν, φιλο-
 σοφίας δὲ ἐρασθέντι μόνον· τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῇ
 τύχας, αἷ μοι τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἀτελῇ τέως
 ἐφύλαξαν· οὐκ εἶχον οὖν ὅ, τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν
 τοιούτων λόγων συμβαλεῖν, ἕως ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγεν
 ὁ θεός, μή ποτε ἄρα προτρέπειν ἐθέλεις διὰ τῶν C
 ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων δεῖξαι τὸ μέγεθος, οἷς
 ἀνάγκη πᾶσα τὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντα παραβεβλη-
 σθαι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

Τοῦτο δὲ ἀποτρέποντός ἐστι πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὸν
 βίον παρορμῶντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις τὸν πορθμὸν
 τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν πλέων καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ῥαδίως οὐδὲ
 εὐκόλως ὑφιστάμενος ἀκούει παρά του μαντικὴν D
 ἐπαγγελλομένου τέχνην, ὡς χρεῶν αὐτὸν τὸν
 Αἰγαῖον ἀναμετρήσαι καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἔξω
 θαλάσσης ἄψασθαι, καὶ “Νῦν μὲν” ὁρᾷς ὁ προ-
 φήτης λέγει “τείχη καὶ λιμένας, ἐκεῖ δὲ γενόμενος

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

kings, purged almost the whole earth and sea of the evils that infested them. You bid me shake off all thought of leisure and inactivity that I may prove to be a good soldier worthy of so high a destiny. And besides those examples you go on to remind me of law-givers such as Solon, Pittacus, and Lycurgus, and you say that men have the right to expect from me now greater things than from any of these. When I read these words I was almost dumb-founded ; for on the one hand I was sure that it was unlawful for you as a philosopher to flatter or deceive ; on the other hand I am fully conscious that by nature there is nothing remarkable about me—there never was from the first nor has there come to be now,—but as regards philosophy I have only fallen in love with it (I say nothing of the fates that have intervened¹ to make that love so far ineffectual). I could not tell therefore how I ought to interpret such expressions, until God brought it into my mind that perhaps by your very praises you wished to exhort me, and to point out how great are those trials to which a statesman must inevitably be exposed every day of his life.

But your method is more likely to discourage than to make one eager for such an existence. Suppose that a man were navigating your strait,² and were finding even that none too easy or safe, and then suppose some professional soothsayer should tell him that he would have to traverse the Aegæan and then the Ionian Sea, and finally embark on the outer sea. "Here," that prophet would say, "you see towns and harbours,

¹ Euripides, *Orestes* 16.

² The Bosphorus ; Themistius was probably at Constantinople.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐδὲ σκοπιὰν οὐδὲ πέτραν ὄψει, ἀλλ' ἀγαπήσεις
καὶ ναῦν πόρρωθεν κατιδὼν προσειπεῖν τοὺς ἐμ-
πλέοντας, καὶ τῆς γῆς ὄψέ ποτε ἀψάμενος, τῷ
θεῷ πολλάκις προσεύξῃ, πρὸς αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ τέλει 255
τοῦ βίου τυχεῖν ὄρμου καὶ τήν τε ναῦν σῶαν
παραδοῦναι καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ἀπαθεῖς τοῖς
οἰκείοις κακῶν παραστήσαι καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ
μητρὶ γῇ δοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐσόμενον ἴσως ἄδηλον
ἔσται σοι μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας ἐκείνης ἡμέρας·
ἂρ' οἶει τούτων ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων ἐκείνον
πόλιν γ' ἂν¹ οἰκεῖν ἐλέσθαι πλησίον θαλάσσης,
οὐχὶ δὲ χαίρειν εἰπόντα πλούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ
ἐμπορίας ἀγαθοῖς περιγιγνομένοις, γνωρίμων πολ-
λῶν, ξενικῆς φιλίας, ἱστορίας ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων B
ὑπεριδόντα σοφὸν ἀποφαίνειν τὸν τοῦ Νεοκλέους,
ὃς κελεύει λαθεῖν βιώσαντα; καὶ σὺ δὲ ἔοικας
τοῦτο καταμαθὼν προκαταλαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς ταῖς
εἰς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον λοιδορίαις καὶ προεξαίρειν τὴν
τοιαύτην γνώμην. φῆς γάρ που σχολὴν ἐπαινεῖν
ἀπράγμονα καὶ διαλέξεις ἐν περιπάτοις προσήκειν
ἐκείνῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐ καλῶς Ἐπικούρῳ C
ταῦτα ἐδόκει, πάλαι καὶ σφόδρα πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ
πάνθ' ὄντινούν ἐπὶ πολιτείαν προτρέπειν ἄξιον,
καὶ τὸν ἥττον πεφυκότα καὶ τὸν οὐπω τελέως
δυνάμενον, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἴσως διαπορῆσαι χρή.
λέγουσι γάρ τοι καὶ τὸν Σωκράτη πολλοὺς μὲν οὐ
σφόδρα εὐφυῶς² ἔχοντας ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ βήματος,

¹ γ' ἂν Hertlein suggests, γοῦν MSS.

² εὐφυῶς Reiske adds.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

but when you arrive there you will see not so much as a watch-tower or a rock, but you will be thankful to descry even a ship in the distance and to hail her crew. You will often pray to God that you may, however late, touch land and reach a harbour, though that were to be the last day of your life. You will pray to be allowed to bring home your ship safe and sound and restore your crew unscathed to their friends, and then to commit your body to mother earth. And this indeed may happen, but you will not be sure of it until that final day." Do you think that such a man after being told all this would choose even to live in a sea-port town? Would he not bid adieu to money-making and all the advantages of commerce, and caring little for troops of friends and acquaintances abroad, and all that he might learn about nations and cities, would he not approve the wisdom of the son of Neocles¹ who bids us "Live in obscurity"? Indeed, you apparently perceived this, and by your abuse of Epicurus you tried to forestall me and to eradicate beforehand any such purpose. For you go on to say that it was to be expected that so idle a man as he should commend leisure and conversations during walks. Now for my part I have long been firmly convinced that Epicurus was mistaken in that view of his, but whether it be proper to urge into public life any and every man, both him who lacks natural abilities and him who is not yet completely equipped, is a point that deserves the most careful consideration. We are told that Socrates dissuaded from the statesman's profession² many who had no great natural talent, and

¹ Epicurus; his advice was λαθὲ βιώσας.

² Literally "from the βῆμα," i.e. the stone on the Pnyx from which the Athenian orator addressed the people.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

καὶ Γλαύκωνα ἐκείνον, Ξενοφῶν λέγει· τὸν δὲ ¹
 τοῦ Κλεινίου παῖδα πειραθῆναι μὲν ἐπισχεῖν, οὐ **D**
 δυνηθῆναι δὲ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ νεανίσκου τῆς
 ὁρμῆς. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας καὶ ξυνιέντας αὐτῶν
 προσαναγκάσομεν, θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ἔρ-
 γων κελεύοντες, ὧν οὐκ ἀρετὴ μόνον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ
 προαίρεσις ὀρθὴ κυρία, πολὺ δὲ πλεόν ἢ τύχη
 κρατοῦσα πανταχοῦ καὶ βιαζομένη ρέπειν ἥπερ
 ἂν ἐθέλη τὰ πράγματα; Χρύσιππος δὲ δοκεῖ τὰ
 μὲν ἄλλα σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ νομισθῆναι δικαίως,
 ἀγνοήσας δὲ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ
 τινὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας τοιαύτας ἔξωθεν τοῖς πρακτι- **256**
 κοῖς παρεμπιπτούσας οὐ σφόδρα ὁμολογούμενα
 λέγειν οἷς ὁ χρόνος ἡμᾶς διὰ μυρίων ἐναργῶς
 διδάσκει παραδειγμάτων. ποῦ γὰρ εὐτυχῇ καὶ
 μακάριον Κάτωνα φήσομεν; ποῦ δὲ Δίωνα τὸν
 Σικελιώτην εὐδαίμονα; οἷς τοῦ μὲν ἀποθανεῖν
 ἔμελεν ἴσως οὐδέν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λείπειν ἀτελεῖς τὰς
 πράξεις, ἐφ' ἧς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥρμησαν, καὶ σφόδρα **B**
 ἔμελε, καὶ πάντα ἂν εἴλοντο παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου.
 σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις εἰ μὲν εὐσχημόνως
 ἔφερον, ὥσπερ οὖν λέγεται, τὴν τύχην παρα-
 μυθίαν ἔσχον ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ μικράν, εὐδαίμονες
 δὲ οὐκ ἂν λέγοιντο τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων
 διημαρτηκότες, πλὴν ἴσως διὰ τὴν Στωικὴν
 ἔνστασιν· πρὸς ἣν ῥητέον, ὥς οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν
 ἐπαινέσθαι καὶ μακαρίζεσθαι, καὶ εἰ φύσει τὸ
 ζῶον εὐδαιμονίας ὀρέγεται, κρεῖττον εἶναι τὸ κατ' **C**

¹ καὶ Γλαύκωνα . . . λέγει· τὸν δὲ Wyttenbach, Γλαύκωνα δὲ ἐκείνον ὡς Ξενοφῶν λέγει, καὶ τὸν Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Glaucon too, Xenophon¹ tells us ; and that he tried to restrain the son of Cleinias² also, but could not curb the youth's impetuous ambition. Then shall we try to force into that career men who are reluctant and conscious of their deficiencies, and urge them to be self-confident about such great tasks? For in such matters not virtue alone or a wise policy is paramount, but to a far greater degree Fortune holds sway throughout and compels events to incline as she wills. Chrysippus³ indeed, though in other respects he seems a wise man and to have been rightly so esteemed, yet in ignoring fortune and chance and all other such external causes that fall in to block the path of men of affairs, he uttered paradoxes wholly at variance with facts about which the past teaches us clearly by countless examples. For instance, shall we call Cato a fortunate and happy man? Or shall we say that Dio of Sicily had a happy lot? It is true that for death they probably cared nothing, but they did care greatly about not leaving unfinished the undertakings which they had originally set on foot, and to secure that end there is nothing that they would not have endured. In that they were disappointed, and I admit that they bore their lot with great dignity, as we learn, and derived no small consolation from their virtue ; but happy one could not call them, seeing that they had failed in all those noble enterprises, unless perhaps according to the Stoic conception of happiness. And with regard to that same Stoic conception we must admit that to be applauded and to be counted happy are two very different

¹ *Memorabilia* 3. 6. 1.

² Alcibiades.

³ The Stoic philosopher.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

ἐκείνην μακαριστὸν τέλος τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπαινετοῦ. ἥκιστα δὲ φιλεῖ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἢ βεβαιότης τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ ζῶντας οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄνευ ταύτης ἀναπνεῖν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον * * * ¹ ἀληθῶς θεωροῦντες εἴτε καὶ πεποιήκασιν καὶ στρατηγὸν λόγῳ,² καθάπερ οἱ τὰς ιδέας εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς ξυντιθέντες, ἐν τοῖς ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἰδρῦσθαι πού τῶν τυχαίων ὑπεράνω πάντων, ἢ τὸν Διογένηος ἐκείνου

Ἄπολιν, ἄοικον, πατρίδος ἐστερημένον, D
οὐκ ἔχοντα μὲν εἰς ὅ,τι παρ' αὐτῆς εὖ πάθῃ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐν τίνι σφαλῇ· τοῦτον δὲ ὃν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἶωθε καὶ Ὅμηρος πρῶτος,

Ὡς λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφεται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλεν,
πῶς ἂν τις ἔξω τύχης ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν θέσιν φύ-
λάσσοι; πάλιν δ' ὁ αὐτὸν ὑποτιθεὶς ταύτῃ πόσης 257
αὐτῷ δεῖν οἰήσεται παρασκευῆς³ καὶ φρονήσεως
πηλίκης ὥστε τὰς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ῥοπάς, καθάπερ
πνεύματος κυβερνήτην, εὐσχημόνως φέρειν;

Οὐκ ἔστι θαυμαστὸν ἀντιτάξασθαι προσπολε-
μούσῃ μόνον αὐτῇ, πολὺν δὲ θαυμασιώτερον⁴ τῶν
ὑπαρξάντων παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον φανῆναι.
τούτοις ὁ μέγιστος ἐάλω βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν

¹ After λεγόμενον several words are lost.

² λόγῳ Reiske, λόγοι Hertlein, MSS.

³ παρασκευῆς Hertlein would read, τῆς παρασκευῆς MSS.

⁴ θαυμασιώτερον MSS.; Hertlein following Cobet reads θαυμαστότερον but in later Preface would restore MSS. reading.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

things, and that if every living thing naturally desires happiness,¹ it is better to make it our aim to be congratulated on the score of happiness rather than to be applauded on the score of virtue. But happiness that depends on the chances of Fortune is very rarely secure. And yet men who are engaged in public life cannot, as the saying is, so much as breathe unless she is on their side . . . and they have created a merely verbal idea of a leader who is established somewhere above all the chances of Fortune in the sphere of things incorporeal and intelligible, just as men define the ideas, whether envisaging them truly or falsely imagining them. Or again they give us the ideal man, according to Diogenes "The man without a city, without a home, bereft of a fatherland,"² that is to say, a man who can gain nothing from Fortune, and on the other hand has nothing to lose. But one whom we are in the habit of calling, as Homer did first, "The man to whom the people have been entrusted and so many cares belong,"³ how I ask shall we lead him beyond the reach of Fortune and keep his position secure? Then again, if he subject himself to Fortune, how great the provision he will think he must make, how great the prudence he must display so as to sustain with equanimity her variations in either direction, as a pilot must sustain the variations of the wind!

Yet it is nothing wonderful to withstand Fortune when she is merely hostile, but much more wonderful is it to show oneself worthy of the favours she bestows. By her favours the greatest of kings, the conqueror⁴

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1. 10. 6.

² Cf. *Oration* 6. 195B, note. ³ *Iliad* 2. 25. ⁴ Alexander.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

καταστρεφάμενος Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου χαλεπώ- B
 τερὸς καὶ μάλλον ἀλαζῶν φανείς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς
 ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς κατέστη κύριος, τούτοις ἀλόντες
 τοῖς βέλεσιν ἄρδην ἀπώλοντο Πέρσαι, Μακεδόνες,
 ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, Συρακούσιοι, τὰ Λακεδαι-
 μωνίων τέλη, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 αὐτοκράτορες μυρίοι. πολὺ μῆκος ἂν γένοιτο
 πάντας ἀπαριθμουμένῳ τοὺς διὰ πλούτον καὶ
 νίκας καὶ τρυφὴν ἀπολομένους· ὅσοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
 δυσπραγιῶν ἐπικλυσθέντες δοῦλοι μὲν ἀντ' ἑλευ- C
 θέρων, ταπεινοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ γενναίων καὶ σφόδρα
 εὐτελεῖς ἀντὶ τῶν πρόσθεν σεμνῶν ἅπασιν ὤ-
 φθησαν, τί με χρὴ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ δέλτου μεταγρά-
 φοντα καταλέγειν; εἰ γὰρ ὥφελεν ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων βίος ἀπορεῖν παραδειγμάτων τοιούτων. ἀλλ'
 οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτό ποτε τῶν τοιούτων
 ἐνδεὲς παραδειγμάτων, ἕως ἂν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 διαμένη γένος.

“Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ πλείστον D
 ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις κρατεῖν νενόμικα, λέγοιμ' ἂν
 ἤδη σοι τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῶν θαυμασίων
 Νόμων, εἰδότι μὲν καὶ διδάξαντί με, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ
 ὥσπερ τοῦ μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ποιούμενος παραγέγραφέ
 σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ὧδέ πως ἔχουσιν. “Θεὸς μὲν
 πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τὰ ἀνθρώ-
 πινα διακυβερνῶσι ξύμπαντα. ἡμερώτερον μὴν
 τούτοις συγχωρῆσαι τρίτον δεῖν ἔπεσθαι τέχνην.” 25.
 εἶτα ὁποῖον εἶναι χρὴ τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν
 τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ βασιλέα θεῖον¹ ὑπο-
 γράφων· “Γινώσκων ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ
 ἡμεῖς, φησί, διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς ἀνθρωπεία φύσις

¹ θεῖον Hertlein suggests, θεὸν MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

of Asia was ensnared, and showed himself more cruel and more insolent than Darius and Xerxes, after he had become the master of their empire. The shafts of her favours subdued and utterly destroyed the Persians, the Macedonians, the Athenian nation, Spartan magistrates, Roman generals, and countless absolute monarchs besides. It would be an endless business to enumerate all who have fallen victims to their wealth and victories and luxury. And as for those who, submerged by the tide of their misfortunes, from free men have become slaves, who have been humbled from their high estate after all their splendour and become poor and mean in the eyes of all men, what need now to go through the list of them as though I were copying it from a written record? Would that human life afforded no such instances! But it does not nor ever will lack such, so long as the race of man endures.

And to show that I am not the only one who thinks that Fortune has the upper hand in practical affairs, I will quote to you a passage from that admirable work the *Laws of Plato*. You know it well and indeed taught it to me, but I have set down the speech which runs something like this, and offer it as a proof that I am not really indolent. "God governs all things and with God Fortune and Opportunity govern all human affairs: but there is a milder view that Art must needs go with them and must be their associate."¹ He then indicates what must be the character of a man who is the craftsman and artificer of noble deeds and a divinely inspired king. Then he says: "Kronos therefore, as I have already related, knew that human

¹ *Laws* 709B.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐδαμῇ οὐδεμία ἱκανὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα διοικοῦσα
 αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας
 μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' οὖν διανοούμενος ἐφίστη τότε B
 βασιλέας καὶ ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν οὐκ
 ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρου καὶ ἀμείνονος,
 δαίμονας, οἷον νῦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν τοῖς ποιμνίοις καὶ
 ὄσων ἡμεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγέλαι· οὐ βούς βοῶν οὐδὲ αἰγας
 αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιοῦμεν αὐτοῖς τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς
 αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν, ἄμεινον ἐκείνων γένος. ταῦτόν
 δὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς φιλάνθρωπος ὦν γένος ἄμεινον ἡμῶν
 ἐφίστη τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ὃ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐ-
 τοῖς ῥαστώνης, διὰ πολλῆς δ' ἡμῖν, ἐπιμελό- C
 μενον ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ δὴ ἀφθονίαν
 δίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαίμονα
 τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ
 νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθείᾳ χρώμενος, ὅσων πό-
 λεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχει θνητός, οὐκ ἔστι
 κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψυξις· ἀλλὰ μι-
 μείσθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται πάση μηχανῇ τὸν
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῖν D
 ἀθανασίας ἔνεστι, τούτῳ πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ τάς τε οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν,
 τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ὀνομάζοντας νόμον. εἰ δὲ
 ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἣ ὀλιγαρχία τις ἣ δημοκρατία
 ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ὀρεγομένην
 καὶ πληροῦσθαι τούτων δεομένην ἄρξει δὴ πόλεως 25
 τινος ἣ ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας τοὺς νόμους, οὐκ
 ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανή.”

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

nature when endowed with supreme authority is never in any case capable of managing human affairs without being filled with insolence and injustice ; therefore, having regard to this he at that time set over our cities as kings and governors not men but beings of a more divine and higher race, I mean demons ; thus doing as we do now for our flocks and domestic herds. We never appoint certain oxen to rule over other oxen or goats to rule over goats, but we are their masters, a race superior to theirs. In like manner then God, since he loves mankind, has set over us a race of beings superior to ourselves, the race of demons ; and they with great ease both to themselves and us undertake the care of us and dispense peace, reverence, aye, and above all justice without stint, and thus they make the tribes of men harmonious and happy. And that account is a true one which declares that in our day all cities that are governed not by a god but by a mortal man have no relief from evils and hardships. And the lesson is that we ought by every means in our power to imitate that life which is said to have existed in the days of Kronos : and in so far as the principle of immortality is in us we ought to be guided by it in our management of public and private affairs, of our houses and cities, calling the distribution of mind ‘law.’¹ But whether the government be in the hands of one man or of an oligarchy or democracy, if it have a soul that hankers after pleasure and the lower appetites and demands to indulge these, and if such a one rule over a city or individual having first trampled on the laws, there is no means of salvation.”²

¹ A play on words : *διανομή* and *νόμος* are both connected with *νέμω* = “to distribute.” ² *Laws* 713-714 ; Julian condenses and slightly alters the original.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Ταύτην ἐγὼ σοι τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐξεπίτηδες ὄλην
 παρέγραψα, μή με κλέπτειν ὑπολάβῃς καὶ
 κακουργεῖν μύθους ἀρχαίους προφέροντα, τυχὸν
 μὲν ἐμπερῶς, οὐ μὴν ἀληθῶς πάντη ξυγκει-
 μένους. ἀλλ' ὃ γε ἀληθὴς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγος
 τί φησιν; ἀκούεις ὅτι, καὶ ἄνθρωπός τις ἢ τῇ
 φύσει, θεῖον εἶναι χρὴ τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ δαί-
 μονα, πᾶν ἁπλῶς ἐκβαλόντα τὸ θνητὸν καὶ
 θηριῶδες τῆς ψυχῆς, πλήν ὅσα ἀνάγκη διὰ B
 τὴν τοῦ σώματος παραμένειν σωτηρίαν; ταῦτα
 εἴ τις ἐννοῶν δέδοικεν ἐπὶ τηλικούτου ἐλκό-
 μενος βίον, ἄρά σοι φαίνεται τὴν Ἐπικούρειον
 θαυμάζειν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τοὺς κήπους καὶ
 τὸ προάστειον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν¹ καὶ τὰς μυρρίνας
 καὶ τὸ Σωκράτους δωμάτιον; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου
 γε ἐγὼ ταῦτα προτιμήσας τῶν πόνων ὥφθην.
 ἥδιστα ἂν σοι τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ πόνους διεξήλθον καὶ
 τὰ ἐπικρεμασθέντα παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν,
 ὅτε τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἡρχόμεν παιδείας, δείματα, C
 εἰ μὴ σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἠπίστασο. τὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ
 πρὸς τὸν καὶ γένει προσήκοντα καὶ φιλία μᾶλλον
 οἰκεῖον ὄντα μοι πραχθέντα πρότερον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς
 ξένου μικρὰ παντελῶς γνωρίμου μοι γενομένου,
 τοῦ σοφιστοῦ φημί, λέληθεν οὐδέν σε. ἀποδημίας
 δὲ οὐχ ὑπέστην τῶν φίλων ἔνεκα; καίτοι Καρτε-
 ρίῳ μὲν οἶσθ' ὅπως συνηράμην πρὸς τὸν ἐταῖρον D
 ἡμῖν ἀφικόμενος Ἀράξιον ἄκλητος, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 δεησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τῆς θαυμασίας Ἀρετῆς
 κτημάτων καὶ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων

¹ Ἀθηνῶν Cobet, Ἀθηναίων Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

I have purposely set down the whole of this speech for you lest you should think that I am cheating and defrauding by bringing forward ancient myths which may have some resemblance to the truth, but on the whole are not composed with regard to truth. But what is the true meaning of this narrative? You hear what it says, that even though a prince be by nature human, he must in his conduct be divine and a demi-god and must completely banish from his soul all that is mortal and brutish, except what must remain to safeguard the needs of the body. Now if, reflecting on this, one is afraid to be constrained to adopt a life from which so much is expected, do you therefore conclude that one admires the inaction recommended by Epicurus, the gardens and suburbs of Athens and its myrtles, or the humble home of Socrates? But never has anyone seen me prefer these to a life of toil. That toil of mine I would willingly recount to you, and the hazards that threatened me from my friends and kinsfolk at the time when I began to study under you, if you did not yourself know them well enough. You are well aware of what I did, in the first place, in Ionia in opposition to one who was related to me by ties of blood, but even more closely by ties of friendship, and that in behalf of a foreigner with whom I was very slightly acquainted, I mean the sophist. Did I not endure to leave the country for the sake of my friends? Indeed, you know how I took the part of Carterius when I went unsolicited to our friend Araxius to plead for him. And in behalf of the property of that admirable woman Arete and the wrongs she had suffered from her neighbours, did I

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

οὐκ εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀφικόμην ἐν
οὐδὲ ὅλοις μῆσι δύο, ἀσθενοὺς ἤδη μοι παντελῶς
ὄντος τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς
πρότερον κακοπαθείας ἀρρωστίαν; ἀλλὰ δὴ τὸ
τελευταῖον πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενομένης
ἡμῖν ἀφίξεως, ὅτε περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὥς ἂν
εἴποιεν οἱ πολλοί, κινδυνεύων ἐγὼ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ 260
παρέμενον, ὁποίας ἔγραφον ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σὲ
νῦν ὑπομνήσθητι, μήποτε ὀδυρμῶν πλήρεις, μήτι
μικρὸν ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ λίαν ἀγεννὲς ἐχούσας.
ἀπὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, ὅτε με φεύγειν
ἐνόμιζον πάντες, οὐχ ὥς ἐν ἐορτῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ
τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν ἡδίστην ἔφην εἶναι τὴν ἀμοι-
βὴν ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον

B

χρύσεια χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι ἐννεαβοίων

ἔφην ἀντηλλάχθαι; οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ
ἐστίας τὴν Ἑλλάδα λαχὼν ἐγανύμην, οὐκ ἀγρόν,
οὐ κῆπον, οὐ δωμάτιον ἐκεῖ κεκτημένος.

Ἀλλὰ ἴσως ἔοικα ἐγὼ τὰς μὲν δυσπραγίας οὐκ
ἀγεννῶς φέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰς παρὰ τῆς τύχης
δωρεὰς ἀγεννῆς τις εἶναι καὶ μικρός, ὃ γε ἀγαπῶν
τὰς Ἀθήνας μᾶλλον τοῦ νῦν περὶ ἡμᾶς ὄγκου, τὴν
σχολὴν δῆπουθεν ἐκείνην ἐπαινῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ
πλήθος τῶν πράξεων τοῦτον αἰτιώμενος τὸν βίον ; C
ἀλλὰ μή ποτε χρὴ περὶ ἡμῶν ἄμεινον κρίνειν, οὐκ
εἰς ἀπραξίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν βλέποντας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς
τὸ Γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὸ

Ἐρδοι δ' ἕκαστος ἦντιν' εἰδείη τέχνην.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

not journey to Phrygia for the second time within two months, though I was physically very weak from the illness that had been brought on by former fatigues?¹ Finally, before I went to Greece, while I was still with the army and running what most people would call the greatest possible risks, recall now what sort of letters I wrote to you, never filled with complaints or containing anything little or mean or servile. And when I returned to Greece, when everyone regarded me as an exile, did I not welcome my fate as though it were some high festival, and did I not say that the exchange to me was most delightful, and that, as the saying is, I had thereby gained "gold for bronze, the price of a hundred oxen for the price of nine"?² So great was my joy at obtaining the chance to live in Greece instead of in my own home, though I possessed there no land or garden or the humblest house.

But perhaps you think that though I can bear adversity in the proper spirit, yet I show a poor and mean spirit towards the good gifts of Fortune, seeing that I prefer Athens to the pomp that now surrounds me; because, you will doubtless say, I approve the leisure of those days and disparage my present life because of the vast amount of work that the latter involves. But perhaps you ought to judge of me more accurately, and not consider the question whether I am idle or industrious, but rather the precept, "Know thyself," and the saying, "Let every man practise the craft which he knows."³

¹ We know nothing more of the events here mentioned.

² A proverb derived from *Iliad* 6. 236, where Glaukos exchanges his golden armour for the bronze armour of Diomedes.

³ Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1431.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Μεῖζον ἔμοιγε φαίνεται τὸ βασιλεύειν ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον καὶ φύσεως δεῖσθαι δαιμονιωτέρας βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ Πλάτων ἔλεγε· καὶ νῦν D
'Αριστοτέλους εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ συντίθεντα παραγράφω λόγον, οὐ γλαῦκα Ἀθηναίοις ἄγων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐπιδεικνύμενος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς συγγράμμασιν. “Εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἄριστον θεῖη τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι, πῶς ἔξει τὰ περὶ τῶν τέκνων; πότερον καὶ τὸ γένος δεῖ βασιλεύειν; ἀλλὰ γιγνομένων ὁποῖοί τινες ἔτυχον, βλαβερόν. ἀλλὰ οὐ παραδώσει κύριος ὦν τοῖς τέκνοις; ἀλλ' 261
οὐκ ἔτι ῥάδιον τοῦτο πιστεῦσαι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ καὶ μείζονος ἀρετῆς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν.” ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ νόμον λεγομένου βασιλέως διεξελθὼν, ὡς¹ ἐστὶν ὑπηρέτης καὶ φύλαξ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲ βασιλέα καλῶν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας² οἰόμενος, προστίθησιν. “Περὶ δὲ τῆς παμβασιλείας καλουμένης, αὕτη δ' B
ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἄρχει πάντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοκεῖ τισιν οὐδὲ κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὸ κύριον ἓνα πάντων εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν· τοῖς γὰρ ὁμοίοις φύσει τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι.” εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον φησὶν. “Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν νοῦν κελεύων ἄρχειν δοκεῖ κελεύειν ἄρχειν τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς νόμους· ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπον κελεύων

¹ ὡς Klimek, δs Hertlein, MSS.

² τὸν τοιοῦτον εἶδος πολιτείας Hertlein suggests, cf. Aristotle *Politics* 3. 16, 1287 a, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS.

To me, at any rate, it seems that the task of reigning is beyond human powers, and that a king needs a more divine character, as indeed Plato too used to say. And now I will write out a passage from Aristotle to the same effect, not "bringing owls to the Athenians,"¹ but in order to show you that I do not entirely neglect his writings. In his political treatises he says: "Now even if one maintain the principle that it is best for cities to be governed by a king, how will it be about his children? Ought his children to succeed him? And yet if they prove to be no better than anybody else, that would be a bad thing for the city. But you may say, though he has the power he will not leave the succession to his children? It is difficult indeed to believe that he will not; for that would be too hard for him, and demands a virtue greater than belongs to human nature."² And later on, when he is describing a so-called king who rules according to law, and says that he is both the servant and guardian of the laws, he does not call him a king at all, nor does he consider such a king as a distinct form of government; and he goes on to say: "Now as for what is called absolute monarchy, that is to say, when a king governs all other men according to his own will, some people think that it is not in accordance with the nature of things for one man to have absolute authority over all the citizens; since those who are by nature equal must necessarily have the same rights."³ Again, a little later he says: "It seems, therefore, that he who bids Reason rule is really preferring the rule of God and the laws,

¹ A proverb; cf. "bringing coals to Newcastle."

² Aristotle, *Politics* 3. 15. 1286b. ³ *Ibid* 3. 16. 1287a.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

προστίθησι καὶ θηρία· ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦ- C
τον καὶ ὁ θυμὸς ὃς¹ διαστρέφει καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἄνδρας· διόπερ ἄνευ ὀρέξεως ὁ νοῦς νόμος ἐστίν.”
ὁρᾷς, ὁ φιλόσοφος ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα σαφῶς ἀπι-
στούντι καὶ κατεγνωκότι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως.
φησὶ γὰρ οὕτω ῥήματι τοῦτο λέγων· οὐδεμίαν
ἀξιοχρεὼν εἶναι φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην πρὸς τοσαύτην D
τύχης ὑπεροχὴν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν παίδων τὸ κοινῇ
τοῖς πολίταις συμφέρον προτιμᾷ ἀνθρώπον γε
ὄντα ῥάδιον ὑπολαμβάνει, καὶ πολλῶν ὁμοίων
ἄρχειν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναί φησι, καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τὸν
κολοφῶνα τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις νόμον μὲν εἶναί
φησι τὸν νοῦν χωρὶς ὀρέξεως, ᾧ μόνῳ τὰς
πολιτείας ἐπιτρέπειν χρῆναι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐδενί. ὁ
γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦς, καὶ ὥσιν ἀγαθοί, συμπέπλε-
ται θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, θηρίοις χαλεπωτάτοις.
ταῦτα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἄκρως 262
ὁμολογεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι κρείττονα χρὴ τῶν
ἀρχομένων εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσει
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει διαφέροντα· ὅπερ εὐρεῖν
ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐ ῥάδιον.² . . . καὶ τρίτον ὅτι πάσῃ
μηχανῇ κατὰ δύναμιν νόμοις προσεκτέον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ
παραχρῆμα κειμένοις οὐδὲ ὡς ἔοικε νῦν τεθεῖσιν
ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν οὐ πάντῃ κατὰ νοῦν βεβιωκότων, ἀλλ’
ὅστις μᾶλλον τὸν νοῦν καθαρθεὶς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
οὐκ εἰς τὰ παρόντα ἀφορῶν ἀδικήματα οὐδὲ εἰς B.

¹ ὃς Hertlein would add.

² Several words indicating the second point enumerated seem to have been lost.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

but he who bids man rule, adds an element of the beast. For desire is a wild beast, and passion which warps even the best men. It follows, therefore, that law is Reason exempt from desire." You see the philosopher seems here clearly to distrust and condemn human nature. For he says so in so many words when he asserts that human nature is in no case worthy of such an excess of fortune. For he thinks that it is too hard for one who is merely human to prefer the general weal of the citizens to his own children; he says that it is not just that one man should rule over many who are his equals; and, finally, he puts the finishing stroke¹ to what he has just said when he asserts that "law is Reason exempt from desire," and that political affairs ought to be entrusted to Reason alone, and not to any individual man whatever. For the reason that is in men, however good they may be, is entangled with passion and desire, those most ferocious monsters. These opinions, it seems to me, harmonise perfectly with Plato's; first, that he who governs ought to be superior to his subjects and surpass them not only in his acquired habits but also in natural endowment; a thing which is not easy to find among men; . . . thirdly, that he ought by every means in his power to observe the laws, not those that were framed to meet some sudden emergency, or established, as now appears, by men whose lives were not wholly guided by reason; but he must observe them only in case the lawgiver, having purified his mind and soul, in enacting those laws keeps in view not merely the crimes of the moment

¹ Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 153.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

τὰς παρεστώσας τύχας τίθησι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας φύσιν καταμαθὼν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οἶόν¹ ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ ποταπὸν ἐστι τὰδίκημα τεθεαμένος τῇ φύσει, εἴθ' ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐκείθεν ἐνταῦθα μεταφέρων καὶ τιθεὶς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις κοινούς, οὔτε εἰς φιλίαν οὔτε εἰς ἔχθραν ἀφορῶν οὔτε εἰς γείτονα καὶ ξυγγενή· C κρείσσον δέ, εἰ μὴδὲ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὕστερον ἢ ξένοις γράψας ἀποπέμποι νόμους, ἔχων γε οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔξω ἐξιδιωτικὸν συνάλλαγμα. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τὸν σοφὸν ἀκούω μετὰ τῶν φίλων συμβουλευσάμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀναιρέσεως τοῖς μὲν εὐπορίας ἀφορμήν, αὐτῷ δὲ αἰσχύνης αἰτίαν παρασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ἐλευθερώσαντα. οὕτως οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστι τὰς τοιαύτας D ἐκφυγεῖν κήρας, κὰν τὸν αὐτοῦ νοῦν παράσχη τις ἀπαθῇ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν.

Ἄ δεδιὼς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἰκότως ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἔμ- προσθεν βίον, καὶ σοὶ πειθόμενος μάλιστα ταῦτα ἐγὼ διανοοῦμαι, οὐχ ὅτι μοι τὸν ζῆλον πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον ἔφης προκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, Σόλωνα καὶ Λυκούργον καὶ Πιπτακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι μεταβῆναί με φῆς ἐκ τῆς ὑποστέγου φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὴν ὑπαίθριον. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ τῷ 263 χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις ὑγιείας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτοῦ γυμναζομένῳ μετρίως οἴκαδε προύλεγες, ὅτι “Νῦν ἤκεις εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ μεταβέβηκας ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παλαιίστρας ἐπὶ τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Διός, οὐ θεατὰς ἔξεις τοὺς τε ἀπανταχόθεν Ἕλληνας

¹ οἶόν Hertlein suggests, δ MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

or immediate contingencies ; but rather recognises the nature of government and the essential nature of justice, and has carefully observed also the essential nature of guilt, and then applies to his task all the knowledge thus derived, and frames laws which have a general application to all the citizens without regard to friend or foe, neighbour or kinsman. And it is better that such a lawgiver should frame and promulgate his laws not for his contemporaries only but for posterity also, or for strangers with whom he neither has nor expects to have any private dealings. For instance, I hear that the wise Solon, having consulted his friends about the cancelling of debts, furnished them with an opportunity to make money, but brought on himself a disgraceful accusation.¹ So hard is it to avoid such fatalities, even when a man brings a passionless mind to the task of governing.

And since this sort of thing is what I dread, it is natural that I should often dwell on the advantages of my previous mode of life, and I am but obeying you when I reflect that you said not only that I must emulate those famous men Solon, Lycurgus and Pittacus, but also that I must now quit the shades of philosophy for the open air. This is as though you had announced to a man who for his health's sake and by exerting himself to the utmost was able to take moderate exercise at home : " Now you have come to Olympia and have exchanged the gymnasium in your house for the stadium of Zeus, where you will have for spectators Greeks who have

¹ Before Solon's measure to cancel debts was generally known, some of his friends borrowed large sums, knowing that they would not have to repay them.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

καὶ πρώτους γε τοὺς σαυτοῦ πολίτας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεσθαι χρή, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὓς ἐκπλήξαι χρεών, φοβερωτέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν πατρίδα τό γε εἰς σὲ νῦν ἦκον ἐπιδείξαντα,” κατέβαλες ἂν εὐθέως καὶ τρέμειν ἐποίησας πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας· οὐτῶ καμὲ νῦν νόμιζε διατεθῆναι τοῖς B τοιούτοις λόγοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων εἶτε ὀρθῶς ἔγνων καὶ νῦν εἶτε ἐν μέρει σφάλλομαι τοῦ προσήκοντος εἶτε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαμαρτάνω, διδάξεις αὐτίκα μάλα.

Ἐπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπορήσαί μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν C τὴν σὴν παρέστη, ὧ φίλη κεφαλὴ καὶ πάσης ἔμοιγε τιμῆς ἀξία, βούλομαι δηλώσαι· σαφέστερον γάρ πως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶ μαθεῖν. ἔφησθα ὅτι τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει παρὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπαινεῖς βίον, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν σοφὸν ἐκάλεις μάρτυρα, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν τῷ πράττειν εὐ τιθέμενον, καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν σκοποῦντα τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ζωῆς, διαπορεῖν ἅττα περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν θεωρίαν ἐν ἄλλοις προτιμᾶν, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοὺς τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἀρχιτέκτονας. τούτους δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν D εἶναι φῆς τοὺς βασιλέας, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἴρηκεν οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ προστεθεῖσαν λέξιν, πλείον δὲ θάτερον ἐξ ὧν παραγέγραφας ἂν τις νοήσῃ. τὸ γὰρ “Μάλιστα δὲ πράττειν λέγομεν κυρίως καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν πράξεων τοὺς ταῖς διανοαῖς ἀρχιτέκτονας” εἰς τοὺς νομοθέτας καὶ

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

come from all parts, and foremost among them your own fellow-citizens, on whose behalf you must enter the lists ; and certain barbarians will be there also whom it is your duty to impress, showing them your fatherland in as formidable a light as lies in your power." You would have disconcerted him at once and made him nervous before the games began. You may now suppose that I have been affected in the same manner by just such words from you. And you will very soon inform me whether my present view is correct, or whether I am in part deceived as to my proper course or whether indeed I am wholly mistaken.

But I should like to make clear to you the points in your letter by which I am puzzled, my dearest friend to whom I especially am bound to pay every honour : for I am eager to be more precisely informed about them. You said that you approve a life of action rather than the philosophic life, and you called to witness the wise Aristotle who defines happiness as virtuous activity, and discussing the difference between the statesman's life and the life of contemplation, showed a certain hesitation about those lives, and though in others of his writings he preferred the contemplative life, in this place you say he approves the architects of noble actions. But it is you who assert that these are kings, whereas Aristotle does not speak in the sense of the words that you have introduced : and from what you have quoted one would rather infer the contrary. For when he says : " We most correctly use the word ' act ' of those who are the architects of public affairs by virtue of their intelligence,"¹ we must suppose that what he

Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 3. 1325B.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

τοὺς πολιτικοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς
τοὺς νῦν τε καὶ λόγῳ πράττοντας, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς τοὺς
αὐτουργοὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πράξεων ἐργάτας 264
εἰρῆσθαι νομιστέον· οἷς οὐκ ἀπόχρη μόνον ἐνθυ-
μηθῆναι καὶ κατανοῆσαι καὶ τὸ πρακτέον τοῖς
ἄλλοις φράσαι, προσήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ἕκαστα μετα-
χειρίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν ὧν οἱ νόμοι διαγορεύουσι
καὶ πολλάκις οἱ καιροὶ προσαναγκάζουσι, πλὴν
εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα καλοῦμεν, καθάπερ Ὁμηρος
τὸν Ἡρακλέα καλεῖν εἶωθεν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει “μεγά-
λων ἐπίστορα ἔργων,” αὐτουργότατον ἀπάντων
γενόμενον.

Εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἢ καὶ μόνον B
ἐν τῷ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ φαμεν εὐδαίμονας τοὺς
κυρίους¹ ὄντας καὶ βασιλεύοντας πολλῶν, τί ποτε
περὶ Σωκράτους ἐροῦμεν; Πυθαγόραν δὲ καὶ
Δημόκριτον καὶ τὸν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν
ἴσως διὰ τὴν θεωρίαν κατ' ἄλλο φήσεις εὐδαί-
μονας· Σωκράτης δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν παραιτησάμενος
καὶ τὸν πρακτικὸν ἀγαπήσας βίον οὐδὲ τῆς γα-
μετῆς ἦν τῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδός· ἥπου C
γε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν πολιτῶν ἐκείνῳ κρατεῖν ὑπῆρχεν;
ἂρ' οὖν οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος πρακτικός, ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς ἦν
κύριος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου φημὶ μείζονα
τὸν Σωφρονίσκου κατεργάσασθαι, τὴν Πλάτωνος
αὐτῷ σοφίαν ἀνατιθεῖς, τὴν Ξενοφώντος στρα-
τηγίαν, τὴν Ἀντισθένης ἀνδρείαν, τὴν Ἐρε-
τρικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν Μεγαρικὴν, τὸν Κέβητα,

¹ ἐν τῷ πράττειν . . . τοὺς κύριους Hertlein suggests, τοὺς ἐν
τῷ πράττειν . . . κύριους MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

says applies to lawgivers and political philosophers and all whose activity consists in the use of intelligence and reason, but that it does not apply to those who do the work themselves and those who transact the business of politics. But in their case it is not enough that they should consider and devise and instruct others as to what must be done, but it is their duty to undertake and execute whatever the laws ordain and circumstances as well often force on them; unless indeed we call that man an architect who is "well versed in mighty deeds,"¹ a phrase which Homer in his poems usually applies to Heracles, who was indeed of all men that ever lived most given to do the work himself.

But if we conceive this to be true, or that only those are happy who administer public affairs and who are in authority and rule over many, what then are we to say about Socrates? As for Pythagoras and Democritus and Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, you will perhaps say that they were happy in another sense of the word, because of their philosophic speculations. But as for Socrates who, having rejected the speculative life and embraced a life of action, had no authority over his own wife or his son, can we say of him that he governed even two or three of his fellow-citizens? Then will you assert that since he had no authority over any one he accomplished nothing? On the contrary I maintain that the son of Sophroniscus² performed greater tasks than Alexander, for to him I ascribe the wisdom of Plato, the generalship of Xenophon, the fortitude of Antisthenes, the Eretrian³

¹ *Odyssey* 21. 26.

² The father of Socrates.

³ This school was founded by Phaedo in Elis and later was transferred by Menedemus to Eretria.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

τὸν Σιμμίαν, τὸν Φαίδωνα, μυρίους ἄλλους· καὶ D
οὐπω φημὶ τὰς γενομένας ἡμῖν ἐνθένδ' ἀποικίας,
τὸ Λύκειον, τὴν Στοάν, τὰς Ἀκαδημείας. τίς οὖν
ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου νίκην; τίς πόλις
ἄμεινον ᾤκηθη; τίς αὐτοῦ γέγονε βελτίων ιδιώ-
της ἀνὴρ; πλουσιωτέρους μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς ἂν
εὖροις, σοφώτερον δὲ οὐδένα οὐδὲ σωφρονέστερον
αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀλαζόνα καὶ
ὑπερόπτην. ὅσοι δὲ σώζονται νῦν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας,
διὰ τὸν Σωκράτη σώζονται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγὼ
μόνος, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρότερος¹ ἔοικεν ἐννοήσας 265
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μείον αὐτῷ προσήκει φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ
θεολογικῇ συγγραφῇ τοῦ καθελόντος τὴν Περσῶν
δύναμιν. καί μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὀρθῶς ξυν-
νοῆσαι· νικᾶν μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρείας ἐστὶ μάλιστα καὶ
τῆς τύχης, κείσθω δέ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῆς ἐντρεχοῦς
ταύτης φρονήσεως, ἀληθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας
ἀναλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀρετῆς μόνον τῆς τελείας ἔργον
ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσειεν ἂν τις εἰκότως, πότερον B
χρὴ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἢ θεὸν καλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ
ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι πέφυκεν ἕκαστον
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γνωρίζεσθαι, τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν ὁ
γνωρίσας θεῖός τις ἂν εἰκότως νομίζοιτο.

¹ πρότερος Hertlein suggests, πρότερον MSS,

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

and Megarian¹ philosophies, Cebes, Simmias,² Phaedo and a host of others; not to mention the offshoots derived from the same source, the Lyceum, the Stoa and the Academies. Who, I ask, ever found salvation through the conquests of Alexander? What city was ever more wisely governed because of them, what individual improved? Many indeed you might find whom those conquests enriched, but not one whom they made wiser or more temperate than he was by nature, if indeed they have not made him more insolent and arrogant. Whereas all who now find their salvation in philosophy owe it to Socrates. And I am not the only person to perceive this fact and to express it, for Aristotle it seems did so before me, when he said that he had just as much right to be proud of his treatise on the gods as the conqueror³ of the Persian empire. And I think he was perfectly correct in that conclusion. For military success is due to courage and good fortune more than anything else or, let us say, if you wish, to intelligence as well, though of the common everyday sort. . But to conceive true opinions about God is an achievement that not only requires perfect virtue, but one might well hesitate whether it be proper to call one who attains to this a man or a god. For if the saying is true that it is the nature of everything to become known to those who have an affinity with it, then he who comes to know the essential nature of God would naturally be considered divine.

¹ The Megarian school founded by Euclid was finally absorbed by the Cynics.

² Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans; cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, where they discuss with Socrates.

³ Alexander; Julian seems to be misquoting Plutarch, *Moralia* 78D,

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάλιν εἰκόκαμεν εἰς τὸν θεωρημα-
 τικὸν ὀρμήσαντες βίον τούτῳ παραβάλλειν τὸν
 πρακτικόν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραιτησαμένου καὶ σοῦ τὴν
 σύγκρισιν, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθης, Ἀρείου, C
 Νικολάου, Θρασύλλου καὶ Μουσωνίου μνημο-
 νεύσω. τούτων γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως τις ἦν κύριος τῆς
 αὐτοῦ πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἀρείος, ὡς φασί, καὶ
 διδομένην αὐτῷ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπιτροπεύσαι
 παρητήσατο, Θράσυλλος δὲ Τιβερίῳ πικρῷ καὶ
 φύσει χαλεπῷ τυράννῳ ξυγγενόμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ
 τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀπελογή-
 σατο, δείξας ὅστις ἦν, ὧφλεν ἂν εἰς τέλος αἰσχύ- D
 νην ἀναπάλλακτον, οὕτως αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ὦνησεν ἡ
 πολιτεία, Νικόλαος δὲ πράξεων μὲν οὐ μεγάλων
 αὐτουργὸς γέγονε, γνώριμος δέ ἐστι μᾶλλον διὰ
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγους, καὶ Μουσώνιος ἐξ ὧν
 ἔπαθεν ἀνδρείως καὶ νῆ Δί' ἠνεγκεν ἐγκρατῶς τὴν
 τῶν τυράννων ὁμότητα γέγονε γνώριμος, ἴσως οὐκ
 ἔλαττον εὐδαιμονῶν ἐκείνων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας
 ἐπιτροπευσάντων βασιλείας. Ἀρείος δὲ ὁ τὴν
 ἐπιτροπὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου παραιτησάμενος ἐκὼν 266
 αὐτὸν ἀπεστέρει τοῦ κρατίστου τέλους εἰ τοῦτ'
 ᾤετο κυριώτατον. σὺ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἄπρακτος εἶ,
 μήτε στρατηγῶν μήτε δημηγορῶν μήτε ἔθνους ἢ
 πόλεως ἄρχων; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν φαίη νοῦν ἔχων
 ἀνὴρ. ἔξεστι γάρ σοι φιλοσόφους πολλοὺς ἀπο-
 φήναντι, εἰ δὲ μή, τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας μείζονα τὸν
 βίον εὐεργετήσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ὁμοῦ
 βασιλέων. οὐ μικρὰς γὰρ μερίδας ὁ φιλόσοφος B

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

But since I seem to have harked back to the life of contemplation and to be comparing it with the life of action, though in the beginning of your letter you declined to make the comparison, I will remind you of those very philosophers whom you mentioned, Areius,¹ Nicolaus,² Thrasyllus,³ and Musonius.⁴ So far from any one of these governing his own city, Areius we are told refused the governorship of Egypt when it was offered to him, and Thrasyllus by becoming intimate with the harsh and naturally cruel tyrant Tiberius would have incurred indelible disgrace for all time, had he not cleared himself in the writings that he left behind him and so shown his true character; so little did his public career benefit him. Nicolaus did not personally do any great deeds, and he is known rather by his writings about such deeds; while Musonius became famous because he bore his sufferings with courage, and, by Zeus, sustained with firmness the cruelty of tyrants; and perhaps he was not less happy than those who administered great kingdoms. As for Areius, when he declined the governorship of Egypt he deliberately deprived himself of the highest end, if he really thought that this was the most important thing. And you yourself,—may I ask, do you lead an inactive life because you are not a general or a public speaker and govern no nation or city? Nay, no one with any sense would say so. For it is in your power by producing many philosophers, or even only three or four, to confer more benefit on the lives of men than many kings put together. To no trivial province

¹ Cf. *Caesars* 326B note. ² A historian under Augustus.

³ The Platonic philosopher and astrologer, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 21.

⁴ The Stoic philosopher exiled by Nero.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

προέστηκεν, οὐδέ, καθάπερ ἔφησ, συμβουλῆς ἐστὶ
μόνης τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκεῖνος κύριος, οὐδὲ ἡ
πρᾶξις εἰς λόγον αὐθις αὐτῷ περιίσταται, ἔργῳ δὲ
βεβαιῶν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φαινόμενος τοιοῦτος,
ὁποῖους βούλεται τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι, πιθανώτερος
ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ἀνυσιμώτερος τῶν ἐξ
ἐπιτάγματος ἐπὶ τὰς καλὰς πράξεις παρορ- C
μώντων.

Ἄλλ' ἐπανιτέον εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπεραντέον
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μείζονα ἴσως οὔσαν τοῦ δέοντος.
ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι μήτε τὸν πόνον
φεύγων μήτε τὴν ἡδονὴν θηρεύων μήτε ἀπραγ-
μοσύνης καὶ ῥαστώνης ἐρῶν τὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
δυσχεραίνω βίον· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὔτε
παιδείαν ἐμαυτῷ συνειδὼς τοσαύτην οὔτε φύσεως D
ὑπεροχὴν, καὶ προσέτι δεδιώς, μὴ φιλοσφίαν, ἣς
ἐρῶν οὐκ ἐφικόμεν, εἰς τοὺς νῦν ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ
ἄλλως εὐδοκιμοῦσαν διαβάλλω, πάλαι τε ἔγραφον
ἐκεῖνα καὶ νῦν τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμήσεις ἀπελ-
σάμην εἰς δύναμιν.

Διδοίη δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἀρίστην τύχην καὶ
φρόνησιν ἀξίαν τῆς τύχης, ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν ἔκ τε
τοῦ κρείττονος τό γε πλεον καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν
φιλοσοφούντων ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ¹ βοηθητέος εἶναί 267
μοι δοκῶ, προτεταγμένος ὑμῶν καὶ προκινδυνεύων.
εἰ δέ τι μείζον ἀγαθὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας παρασκευῆς
καὶ ἥς ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης ἔχω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
δι' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι, χαλεπαίνειν οὐ χρή
πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ

¹ ἀπάσῃ μηχανῇ follows ὑμῶν in MSS. ; Hertlein suggests present reading.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

is the philosopher appointed, and, as you said yourself, he does not only direct counsels or public affairs, nor is his activity confined to mere words ; but if he confirm his words by deeds and show himself to be such as he wishes others to be, he may be more convincing and more effective in making men act than those who urge them to noble actions by issuing commands.

But I must go back to what I said at the beginning, and conclude this letter, which is perhaps longer already than it should be. And the main point in it is that it is not because I would avoid hard work or pursue pleasure, nor because I am in love with idleness and ease that I am averse to spending my life in administration. But, as I said when I began, it is because I am conscious that I have neither sufficient training nor natural talents above the ordinary ; moreover, I am afraid of bringing reproach on philosophy, which, much as I love it, I have never attained to, and which on other accounts has no very good reputation among men of our day. For these reasons I wrote all this down some time ago, and now I have freed myself from your charges as far as I can.

May God grant me the happiest fortune possible, and wisdom to match my fortune ! For now I think I need assistance from God above all, and also from you philosophers by all means in your power, since I have proved myself your leader and champion in danger. But should it be that blessings greater than of my furnishing and than the opinion that I now have of myself should be granted to men by God through my instrumentality, you must not resent my words. For being conscious or no good

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

συνειδὼς ἀγαθὸν πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον, ὅτι μὴδὲ
οἶομαι τὰ μέγιστα ἔχειν ἔχων τε¹ οὐδέν, ὥς
ὁρᾷς αὐτός, εἰκότως βοῶ καὶ μαρτύρομαι μὴ
μεγάλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τὸ B
πάν ἐπιτρέπειν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν τε ἐλλειμ-
μάτων εἶην ἂν ἀνεύθυνος καί, γενομένων ἀπάντων
δεξιῶν, εὐγνώμων ἂν καὶ μέτριος εἶην, οὐκ
ἀλλοτρίοις ἐμαυτὸν ἔργοις ἐπιγράφων, τῷ θεῷ
δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν δίκαιον, προσανατεθεικῶς ἅπαντα
αὐτός τε εἴσομαι καὶ ὑμᾶς προτρέπω τὴν χάριν
εἰδέναι.

¹ τε Hertlein suggests, γε MSS.

LETTER TO THEMISTIUS

thing in me, save this only, that I do not even think that I possess the highest talent, and indeed have naturally none, I cry aloud and testify¹ that you must not expect great things of me, but must entrust everything to God. For thus I shall be free from responsibility for my shortcomings, and if everything turns out favourably I shall be discreet and moderate, not putting my name to the deeds of other men,² but by giving God the glory for all, as is right, it is to Him that I shall myself feel gratitude and I urge all of you to feel the same.

¹ Demosthenes, *De Corona* 23. ² Cf. *Caesars* 323 B.

LETTER TO THE SENATE AND
PEOPLE OF ATHENS

INTRODUCTION

OF the manifestoes addressed by Julian to Rome, Sparta, Corinth, and Athens, defending his acceptance of the title of Emperor and his open rupture with Constantius, the last alone survives. It was written in Illyricum in 361, when Julian was on the march against Constantius, and is the chief authority for the events that led to his elevation to the Imperial rank. Julian writes to the Athenians of the fourth Christian century as though they still possessed the influence and standards of their forefathers. He was well known at Athens, where he had studied before his elevation to the Caesarship and he was anxious to clear himself in the eyes of the citizens. For the first time he ventures to speak the truth about Constantius and to describe the latter's ruthless treatment of his family. His account of the revolution at Paris is supplemented by Ammianus 20, Zosimus 3. 9, and the *Epitaph on Julian* by Libanius.

Πολλῶν εἰργασμένων τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἐκείνοις μόνον τότε ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν ἔξεστι φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐγηγερμένων τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τε ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἡγωνίσατο μόνη πρὸς τε τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδέν ἐστι τηλικούτων ἔργον οὐδὲ ἀνδραγαθία τοσαύτη, πρὸς ἣν οὐκ B ἔνεστι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμιλληθῆναι πόλεσι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ αὐται, τὰ δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ ἵνα μὴ μεμνημένος ἔπειτα ἀντιπαραβάλλων ἢ προτιμᾶν ἐτέρας ἐτέραν ἐν οἷς διαμφισβητοῦσι νομισθεῖν ἢ πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες, ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐλαττουμένας, τοῦτο ἐθέλω φράσαι μόνον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃ C μηδὲν ἀντίπαλον ἔχομεν ἐξευρεῖν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φήμης εἰς ἡμᾶς παραδεδομένον. ἀρχόντων μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ βία τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ δόξη δικαιοσύνης παρείλεσθε,

LETTER TO THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS.

MANY were the achievements of your forefathers of which you are still justly proud, even as they were of old; many were the trophies for victories raised by them, now for all Greece in common, now separately for Athens herself, in those days when she contended single-handed against all the rest of Greece as well as against the barbarian: but there was no achievement and no display of courage on your part so prodigious that other cities cannot in their turn rival it. For they too wrought some such deeds in alliance with you, and some on their own account. And that I may not by recalling these and then balancing them be thought either to pay more honour to one state than to another in the matters in which they are your rivals, or to praise less than they deserve those who proved inferior, in order to gain an advantage, after the manner of rhetoricians, I desire to bring forward on your behalf only this fact to which I can discover nothing that can be set against it on the part of the other Greek states, and which has been assigned to you by ancient tradition. When the Lacedaemonians were in power you took that power away from them not by violence but by your reputation for justice; and

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τὸν δίκαιον οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν
ἐθρέψαντο νόμοι. καίτοι γε ταῦτα οὕτως ὄντα
λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια διὰ λαμπροτέρων οἶμαι τῶν 269
ἔργων ὅμως ἐπιστώσασθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δόξαι
δίκαιον ἴσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ψευδῶς συμβαίῃ, καὶ
τυχὸν οὐ παράδοξον ἐν πολλοῖς φαύλοις ἕνα
γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον. ἡ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ παρὰ
Μήδοις ὑμνεῖται τις Δηϊόκης Ἀβαρίς τε ἐν
Ὑπερβορέοις καὶ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐν Σκύθαις; ὑπὲρ
ὧν τοῦτο ἦν θαυμαστόν, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς ἀδικω-
τάτοις γεγονότες ἔθνεσι τὴν δίκην ὅμως ἐτίμησαν,
τὼ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρείας χάριν πλαττό- B
μενος. δῆμον δὲ ὅλον καὶ πόλιν ἐραστὰς ἔργων
καὶ λόγων δικαίων ἔξω τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν οὐ ῥάδιον
εὐρεῖν. βούλομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐνὸς τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν
πολλῶν γε ὄντων ἔργων ὑπομνήσαι. Θεμιστο-
κλέους γὰρ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ γνώμην εἰσηγεῖσθαι
διανοομένου λάθρα καταφλέξαι τὰ νεώρια τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, εἶτα μὴ τολμῶντος εἰς τὸν δῆμον C
λέγειν, ἐνὶ δὲ ὁμολογούντος πιστεύσειν τὸ ἀπόρη-
τον, ὃνπερ ἂν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσας προέλῃται,
προυβάλετο μὲν ὁ δῆμος τὸν Ἀριστείδην· ὁ δὲ
ἀκούσας τῆς γνώμης ἔκρυψε μὲν τὸ ῥηθέν,
ἐξήνεγκε δὲ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὥς οὔτε λυσιτελέστερον
οὔτε ἀδικώτερον εἶη τι τοῦ βουλευματος· καὶ

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

it was your laws that nurtured Aristides the Just. Moreover, brilliant as were these proofs of your virtue, you confirmed them by still more brilliant actions. For to be reputed just might perhaps happen to any individual even though it were not true; and perhaps it would not be surprising that among many worthless citizens there should be found one virtuous man. For even among the Medes is not a certain Deioces¹ celebrated, and Abaris² too among the Hyperboreans, and Anacharsis³ among the Scythians? And in their case the surprising thing was that, born as they were among nations who knew nothing of justice, they nevertheless prized justice, two of them sincerely, though the third only pretended to do so out of self-interest. But it would be hard to find a whole people and city enamoured of just deeds and just words except your own. And I wish to remind you of one out of very many such deeds done in your city. After the Persian war Themistocles⁴ was planning to introduce a resolution to set fire secretly to the naval arsenals of the Greeks, and then did not dare to propose it to the assembly; but he agreed to confide the secret to any one man whom the people should elect by vote; and the people chose Aristides to represent them. But he when he heard the scheme did not reveal what he had been told, but reported to the people that there could be nothing more profitable or more dishonest than that advice.

¹ The first King of Media; reigned 709-656 B.C.

² A priest of Apollo whose story and date are uncertain.

³ A Scythian prince who visited Athens at the end of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5. 32; Lucian, *Anacharsis*.

⁴ The story is told in Plutarch, *Themistocles*.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο παραχρήμα καὶ παρητή-
σατο, πάνυ γε νῆ Δία μεγαλοψύχως καὶ δν
ἐχρῆν τρόπον ἄνδρας ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῇ φρονιμω- D
τάτῃ θεῷ τρεφομένους.

Οὐκοῦν εἰ ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν μὲν ἦν πάλαι,
σώζεται δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔτι τῆς τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ ἐμπύρευμά τι σμικρόν,
εἰκὸς ἔστιν ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἰς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραττο-
μένων ἀφορᾶν οὐδὲ εἴ τις ὥσπερ δι' ἀέρος ἰπτά-
μενος διὰ τῆς γῆς ἐβάδισεν ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει
καὶ ἀτρίτῳ ῥώμῃ, σκοπεῖν δὲ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μετὰ
τοῦ δικαίου κατείργασται, κατὰ ἂν μὲν φαίνηται 270
ξὺν δίκῃ πράττων, ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτὸν ἴσως καὶ
δημοσίᾳ πάντες ἐπαινεῖτε, τῆς δίκης δὲ ὀλιγω-
ρήσας ἀτιμάζοιτο ἂν παρ' ὑμῶν εἰκότως. οὐδὲν
γὰρ οὕτως ἔστιν ὥς τὸ δίκαιον ἀδελφὸν φρονήσει.
τούς οὖν ἀτιμάζοντας τοῦτο δικαίως ἂν καὶ
ὥς εἰς τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν θεὸν ἀσεβοῦντας ἐξελαύνοιτε.
βούλομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι B
μὲν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ ὅμως, ὅπως, εἴ τι λέληθεν· εἰκὸς
δὲ ἔνια καὶ ὅσα μάλιστα τοῖς πᾶσι γνωσθῆναι
προσῆκει· ὑμῖν τε καὶ δι' ὑμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις
Ἑλλήσι γένοιτο γνώριμα. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπολάβῃ
με ληρεῖν ἢ φλυαρεῖν, εἰ περὶ τῶν πᾶσιν ὥσπερ
ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγονότων οὐ πάλαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον, ποιείσθαι τινὰς ἐπιχειρή-
σαιμι λόγους· οὐδένα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν βούλομαι
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ, λανθάνειν δὲ ἄλλον ἄλλα εἰκός·

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Whereupon the city at once voted against it and rejected it, very nobly, by Zeus, and as it behoved men to do who are nurtured under the eyes of the most wise goddess.¹

Then if this was your conduct of old, and from that day to this there is kept alive some small spark as it were of the virtue of your ancestors, it is natural that you should pay attention not to the magnitude merely of any performance, nor whether a man has travelled over the earth with incredible speed and unwearied energy as though he had flown through the air ; but that you should rather consider whether one has accomplished this feat by just means, and then if he seems to act with justice, you will perhaps all praise him both in public and private ; but if he have slighted justice he will naturally be scorned by you. For there is nothing so closely akin to wisdom as justice. Therefore those who slight her you will justly expel as showing impiety towards the goddess who dwells among you. For this reason I wish to report my conduct to you, though indeed you know it well, in order that if there is anything you do not know—and it is likely that some things you do not, and those in fact which it is most important for all men to be aware of—it may become known to you and through you to the rest of the Greeks. Therefore let no one think that I am trifling and wasting words if I try to give some account of things that have happened as it were before the eyes of all men, not only long ago but also just lately. For I wish none to be ignorant of anything that concerns me, and naturally everyone cannot know

¹ Athene.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον τῶν C
ἐμαντοῦ.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν
ὄθενπερ καὶ Κωνσταντίῳ τὰ πρὸς πατρὸς ὤρμη-
ται, φανερόν. τῷ γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ πατέρε γεγόνατον
ἀδελφῶ πατρόθεν. οὕτω δὲ πλησίον ἡμᾶς ὄντας
συγγενεῖς ὁ φιλανθρωπότατος οὗτος βασιλεὺς
οἶα εἰργάσατο, ἐξ μὲν ἀνεψιούς ἐμοῦ τε καὶ
ἐαυτοῦ, πατέρα δὲ τὸν ἐμόν,¹ ἐαυτοῦ δὲ θεῖον,
καὶ προσέτι κοινὸν ἕτερον τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς D
θεῖον ἀδελφόν τε ἐμόν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀκρίτους
κτείνας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐμόν ἐβελήσας
μὲν κτείνειν, τέλος δὲ ἐπιβαλὼν φυγὴν, ἀφ' ἧς
ἐμὲ μὲν ἀφήκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς
σφαγῆς ἐξέδυσε² τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα, τί
με δεῖ νῦν ὥσπερ ἐκ τραγῳδίας τὰ ἄρρητα
ἀναμετρεῖσθαι; μετεμέλησε γὰρ αὐτῷ, φασί,
καὶ ἐδήχθη δεινῶς, ἀπαιδίαν τε ἐντεῦθεν νομίζει 271
δυστυχεῖν, τά τε ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Πέρσας
οὐκ εὐτυχῶς πράττειν ἐκ τούτων ὑπολαμβάνει.
ταῦτα ἐθρύλουν οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τότε καὶ
τὸν μακαρίτην ἀδελφὸν ἐμόν Γάλλον, τοῦτο
νῦν πρῶτον ἀκούοντα τὸ ὄνομα· κτείνας γὰρ
αὐτὸν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους οὐδὲ τῶν πατρῶων
μεταλαχεῖν εἶασε τάφων οὐδὲ τῆς εὐαγοῦς ἡξίωσε
μνήμης.

“Ὅπερ οὖν ἔφην, ἔλεγον τοσαῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ B
ἔπειθον ἡμᾶς,³ ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀπατηθεὶς εἰργάσατο,
τὰ δὲ βία καὶ παραχαῖς εἷξας ἀτάκτου καὶ

¹ τὸν ἐμόν Hertlein suggests, ἐμόν MSS.

² ἐξέδυσε Hertlein suggests, ἐρρύσατο οὐδὲ Cobet, ἐρρύσατο MSS.

³ ἡμᾶς Hertlein, Reiske suggest, ὑμᾶς MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

every circumstance. First I will begin with my ancestors.

That on the father's side I am descended from the same stock as Constantius on his father's side is well known. Our fathers were brothers, sons of the same father. And close kinsmen as we were, how this most humane Emperor treated us! Six of my cousins and his, and my father who was his own uncle and also another uncle of both of us on the father's side, and my eldest brother, he put to death without a trial; and as for me and my other brother,¹ he intended to put us to death but finally inflicted exile upon us; and from that exile he released me, but him he stripped of the title of Caesar just before he murdered him. But why should I "recount," as though from some tragedy, "all these unspeakable horrors?"² For he has repented, I am told, and is stung by remorse; and he thinks that his unhappy state of childlessness is due to those deeds, and his ill success in the Persian war he also ascribes to that cause. This at least was the gossip of the court at the time and of those who were about the person of my brother Gallus of blessed memory, who is now for the first time so styled. For after putting him to death in defiance of the laws he neither suffered him to share the tombs of his ancestors nor granted him a pious memory.

As I said, they kept telling us and tried to convince us that Constantius had acted thus, partly because he was deceived, and partly because he yielded to the violence and tumult of an undis-

¹ Gallus.

² Euripides, *Orestes* 14, τί τάρρηγ' ἀναμετρήσασθαι με δεῖ;

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ταραχώδους στρατεύματος. τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν ἐπῆδον ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κατακεκλεισμένοις, οὐδένα ἐὼντες προσελθεῖν, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι¹ φυγῆς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι, ἐμὲ δὲ κομιδῇ μεираκιον ἔτι τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀπαγαγόντες. πῶς ἂν ἐνταῦθα φράσαιμι περὶ τῶν ὅτι ἐξ ἐνιαυτῶν, οὓς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κτήματι διάγοντες,² ὥσπερ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τηρούμενοι, μηδενὸς ἡμῖν προσιόντος ξένου μηδὲ τῶν πάλαι γνωρίμων ἐπιτρεπομένου τινὸς ὡς ἡμᾶς φοιτᾶν, διεζῶμεν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι παντὸς μὲν μαθήματος σπουδαίου, πάσης δὲ ἐλευθέρας ἐντεύξεως, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς οἰκετείαις τρεφόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δούλοις ὥσπερ ἐταίροις συγγυμναζόμενοι; προσῆει γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἐπετρέπετο τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐγὼ μὲν μόγις ἀφείθην διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐτυχῶς, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καθείρχθη δυστυχῶς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ τὸν τρόπον ἄγριον καὶ τραχὺ τὸν ἐκείνου κατεφάνη, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ὀρείου τροφῆς συνηυξήθη. δίκαιος οὖν οἶμαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ ταύτης ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν μεταδούς τῆς τροφῆς, ἥς ἐμὲ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καθαρὸν ἀπέφηναν καὶ ἐξάντη, τῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐνέδωκεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθόντι

¹ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τράλλεσι φυγῆς Hertlein suggests, ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς V, ἀπο τῆς φυγῆς Petavius.

² διάγοντες Hertlein suggests, διαγαγόντες MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ciplined and mutinous army. This was the strain they kept up to soothe us when we had been imprisoned in a certain farm¹ in Cappadocia; and they allowed no one to come near us after they had summoned him from exile in Tralles and had dragged me from the schools, though I was still a mere boy. How shall I describe the six years we spent there? For we lived as though on the estate of a stranger, and were watched as though we were in some Persian garrison, since no stranger came to see us and not one of our old friends was allowed to visit us; so that we lived shut off from every liberal study and from all free intercourse, in a glittering servitude, and sharing the exercises of our own slaves as though they were comrades. For no companion of our own age ever came near us or was allowed to do so.

From that place barely and by the help of the gods I was set free, and for a happier fate; but my brother was imprisoned at court and his fate was ill-starred above all men who have ever yet lived. And indeed whatever cruelty or harshness was revealed in his disposition was increased by his having been brought up among those mountains. It is therefore I think only just that the Emperor should bear the blame for this also, he who against our will allotted to us that sort of bringing-up. As for me, the gods by means of philosophy caused me to remain untouched by it and unharmed; but on my brother no one bestowed this boon. For when he had come straight from the country to the court, the moment that Constantius had invested him with

¹ The castle of Mæcellum.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν ἀλουργὲς ἱμάτιον, αὐτίκα φθονεῖν ἀρξάμενος οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν καθελεῖν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τῷ περιελεῖν τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἀρκεσθεῖς. καίτοι τοῦ ζῆν γοῦν ἄξιος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεύειν ἐφαίνετο ἐπιτήδειος. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν αὐτόν καὶ τούτου στέρεσθαι. **ξυγχω-**
ρῶ, λόγον γε πάντως ὑποσχόντα πρότερον, **B**
ὥσπερ τοὺς κακούργους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει τῷ δήσαντι κτείνειν, τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας δὲ τιμάς, ἃς εἶχον, καὶ γενο-
μένους ἐξ ἀρχόντων ἰδιώτας ἀκρίτους φησὶ δεῖν ἀναιρεῖσθαι. τί γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἶχεν ἀποφῆναι τοὺς αἰτίους; ἐδέδοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ **C**
τινων ἐπιστολαί, Ἡράκλεις, ὅσας ἔχουσai κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀγανακτήσας ἀκρατέστερον μὲν καὶ ἥκιστα βασιλικῶς ἐφῆκε τῷ θυμῷ, τοῦ μέντοι μηδὲ ζῆν ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐπεπρά-
χει. πῶς γάρ; οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ἅπασι κοινὸς Ἑλλησιν ἅμα καὶ βαρβάροις ὁ νόμος, ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικίας ὑπάρχοντας; ἀλλ' ἴσως μὲν ἡμύνατο πικρότερον. οὐ μὴν ἔξω πάντη τοῦ εἰκότος· τὸν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς εἰκός **D**
τι καὶ ποιεῖν, εἴρηται καὶ πρόσθεν. ἀλλ' εἰς χάριν ἐνὸς ἀνδρογύνου, τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιτρόπου τὸν ἀνεψιόν, τὸν καίσαρα, τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνδρα γενόμενον,

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

the purple robe he at once began to be jealous of him, nor did he cease from that feeling until, not content with stripping him of the purple, he had destroyed him. Yet surely he deserved to live, even if he seemed unfit to govern. But someone may say that it was necessary to deprive him of life also. I admit it, only on condition that he had first been allowed to speak in his own defence as criminals are. For surely it is not the case that the law forbids one who has imprisoned bandits to put them to death, but says that it is right to destroy without a trial those who have been stripped of the honours that they possessed and have become mere individuals instead of rulers. For what if my brother had been able to expose those who were responsible for his errors? For there had been handed to him the letters of certain persons, and, by Heracles, what accusations against himself they contained! And in his resentment at these he gave way in most unkingly fashion to uncontrolled anger, but he had done nothing to deserve being deprived of life itself. What! Is not this a universal law among all Greeks and barbarians alike, that one should defend oneself against those who take the initiative in doing one a wrong? I admit that he did perhaps defend himself with too great cruelty; but on the whole not more cruelly than might have been expected. For we have heard it said before¹ that an enemy may be expected to harm one in a fit of anger. But it was to gratify a eunuch,² his chamberlain who was also his chief cook, that Constantius gave over to his most inveterate enemies his own cousin,

¹ Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 41.

² Eusebius; cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 14. 11; 22. 3.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

τὸν τῆς ἀδελφιδῆς πατέρα, οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον
 ἦν ἀγαγόμενος τὴν ἀδελφήν, πρὸς ὃν αὐτῷ
 τοσαῦτα θεῶν ὁμογνίων ὑπῆρχε δίκαια, κτείνει
 παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐχθίστοις· ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφῆκε μόγισ
 ἐπὶ τὰ μηνῶν ὅλων ἐλκύσας τῇδε κάκεισε καὶ
 ποιησάμενος ἔμφρουρον, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις 273
 ἐθελήσας με σωθῆναι τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν
 τὸ τηνικαυτά μοι παρέσχευ εὐμενῇ Εὐσεβίαν,
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ τότε διέφυγον.
 καίτοι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδ' ὄναρ μοι φανεῖς ἀδελφὸς
 ἐπεπράχει· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνῆν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ
 ἐφοίτων οὐδὲ ἐβάδιζον παρ' αὐτόν, ὀλιγάκις δὲ
 ἔγραφον καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀλίγων. ὥς οὖν ἀποφυγὼν B
 ἐκείθεν ἄσμενος ἐπορευόμην ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς
 ἐστίαν· πατρῶον γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπῆρχέ μοι οὐδὲ
 ἐκεκτῆμην ἐκ τοσούτων, ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν πατέρα
 κεκτῆσθαι τὸν ἐμόν, οὐκ ἐλαχίστην βῶλον, οὐκ ἀν-
 δράποδον, οὐκ οἰκίαν· ὁ γάρ τοι καλὸς Κωνστάν-
 τιος ἐκκληρονόμησεν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πατρώαν οὐσίαν
 ἅπασαν, ἐμοί τε, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲ γρὺ μετέδωκεν
 αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷμῷ τῶν πατρῶων
 ἔδωκεν ὀλίγα, πάντων αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενος τῶν
 μητρῶων.

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἔπραξε πρὸς με πρὶν ὀνόματος C
 μὲν μεταδοῦναί μοι τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, ἔργῳ δὲ
 εἰς πικροτάτην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἐμβαλεῖν δου-
 λείαν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, τὰ πλείστα γοῦν ὁμῶς

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

the Caesar, his sister's husband, the father of his niece, the man whose own sister he had himself married in earlier days,¹ and to whom he owed so many obligations connected with the gods of the family. As for me he reluctantly let me go, after dragging me hither and thither for seven whole months and keeping me under guard; so that had not some one of the gods desired that I should escape, and made the beautiful and virtuous Eusebia kindly disposed to me, I could not then have escaped from his hands myself. And yet I call the gods to witness that my brother had pursued his course of action without my having a sight of him even in a dream. For I was not with him, nor did I visit him or travel to his neighbourhood; and I used to write to him very seldom and on unimportant matters. Thinking therefore that I had escaped from that place, I set out for the house that had been my mother's. For of my father's estate nothing belonged to me, and I had acquired out of the great wealth that had naturally belonged to my father not the smallest clod of earth, not a slave, not a house. For the admirable Constantius had inherited in my place the whole of my father's property, and to me, as I was saying, he granted not the least trifle of it; moreover, though he gave my brother a few things that had been his father's, he robbed him of the whole of his mother's estate.

Now his whole behaviour to me before he granted me that august title²—though in fact what he did was to impose on me the most galling and irksome slavery—you have heard, if not every detail, still the

¹ The sister of Gallus was the first wife of Constantius.

² The title of Caesar.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἀκηκόατε¹ πορευομένου δὴ² λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, ἀγαπητῶς τε καὶ μόγις ἀποσωζομένου, συκοφάντης τις ἀνεφάνη περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον, ὃς τοῖς ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔρραψεν ὥς νεώτερα διανοουμένοις· ἵστε D
 δῆπουθεν ἀκοῇ τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ τὸν Μαρῖνον οὐκ οὐκ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ ὁ Φῆλιξ ἔλαθεν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἐπράχθη περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλ' ὥς τοῦτο αὐτῷ κατεμηνύθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ Δυνάμιος ἐξαίφνης, ἄλλος συκοφάντης, ἐκ Κελτῶν ἡγγειλεν ὅσον οὐπω τὸν Σιλουανὸν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀναφανεῖσθαι, δείσας παντάπασι καὶ φοβηθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐπ' ἐμὲ πέμπει, καὶ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κελεύσας ὑποχωρῆσαι πάλιν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκάλει παρ' ἑαυτόν, 274
 οὐπω πρότερον τεθεαμένος πλὴν ἅπαξ μὲν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ, ἅπαξ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀγωνισαμένης Εὐσεβίας, ὥς ἂν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ θαρρήσαιμι. καίτοι τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐξ ὥκησα μηνῶν, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέσχετό με θεάσεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ' ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς ἀνδρόγυνος, ὁ πιστὸς αὐτοῦ κατακοιμιστῆς, ἔλαθέ μου καὶ ἄκων εὐεργέτης γενόμενος· οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ἐντυχεῖν με πολλάκις αὐτῷ, τυχὸν μὲν οὐδὲ B
 ἐθέλοντι, πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὥκνει γὰρ ὥς ἂν μὴ τινος συνηθείας ἐγγενομένης ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπειτα ἀγαπηθείην καὶ πιστὸς ἀναφανεὶς ἐπιτραπείην τι.

Παραγενόμενον δὴ με τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτίκα διὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν

¹ ἀκηκόατε Cobet, ἡκούσατε Hertlein, MSS.

² δὴ Hertlein suggests, δὲ MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

greater part. As I was saying, I was on my way to my home and was barely getting away safely, beyond my hopes, when a certain sycophant¹ turned up near Sirmium² and fabricated the rumour against certain persons there that they were planning a revolt. You certainly know by hearsay Africanus³ and Marinus: nor can you fail to have heard of Felix and what was the fate of those men. And when Constantius was informed of the matter, and Dynamius another sycophant suddenly reported from Gaul that Silvanus⁴ was on the point of declaring himself his open enemy, in the utmost alarm and terror he forthwith sent to me, and first he bade me retire for a short time to Greece, then summoned me from there to the court⁵ again. He had never seen me before except once in Cappadocia and once in Italy, —an interview which Eusebia had secured by her exertions so that I might feel confidence about my personal safety. And yet I lived for six months in the same city⁶ as he did, and he had promised that he would see me again. But that execrable eunuch,⁷ his trusty chamberlain, unconsciously and involuntarily proved himself my benefactor. For he did not allow me to meet the Emperor often, nor perhaps did the latter desire it; still the eunuch was the chief reason. For what he dreaded was that if we had any intercourse with one another I might be taken into favour, and when my loyalty became evident I might be given some place of trust.

Now from the first moment of my arrival from Greece, Eusebia of blessed memory kept showing me

¹ Gaudentius.

² A town in Illyricum.

³ For the account of this alleged conspiracy cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Oration* 1. 48 c; 2. 98 c, d.

⁵ At Milan.

⁶ Milan.

⁷ Eusebius.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

εὐνούχων ἢ μακαρίτις Εὐσεβία καὶ λίαν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο. μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ἐπελθόντος τούτου· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σίλουανὸν ἐπέπρακτο· C
λοιπὸν εἴσοδος τε εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν δίδεται, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἢ Θετταλικὴ περιβάλλεται πειθανάγκῃ. ἀρνούμενου γάρ μου τὴν συνουσίαν στερεῶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, οἱ μὲν ὥσπερ ἐν κουρείῳ συνελθόντες ἀποκείρουσι τὸν πώγωνα, χλανίδα δὲ ἀμφιεννύουσι καὶ σχηματίζουσιν, ὡς τότε ὑπελάμβανον, πάνυ γελοῖον στρατιώτην· οὐδὲν γάρ μοι D
τοῦ καλλωπισμοῦ τῶν καθαρμάτων ἤρμοζεν· ἐβάδιζον δὲ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι περιβλέπων καὶ σοβῶν¹ ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν βλέπων, ὥσπερ εἰθίσμην ὑπὸ τοῦ θρέψαντός με παιδαγωγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον γέλωτα, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον ὑποψίαν, εἶτα ἀνέλαμψεν ὁ τοσοῦτος φθόνος.

Ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα χρὴ μὴ παραλείπειν ἐκείνα, πῶς ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα, πῶς ἐδεχόμην² ὁμωρόφιος³ ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι, οὓς ἡπιστάμην παντὶ μὲν μου λυμνηναμένους τῷ γένει, ὑπώπτειον δὲ οὐκ εἰς 27!
μακρὰν ἐπιβουλεύσοντας καὶ ἐμοί. πηγὰς μὲν οὖν ὅποσας ἀφῆκα δακρύων καὶ θρήνους οἴους, ἀνατείνων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν τὰς χεῖρας, ὅτε ἐκαλούμην, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἱκετεύων σῶζειν τὸν ἰκέτην καὶ μὴ ἐκδιδόναι, πολλοὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἑορακότες εἰσὶ μοι μάρτυρες, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι καὶ θάνατον ἡτησάμην παρ' αὐτῆς Ἀθήνησι πρὸ τῆς τότε B

¹ περιβλέπων . . . σοβῶν Hertlein suggests, περιβέποντες . . . σοβοῦντες MSS.

² ἐδεχόμην Naber, δὲ εἰλόμην Hertlein, MSS.

³ ὁμωρόφιος Cobet, ὁμορόφιος Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

the utmost kindness through the eunuchs of her household. And a little later when the Emperor returned—for the affair of Silvanus had been concluded—at last I was given access to the court, and, in the words of the proverb, Thessalian persuasion¹ was applied to me. For when I firmly declined all intercourse with the palace, some of them, as though they had come together in a barber's shop, cut off my beard and dressed me in a military cloak and transformed me into a highly ridiculous soldier, as they thought at the time. For none of the decorations of those villains suited me. And I walked not like them, staring about me and strutting along, but gazing on the ground as I had been trained to do by the preceptor² who brought me up. At the time, then, I inspired their ridicule, but a little later their suspicion, and then their jealousy was inflamed to the utmost.

But this I must not omit to tell here, how I submitted and how I consented to dwell under the same roof with those whom I knew to have ruined my whole family, and who, I suspected, would before long plot against myself also. But what floods of tears I shed and what laments I uttered when I was summoned, stretching out my hands to your Acropolis and imploring Athene to save her suppliant and not to abandon me, many of you who were eyewitnesses can attest, and the goddess herself, above all others, is my witness that I even begged for death at her hands there in Athens rather than

¹ Cf. *Oration* 1. 32 A. The origin of the proverb is obscure; cf. Cicero, *Letter to Atticus* 9. 13. ² Mardonius.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

οδοῦ. ὥς μὲν οὖν οὐ προύδωκεν ἡ θεὸς τὸν
 ἰκέτην οὐδὲ ἐξέδωκεν, ἔργοις ἐδείξεν.¹ ἡγήσατο
 γὰρ ἅπανταχοῦ μοι καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπανταχόθεν
 τοὺς φύλακας, ἐξ Ἑλλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἀγγέλους
 λαβοῦσα.

Συνέβη δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἔλθων ἐς τὸ Μεδιό-
 λανον ᾧκουν ἓν τινι προαστείῳ. ἐνταῦθα ἔπεμπεν
 Εὐσεβία πολλάκις πρὸς με φιλοφρονουμένη καὶ
 γράφειν κελεύουσα· καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἂν
 δέωμαι. γράψας ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπιστολήν, C
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἰκετηρίαν ὅρκους ἔχουσαν τοιούτους·
 Οὕτω παισὶ χρήσαιο κληρονόμοις· οὕτω τὰ καὶ
 τὰ θεὸς σοι δοίη, πέμπε με οἴκαδε τὴν ταχί-
 στην, ἐκεῖνο ὑπειδόμην ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἰς
 τὰ βασιλεια πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος γυναικα γράμ-
 ματα εἰσπέμπειν. ἰκέτευσα δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς νύκτωρ
 δηλῶσαί μοι, εἰ χρὴ πέμπειν παρὰ τὴν βασιλίδα
 τὸ γραμματεῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐπηπείλησαν, εἰ πέμψαιμι,
 θάνατον αἰσχιστον. ὥς δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα γράφω, D
 καλῶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας μάρτυρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ
 γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέσχον εἰσπέμψαι. ἐξ ἐκεί-
 νης δέ μοι τῆς νυκτὸς λογισμὸς εἰσῆλθεν, οὐ καὶ
 ὑμᾶς ἴσως ἄξιον ἀκοῦσαι. Νῦν, ἔφην, ἐγὼ τοῖς
 θεοῖς ἀντιτάττεσθαι διανοοῦμαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑμαντοῦ
 βουλευέσθαι κρεῖττον νενόμικα τῶν πάντα εἰδό-
 των. καίτοι φρόνησις ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
 ἀφορῶσα μόνον ἀγαπητῶς ἂν τύχοι καὶ μόγις τοῦ 276
 πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀναμαρτήτου. διόπερ οὐδεὶς οὐθ' ὑπὲρ
 τῶν εἰς τριακοστὸν² ἔτος βουλεύεται οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἤδη γεγονότων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιττόν, τὸ δὲ ἀδύνα-

¹ ἔδειξεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπέδειξεν MSS.

² τριακοστὸν Hertlein suggests, τριακοσιοστὸν MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

my journey to the Emperor. That the goddess accordingly did not betray her suppliant or abandon him she proved by the event. For everywhere she was my guide, and on all sides she set a watch near me, bringing guardian angels from Helios and Selene.

What happened was somewhat as follows. When I came to Milan I resided in one of the suburbs. Thither Eusebia sent me on several occasions messages of good-will, and urged me to write to her without hesitation about anything that I desired. Accordingly I wrote her a letter, or rather a petition containing vows like these: "May you have children to succeed you; may God grant you this and that, if only you send me home as quickly as possible!" But I suspected that it was not safe to send to the palace letters addressed to the Emperor's wife. Therefore I besought the gods to inform me at night whether I ought to send the letter to the Empress. And they warned me that if I sent it I should meet the most ignominious death. I call all the gods to witness that what I write here is true. For this reason, therefore, I forbore to send the letter. But from that night there kept occurring to me an argument which it is perhaps worth your while also to hear. "Now," I said to myself, "I am planning to oppose the gods, and I have imagined that I can devise wiser schemes for myself than those who know all things. And yet human wisdom, which looks only to the present moment, may be thankful if, with all its efforts, it succeed in avoiding mistakes even for a short space. That is why no man takes thought for things that are to happen thirty years hence, or for things that are already past, for the one

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

τον· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ὧν ἀρχαί τινές
 εἰσιν ἤδη καὶ σπέρματα. φρόνησις δὲ ἢ παρὰ
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶν
 βλέπουσα μηνύει τε ὀρθῶς καὶ πράττει τὸ λῶον·
 αἵτιοι γάρ εἰσιν αὐτοὶ καθάπερ τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ B
 τῶν παρόντων ἐπίστασθαι. τέως μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει
 μοι κατὰ τοῦτο συνετωτέρα τῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἢ
 δευτέρα γνώμη. σκοπῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον εὐθέως
 ἔφην· Εἴτα σὺ μὲν ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ τι τῶν σῶν κτη-
 μάτων ἀποστεροίῃ σε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσεως ἢ καὶ
 ἀποδιδράσκει καλούμενον, κἂν ἵππος τύχῃ κἂν C
 πρόβατον κἂν βοίδιον, ἄνθρωπος δὲ εἶναι βουλό-
 μενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγελαίων οὐδὲ τῶν συρφετωδῶν,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ μετρίων ἀποστερεῖς σεαυ-
 τοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ἐφ' ὅ, τι ἂν
 ἐθέλωσι χρήσασθαί σοι; ὅρα μὴ πρὸς τῷ λίαν
 ἀφρόνως καὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
 ὀλιγώρως πράττης. ἢ δὲ ἀνδρεία ποῦ καὶ τίς; γελοῖ-
 ον. ἔτοιμος γοῦν εἰ καὶ θωπεῦσαι καὶ κολακεῦσαι
 δέει τοῦ θανάτου, ἐξὸν ἅπαντα καταβαλεῖν καὶ τοῖς D
 θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι πράττειν ὡς βούλονται, διελόμενον
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ
 καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἡξίου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σοὶ πράτ-
 τειν ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται, τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις
 ποιεῖσθαι, κεκτῆσθαι δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀρπάζειν, τὰ

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

is superfluous, the other impossible, but only for what lies near at hand and has already some beginnings and germs. But the wisdom of the gods sees very far, or rather, sees the whole, and therefore it directs aright and brings to pass what is best. For they are the causes of all that now is, and so likewise of all that is to be. Wherefore it is reasonable that they should have knowledge about the present." So far, then, it seemed to me that on this reasoning my second determination was wiser than my first. And viewing the matter in the light of justice, I immediately reflected: "Would you not be provoked if one of your own beasts were to deprive you of its services,¹ or were even to run away when you called it, a horse, or sheep, or calf, as the case might be? And will you, who pretended to be a man, and not even a man of the common herd or from the dregs of the people, but one belonging to the superior and reasonable class, deprive the gods of your service, and not trust yourself to them to dispose of you as they please? Beware lest you not only fall into great folly, but also neglect your proper duties towards the gods. Where is your courage, and of what sort is it? A sorry thing it seems. At any rate, you are ready to cringe and flatter from fear of death, and yet it is in your power to lay all that aside and leave it to the gods to work their will, dividing with them the care of yourself, as Socrates, for instance, chose to do: and you might, while doing such things as best you can, commit the whole to their charge; seek to possess nothing, seize nothing, but accept simply what is vouchsafed

¹ An echo of Plato, *Phaedo* 62 c; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 297 A.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

διδόμενα δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφελῶς¹ δέχεσθαι. ταύ-
 την ἐγὼ νομίσας οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρέ- 277
 πουσαν ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ γνώμην, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν
 θεῶν ἐσήμαινε ταύτη· τὸ γὰρ ἐπιβουλὰς εὐλα-
 βούμενον τὰς μελλούσας εἰς αἰσχρὸν καὶ προὔπτον
 ἐμβαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν κίνδυνον δεινῶς ἐφαίνεται μοι
 θορυβῶδες· εἶξαι καὶ ὑπήκουσα. καὶ τὸ μὲν
 ὄνομά μοι ταχέως καὶ τὸ χλανίδιον περιεβλήθη
 τοῦ καίσαρος· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δουλεία καὶ τὸ καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπικρεμά-
 μενον δέος Ἡράκλεις ὅσον καὶ οἶον· κλείθρα B
 θυρῶν, θυρωροί, τῶν οἰκετῶν αἱ χεῖρες ἐρευνώ-
 μεναι, μή τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν φίλων γραμματίδιον
 κομίζῃ, θεραπεία ξένη· μόλις ἠδυνήθην οἰκέτας
 ἑμαυτοῦ τέτταρας, παιδάρια μὲν δύο κομιδῇ μικρά,
 δύο δὲ μείζονας, εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν οἰκειότερόν με
 θεραπεύσοντας εἰσαγαγεῖν, ὧν εἰς μοι μόνος καὶ
 τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς συνειδὼς καὶ ὡς ἐνεδέχετο λάθρα
 συμπράττων· ἐπεπίστευτο δὲ τῶν βιβλίων μου C
 τὴν φυλακὴν, ὧν μόνος τῶν ἐμοὶ πολλῶν ἐταίρων
 καὶ φίλων πιστῶν, εἰς ἰατρός, ὃς καί, ὅτι φίλος ὧν
 ἐλελήθει, συναπεδήμησεν. οὕτω δὲ ἐδεδίδειν ἐγὼ
 ταῦτα καὶ ψοφοδεῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτά, ὥστε καὶ
 βουλομένους εἰσιέναι τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς παρ'
 ἐμὲ καὶ μάλ' ἄκων ἐκώλυον, ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς
 ἐπιθυμῶν, ὀκνῶν δὲ ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑμαυτῷ γενέ-
 σθαι συμφορῶν αἴτιος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξωθέν
 ἐστι, τάδε δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασι. D

¹ ἀφελῶς Cobet, ἀσφαλῶς Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

to you by them." And this course I thought was not only safe but becoming to a reasonable man, since the response of the gods had suggested it. For to rush headlong into unseemly and foreseen danger while trying to avoid future plots seemed to me a topsy-turvy procedure. Accordingly I consented to yield. And immediately I was invested with the title and robe of Caesar.¹ The slavery that ensued and the fear for my very life that hung over me every day, Heracles, how great it was, and how terrible! My doors locked, warders to guard them, the hands of my servants searched lest one of them should convey to me the most trifling letter from my friends, strange servants to wait on me! Only with difficulty was I able to bring with me to court four of my own domestics for my personal service, two of them mere boys and two older men, of whom only one knew of my attitude to the gods, and, as far as he was able, secretly joined me in their worship. I had entrusted with the care of my books, since he was the only one with me of many loyal comrades and friends, a certain physician² who had been allowed to leave home with me because it was not known that he was my friend. And this state of things caused me such alarm and I was so apprehensive about it, that though many of my friends really wished to visit me, I very reluctantly refused them admittance; for though I was most anxious to see them, I shrank from bringing disaster upon them and myself at the same time. But this is somewhat foreign to my narrative. The following relates to the actual course of events.

¹ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 8.

² Oreibasius; cf. *Letter* 17.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Τριακοσίους ἐξήκοντά μοι δούς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνος ἀνατετραμμένον ἔστειλε, μεσουντος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκείσε στρατοπέδων ἢ τοῖς ἐκείσε στρατηγοῖς ὑπακούοντα.¹ ἐγέγραπτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνετέταλτο διαρρήδην οὐ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ παραφυλάττειν, ὥς ἂν μὴ νεώτερόν τι πράξαιμι. τούτων δὲ ὃν ἔφην τρόπον γενομένων, περὶ τὰς τροπὰς τὰς θερινὰς ἐπιτρέπει μοι βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ 278 στρατόπεδα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα περιοίσοντι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τοῦτο εἶρητο καὶ ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι τοῖς Γάλλοις οὐ βασιλέα δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰκόνα κομιοῦντα.

Οὐ κακῶς δέ, ὥς ἀκηκόατε, τοῦ πρώτου στρατηγηθέντος ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ πραχθέντος σπουδαίου, πρὸς τὰ χειμάδια πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν B ἔσχατον κατέστην κίνδυνον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀθροίζειν ἐξήν μοι στρατόπεδον· ἕτερος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτου κύριος· αὐτός τε ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἀποκεκλεισμένος, εἴτα παρὰ τῶν πλησίον πόλεων αἰτηθεὶς ἐπικουρίαν, ὧν εἶχον τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκείνοις δούς, αὐτὸς² ἀπελείφθην μόνος. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράχθη τότε. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄρχων ἐν ὑποψία γενόμενος αὐτῷ παρηρέθη καὶ ἀπηλλάγη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ σφόδρα ἐπιτήδειος δόξας, ἔγωγε C ἐνομίσθην ἥκιστα σπουδαῖος καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγός, ἅτε πρᾶον ἑμαυτὸν παρασχὼν καὶ μέτριον. οὐ

¹ ὑπακούοντα Hertlein suggests, ὑπακούσονται MSS.

² αὐτὸς MSS., Cobet, [αὐτὸς] Hertlein.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Constantius gave me three hundred and sixty soldiers, and in the middle of the winter¹ despatched me into Gaul, which was then in a state of great disorder; and I was sent not as commander of the garrisons there but rather as a subordinate of the generals there stationed. For letters had been sent them and express orders given that they were to watch me as vigilantly as they did the enemy, for fear I should attempt to cause a revolt. And when all this had happened in the manner I have described, about the summer solstice he allowed me to join the army and to carry about with me his dress and image. And indeed he had both said and written that he was not giving the Gauls a king but one who should convey to them his image.

Now when, as you have heard, the first campaign was ended that year and great advantage gained, I returned to winter quarters,² and there I was exposed to the utmost danger. For I was not even allowed to assemble the troops; this power was entrusted to another, while I was quartered apart with only a few soldiers, and then, since the neighbouring towns begged for my assistance, I assigned to them the greater part of the force that I had, and so I myself was left isolated. This then was the condition of affairs at that time. And when the commander-in-chief³ of the forces fell under the suspicions of Constantius and was deprived by him of his command and superseded, I in my turn was thought to be by no means capable or talented as a general, merely because I had shown myself mild and moderate. For I thought I ought not

¹ 355 A.D.

² At Vienne.

³ Marcellus.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

γὰρ ὄμην δεῖν ζυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πού τι τῶν λίαν ἐπικινδύνων ἐώρων ἢ δέον γενέσθαι παρορώμενον ἢ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δέον γενέσθαι γιγνόμενον. ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐ καθηκόντως μοί τινων χρησαμένων, ἑμαυτὸν ὥρθη D
χρῆναι τιμᾶν τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χλανίδα περιέφερον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα· τούτων γὰρ τὸ τηνικαῦτα διενοοῦμην ἀποπεφάνθαι κύριος.

Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Κωνστάντιος νομίσας ὀλίγον¹ μὲν ἐπιδώσειν, οὐκ εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεταβολῆς ἤξειν τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν πράγματα, δίδωσί μοι τῶν στρατοπέδων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡρος ἀρχῇ. καὶ στρατεύω μὲν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, πολλῶν πάνυ Γερμανῶν περὶ τὰς πεπορθημένας ἐν Κελ- 27
τοῖς πόλεις ἀδεῶς κατοικούντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων πέντε πού καὶ τεσσαράκοντά ἐστι, τείχη τὰ διηρπασμένα δίχα τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων φρουρίων. ἥς δ' ἐνέμοντο γῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ῥήνου πάσης οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μέγεθος ὅποσον ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόμενος ἄχρι τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ περιλαμβάνει· τριακόσια δὲ ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἡόνος τοῦ Ῥήνου στάδια οἱ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκούν- B
τες ἔσχατοι, τριπλάσιον δὲ ἦν ἔτι τούτου πλάτος τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τῆς λεηλασίας, ἐνθα οὐδὲ νέμειν ἐξῆν τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ πόλεις τινὲς ἔρημοι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αἷς οὐπω παρῳκούν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐν τούτοις οὐσαν κατα- λαβὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλιν τε ἀνέλαβον τὴν

¹ ὀλίγον Hertlein suggests, ὀλίγῃ MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

to fight against my yoke or interfere with the general in command except when in some very dangerous undertaking I saw either that something was being overlooked, or that something was being attempted that ought never to have been attempted at all. But after certain persons had treated me with disrespect on one or two occasions, I decided that for the future I ought to show my own self-respect by keeping silence, and henceforth I contented myself with parading the imperial robe and the image. For I thought that to these at any rate I had been given a right.

After that, Constantius, thinking that there would be some improvement, but not that so great a transformation would take place in the affairs of Gaul, handed over to me in the beginning of spring¹ the command of all the forces. And when the grain was ripe I took the field; for a great number of Germans had settled themselves with impunity near the towns they had sacked in Gaul. Now the number of the towns whose walls had been dismantled was about forty-five, without counting citadels and smaller forts. And the barbarians then controlled on our side of the Rhine the whole country that extends from its sources to the Ocean. Moreover those who were settled nearest to us were as much as three hundred stades from the banks of the Rhine, and a district three times as wide as that had been left a desert by their raids; so that the Gauls could not even pasture their cattle there. Then too there were certain cities deserted by their inhabitants, near which the barbarians were not yet encamped. This then was the condition of Gaul when I took

¹ 357 A.D.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Ἀγριππῖναν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ, πρὸ μηνῶν ἑαλωκυῖάν
 που δέκα, καὶ τεῖχος Ἀργέντορα πλησίον πρὸς
 ταῖς ὑπωρεΐαις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βοσέγου, καὶ ἔμαχεσά-
 μην οὐκ ἀκλεῶς. ἴσως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο ἡ C
 τοιαύτη μάχη. ἔνθα τῶν θεῶν δόντων μοι τὸν
 βασιλέα τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμάλωτον, οὐκ ἐφθόνησα
 τοῦ κατορθώματος Κωνσταντίῳ. καίτοι εἰ μὴ
 θριαμβεύειν ἐξῆν, ἀποσφάττειν τὸν πολέμιον
 κύριος ἦν, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πάσης αὐτὸν ἄγων τῆς
 Κελτίδος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιδεικνύειν καὶ ὥσπερ D
 ἐντρυφᾶν τοῦ Χνοδομαρίου ταῖς συμφοραῖς. τού-
 των οὐδὲν ὥήθην δεῖν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν
 Κωνσταντίον αὐτὸν εὐθέως ἀπέπεμψα, τότε ἀπὸ
 τῶν Κουάδων καὶ Σαυροματῶν ἐπανιόντα. συνέβη
 τοίνυν, ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀγωνισαμένου, ἐκείνου δὲ ὁδεύ-
 σαντος μόνου καὶ φιλίως ἐντυχόντος τοῖς παροι-
 κοῦσι τὸν Ἰστρον ἔθνεσιν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον
 θριαμβεῦσαι.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο δεύτερος ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τρίτος,
 καὶ πάντες μὲν ἀπελήλαντο τῆς Γαλατίας οἱ
 βάρβαροι, πλείεσται δὲ ἀνελήφθησαν τῶν πόλεων,
 παμπληθεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Βρεττανίδος ναῦς ἀνή-
 χθησαν. ἐξακοσίων νηῶν ἀνήγαγον στόλον, ὧν 280
 τὰς τετρακοσίας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις μῆσι δέκα ναυπη-
 γησάμενος πάσας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὸν Ῥήνον, ἔργον
 οὐ μικρὸν διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους καὶ παροικούντας
 πλησίον βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Φλωρέντιος οὕτως
 ᾤετο τοῦτο ἀδύνατον, ὥστε ἀργύρου δισχιλίας

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

it over. I recovered the city of Agrippina¹ on the Rhine which had been taken about ten months earlier, and also the neighbouring fort of Argentoratum,² near the foot-hills of the Vosges mountains, and there I engaged the enemy not ingloriously. It may be that the fame of that battle has reached even your ears. There though the gods gave into my hands as prisoner of war the king³ of the enemy, I did not begrudge Constantius the glory of that success. And yet though I was not allowed to triumph for it, I had it in my power to slay my enemy, and moreover I could have led him through the whole of Gaul and exhibited him to the cities, and thus have luxuriated as it were in the misfortunes of Chnodomar. I thought it my duty to do none of these things, but sent him at once to Constantius who was returning from the country of the Quadi and the Sarmatians. So it came about that, though I had done all the fighting and he had only travelled in those parts and held friendly intercourse with the tribes who dwell on the borders of the Danube, it was not I but he who triumphed.

Then followed the second and third years of that campaign, and by that time all the barbarians had been driven out of Gaul, most of the towns had been recovered, and a whole fleet of many ships had arrived from Britain. I had collected a fleet of six hundred ships, four hundred of which I had had built in less than ten months, and I brought them all into the Rhine, no slight achievement, on account of the neighbouring barbarians who kept attacking me. At least it seemed so impossible to Florentius that he had promised to pay the barbarians a fee of two

Cologne.

² Strasburg.

³ Chnodomar.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

λίτρας ὑπέσχετο μισθὸν ἀποτίσειν τοῖς βαρ-
 βάροις ὑπὲρ τῆς παρόδου, καὶ ὁ Κωνστάντιος
 ὑπὲρ τούτου μαθὼν· ἐκοινώσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ περὶ
 τῆς δόσεως· ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν¹ B
 κελεύσας, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχρόν μοι φανείη.
 πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἦν αἰσχρόν, ὅπου Κωνσταντίῳ τοιοῦ-
 τον ἐφάνη, λίαν εἰωθότι θεραπεύειν τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους; ἐδόθη μὴν αὐτοῖς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 στρατεύσας, ἀμυνόντων μοι καὶ παρεστώτων τῶν
 θεῶν, ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοῖραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους,
 Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα, πολλὰς βούς καὶ γυναῖα
 μετὰ παιδαρίων συλλαβών. οὕτω δὲ πάντας
 ἐφόβησα καὶ παρεσκεύασα καταπτῆξαι τὴν ἐμὴν
 ἔφοδον, ὥστε παραχρῆμα λαβεῖν ὁμήρους καὶ τῇ C
 σιτοπομπία παρασχεῖν ἀσφαλῆ κομιδὴν.

Μακρόν ἐστὶ πάντα ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ καθ'
 ἕκαστον γράφειν, ὅσα ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔπραξα τέτ-
 ταρσι· τὰ κεφάλαια δέ· τρίτον ἐπεραιώθην καίσαρ
 ἔτι τὸν Ῥήνον· δις μυρίους ἀπῆτησα παρὰ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥήνον ὄντας αἰχμαλώτους· ἐκ δυοῖν
 ἀγώνοιν καὶ μιᾶς πολιορκίας χιλίους ἐξελὼν ἐζώ-
 γρησα, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἡλικίαν, ἀνδρας δὲ ἡβών-
 τας· ἔπεμψα τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς D
 τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, τρεῖς ἄλλους τῶν ἐλαττό-
 νων, ἵππέων τάγματα δύο τὰ ἐντιμότερα· πόλεις
 ἀνέλαβον νῦν μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν ἐθελόντων πάσας,
 τότε δὲ ἀνειλήφειν ἐλάττους ὀλίγῳ τῶν τεσσαρά-
 κοντα. μάρτυρας καλῶ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας
 θεοὺς πολιούχους τε καὶ ὁμογνίους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς
 προαιρέσεως εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ πίστεως, ὅτι τοιοῦτος

¹ ἐπέστειλε πρὸς με τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν Horkel, ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸ
 πρὸς με, πράττειν Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

thousand pounds weight of silver in return for a passage. Constantius when he learned this—for Florentius had informed him about the proposed payment—wrote to me to carry out the agreement, unless I thought it absolutely disgraceful. But how could it fail to be disgraceful when it seemed so even to Constantius, who was only too much in the habit of trying to conciliate the barbarians? However, no payment was made to them. Instead I marched against them, and since the gods protected me and were present to aid, I received the submission of part of the Salian tribe, and drove out the Chamavi and took many cattle and women and children. And I so terrified them all, and made them tremble at my approach that I immediately received hostages from them and secured a safe passage for my food supplies.

It would take too long to enumerate everything and to write down every detail of the task that I accomplished within four years. But to sum it all up: Three times, while I was still Caesar, I crossed the Rhine; twenty thousand persons who were held as captives on the further side of the Rhine I demanded and received back; in two battles and one siege I took captive ten thousand prisoners, and those not of unserviceable age but men in the prime of life; I sent to Constantius four levies of excellent infantry, three more of infantry not so good, and two very distinguished squadrons of cavalry. I have now with the help of the gods recovered all the towns, and by that time I had already recovered almost forty. I call Zeus and all the gods who protect cities and our race to bear witness as to my behaviour towards

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

γέγονα περὶ αὐτόν, οἷον ἂν εἰλόμην ἐγὼ υἱὸν περὶ
 ἐμὲ γενέσθαι. τετίμηκα μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὥς οὐδεὶς 281
 καισάρων οὐδένα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοκρατόρων.
 οὐδὲν γοῦν εἰς τὴν τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἐγκαλεῖ
 μοι, καὶ ταῦτα παρρησιασαμένῳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
 γελοίους αἰτίας ὀργῆς ἀναπλάττει. Λουππικῖνον,
 φησί, καὶ τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κατέσχε· οὓς
 εἰ καὶ κτείνας ἤμην ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἔμοιγε
 φανερώς, ἐχρῆν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παθόντων ὀργὴν
 ἀφεῖναι τῆς ὁμονοίας ἕνεκα. τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν
 ἄχαρι διαθεῖς ὥς ταραχώδεις φύσει καὶ πολεμο- B
 ποιούς κατέσχον, πολλὰ πάνυ δαπανῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς
 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων, ἀφελόμενος δ' ¹ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων ἐκείνοις. ὁρᾶτε, πῶς ἐπεξιέναι τούτοις ὁ
 Κωνστάντιος νομοθετεῖ. ὁ γὰρ χαλεπαίνων ὑπὲρ
 τῶν προσηκόντων μηδὲν ἄρ' οὐκ ὀνειδίζει μοι καὶ
 κατεγελαῖ τῆς μωρίας, ὅτι τὸν φονέα πατρός,
 ἀδελφῶν, ἀνεψιῶν, ἀπάσης ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῆς
 κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐστίας καὶ συγγενείας τὸν δῆμιον εἰς
 τοῦτο ἐθεράπευσα; σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὅπως καὶ γενό- C
 μενος αὐτοκράτωρ ἔτι θεραπευτικῶς αὐτῷ προση-
 νέχθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλα.

Καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου δὲ ὁποῖός τις γέγονα περὶ
 αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν εἴσεσθε. αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι τῶν
 ἁμαρτανομένων κληρονομήσω μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν
 ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐξεργασθήσεται δὲ
 ἐτέροις τὰ πλείστα, πρῶτον μὲν ἰκέτευον, εἰ ταῦτα D

¹ δ' after ἀφελόμενος Hertlein suggests.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

Constantius and my loyalty to him, and that I behaved to him as I would have chosen that my own son should behave to me.¹ I have paid him more honour than any Caesar has paid to any Emperor in the past. Indeed, to this very day he has no accusation to bring against me on that score, though I have been entirely frank in my dealings with him, but he invents absurd pretexts for his resentment. He says, "You have detained Lupicinus and three other men." And supposing I had even put them to death after they had openly plotted against me, he ought for the sake of keeping peace to have renounced his resentment at their fate. But I did those men not the least injury, and I detained them because they are by nature quarrelsome and mischief-makers. And though I am spending large sums of the public money on them, I have robbed them of none of their property. Observe how Constantius really lays down the law that I ought to proceed to extremities with such men! For by his anger on behalf of men who are not related to him at all, does he not rebuke and ridicule me for my folly in having served so faithfully the murderer of my father, my brothers, my cousins; the executioner as it were of his and my whole family and kindred? Consider too with what deference I have continued to treat him even since I became Emperor, as is shown in my letters.

And how I behaved to him before that you shall now learn. Since I was well aware that whenever mistakes were made I alone should incur the disgrace and danger, though most of the work was carried on by others, I first of all implored him, if

¹ Cf. Isocrates, *To Demonicus* 14

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

πράττειν αὐτῷ φαίνοιτο καὶ πάντως ἐμὲ προσαγορεύειν καίσαρα δεδογμένον εἶη, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σπουδαίους δοῦναί μοι τοὺς ὑπουργοῦντας· ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἔδωκε τοὺς μοχθηροτάτους. ὥς δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰς ὁ πονηρότατος καὶ μάλα ἄσμενος¹ ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἡξίου τῶν ἄλλων, ἄνδρα δίδωσιν ἄκων ἐμοὶ καὶ μάλα ἀγαθὸν Σαλούστιον, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ γέγονεν ὑποπτος. οὐκ ἄρκεσθεις ἐγὼ τῷ τοιούτῳ, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὸ διάφορον τοῦ τρόπου καὶ κατανόησας² τῷ μὲν ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιστεύοντα, τῷ δὲ οὐδ' ὅλως προσέχοντα, 282 τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀψάμενος· Τούτων, ἔφην, οὐδεὶς ἐστί μοι συνήθης οὐδὲ γέγονεν ἔμπροσθεν· ἐπιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ φήμης, σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐταίρους ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ φίλους νομίζω, τοῖς πάλαι γνωρίμοις ἐπ' ἴσης τιμῶν. οὐ μὴν δίκαιον ἢ τούτοις ἐπιτετράφθαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἢ τὰ τούτων ἡμῖν συγκινδυνεύσαι. τί οὖν ἰκετεύω; γραπτοὺς ἡμῖν δὸς ὥσπερ νόμους, τίνων Β ἀπέχεσθαι χρή καὶ ὅσα πράττειν ἐπιτρέπεις. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον ἐπαινέσεις, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάσεις, εἰ καὶ ὃ, τι μάλιστα νομίζω μηδένα ἀπειθήσειν.

“Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πεντάδιος αὐτίκα καινοτομεῖν, οὐδὲν χρή λέγειν· ἀντέπραττον δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς πάντα, καὶ γίνεται μοι δυσμενὴς ἐκεῖθεν. εἰπ' ἄλλον λαβὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, Παῦλον, Γαυδέντιον, τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ' C

¹ ἄσμενος Hertlein suggests, ἀσμένως MSS.

² βλέπων . . . κατανόησας Horkel, κατανόησας . . . βλέπων Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

he had made up his mind to that course and was altogether determined to proclaim me Caesar, to give me good and able men to assist me. He however at first gave me the vilest wretches. And when one, the most worthless of them, had very gladly accepted and no one of the others consented, he gave me with a bad grace an officer who was indeed excellent, Sallust, who on account of his virtue has at once fallen under his suspicion. And since I was not satisfied with such an arrangement and saw how his manner to them varied, for I observed that he trusted one of them too much and paid no attention at all to the other, I clasped his right hand and his knees and said: "I have no acquaintance with any of these men nor have had in the past. But I know them by report, and since you bid me I regard them as my comrades and friends and pay them as much respect as I would to old acquaintances. Nevertheless it is not just that my affairs should be entrusted to them or that their fortunes should be hazarded with mine. What then is my petition? Give me some sort of written rules as to what I must avoid and what you entrust to me to perform. For it is clear that you will approve of him who obeys you and punish him who is disobedient, though indeed I am very sure that no one will disobey you."

Now I need not mention the innovations that Pentadius at once tried to introduce. But I kept opposing him in everything and for that reason he became my enemy. Then Constantius chose another and a second and a third and fashioned them for his purpose, I mean Paul and Gaudentius, those notorious sycophants; he hired them to attack me and

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἐμὲ μισθωσάμενος συκοφάντας, Σαλούστιον μὲν
ὥς ἐμοὶ φίλον ἀποστήναι παρασκευάζει, Λουκι-
λιανὸν δὲ δοθῆναι διάδοχον αὐτίκα. καὶ μικρὸν
ὕστερον καὶ Φλωρέντιος ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἐμοὶ διὰ τὰς
πλεονεξίας, αἷς ἠναντιούμην. πείθουσιν οὗτοι τὸν
Κωνσταντίον ἀφελῆσθαι με τῶν στρατοπέδων
ἀπάντων, ἴσως τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ζηλοτυπίας τῶν
κατορθωμάτων κνιζόμενον, καὶ γράφει γράμματα D
πολλῆς μὲν ἀτιμίας εἰς ἐμὲ πλήρη, Κελτοῖς δὲ
ἀνάστασιν ἀπειλοῦντα· μικροῦ γὰρ δέω φάναι τὸ
στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν ἀδιακρίτως τὸ μαχιμώτατον
ἀπαγαγεῖν τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπιτάξας τοῦτο
τὸ ἔργον Λουππικίνῳ τε καὶ Γιντωνίῳ, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς
ἂν πρὸς μηδὲν ἐναντιωθείην αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἐνταῦθα μέντοι τίνα τρόπον τὰ τῶν θεῶν
εἵποιμ' ἂν ἔργα πρὸς ὑμᾶς; διανοοῦμην· μάρτυρες 283
δὲ αὐτοί· πᾶσαν ἀπορρίψας τὴν βασιλικὴν πολυ-
τέλειαν καὶ παρασκευὴν ἡσυχάζειν, πράττειν
δὲ οὐδὲν ὄλως. ἀνέμενον δὲ Φλωρέντιον παρα-
γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν Λουππικίνον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν περὶ
τὴν Βίενναν, ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Βρεττανίαις. ἐν τούτῳ
θόρυβος πολλὺς ἦν περὶ πάντας τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ B
τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ γράφει τις ἀνώνυμον γραμ-
ματεῖον¹ εἰς τὴν ἀστυγείτονά μοι πόλιν πρὸς τοὺς
Πετουλάντας τουτουσὶ καὶ Κελτοῦς· ὀνομάζεται
δὲ οὕτω τὰ τάγματα· ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν ἐγέγραπτο
κατ' ἐκείνου, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαλλίων προ-
δοσίας ὀδυρμοί· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀτιμίαν
ὁ τὸ γραμματεῖον συγγράψας ἀπωδύρετο. τοῦτο
κομισθὲν ἐκίνησε πάντας, οἳ τὰ Κωνσταντίου
μάλιστα ἐφρόνουν, ἐπιθέσθαι μοι κατὰ τὸ καρ- C

¹ γραμματεῖον Horkel adds, δέλτον Naber.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

then took measures to remove Sallust, because he was my friend, and to appoint Lucilianus immediately, as his successor. And a little later Florentius also became my enemy on account of his avarice which I used to oppose. These men persuaded Constantius, who was perhaps already somewhat irritated by jealousy of my successes, to remove me altogether from command of the troops. And he wrote letters full of insults directed against me and threatening ruin to the Gauls. For he gave orders for the withdrawal from Gaul of, I might almost say, the whole of the most efficient troops without exception, and assigned this commission to Lupicinus and Gintonius, while to me he wrote that I must oppose them in nothing.

And now in what terms shall I describe to you the work of the gods? It was my intention, as they will bear me witness, to divest myself of all imperial splendour and state and remain in peace, taking no part whatever in affairs. But I waited for Florentius and Lupicinus to arrive; for the former was at Vienne, the latter in Britain. Meanwhile there was great excitement among the civilians and the troops, and someone wrote an anonymous letter to the town near where I was,¹ addressed to the Petulantes and the Celts—those were the names of the legions—full of invectives against Constantius and of lamentations about his betrayal of the Gauls. Moreover the author of the letter lamented bitterly the disgrace inflicted on myself. This letter when it arrived provoked all those who were most definitely on the side of Constantius to urge me in the strongest terms to send away the troops at once, before similar letters

• ¹ Julian was at Paris.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

τερώτατον, ὅπως ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκπέμψαιμι, πρὶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμοὺς ὅμοια ῥιφῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις παρῆν τῶν δοκούντων εὖνως ἔχειν ἐμοί, Νεβρίδιος δέ, Πεντάδιος, Δεκέντιος, ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο Κωνσταντίου. λέγοντος δέ μου χρῆναι περιμένειν ἔτι Λουππικῖνον καὶ Φλωρέντιον, οὐδεὶς ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πάντες τούναντίον ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ βούλομαι ταῖς προλαβούσαις ὑποψίαις ὥσπερ ἀπόδειξιν καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦτο D προσθεῖναι. εἴτα προσέθεσαν ὡς Νῦν μὲν ἐκπεμφθέντων αὐτῶν σὸν ἐστι τὸ ἔργον, ἀφικομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ σοὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις λογιεῖται Κωνστάντιος, σὺ δὲ ἐν αἰτία γενήσῃ. γράφαι δὴ¹ με ἔπεισαν αὐτῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐβιάσαντο· πείθεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ὥπερ ἔξεστι καὶ μὴ πεισθῆναι, βιάζεσθαι δὲ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, τοῦ πείθειν οὐδὲν προσδέονται· οὐκουν οὐδὲ οἱ βιασθέντες τῶν πεπεισμένων εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκασθέντων. ἐσκοποῦμεν ἐνταῦθα, ποίαν ὁδὸν αὐτοὺς χρή 284 βαδίζειν, διττῆς οὔσης. ἐγὼ μὲν ἡξίουں ἐτέραν τραπήναι, οἱ δὲ αὐθις ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐκείνην ἰέναι, μὴ τοῦτο αὐτὸ γεγόμενον ὥσπερ ἀφορμὴν τινα στάσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις παράσχη καὶ ταραχῆς τινος αἴτιον γένηται, εἴτα στασιάζειν ἅπαξ ἀρξάμενοι πάντα ἀθρόως ταραξώσιν. ἐδόκει τὸ δέος οὐ παντάπασιν ἄλογον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἦλθε τὰ τάγματα, ὑπήντησα κατὰ τὸ νενομισμένον αὐτοῖς, ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ προύτρεψα· μίαν B

¹ δὴ Hertlein would add.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

could be scattered broadcast among the rest of the legions. And indeed there was no one there belonging to the party supposed to be friendly to me, but only Nebridius, Pentadius, and Decentius, the latter of whom had been despatched for this very purpose by Constantius. And when I replied that we ought to wait still longer for Lupicinus and Florentius, no one listened to me, but they all declared that we ought to do the very opposite, unless I wished to add this further proof and evidence for the suspicions that were already entertained about me. And they added this argument: "If you send away the troops now it will be regarded as your measure, but when the others come Constantius will give them not you the credit and you will be held to blame." And so they persuaded or rather compelled me to write to him. For he alone may be said to be persuaded who has the power to refuse, but those who can use force have no need to persuade as well; then again where force is used there is no persuasion, but a man is the victim of necessity. Thereupon we discussed by which road, since there were two, the troops had better march. I preferred that they should take one of these, but they immediately compelled them to take the other, for fear that the other route if chosen should give rise to mutiny among the troops and cause some disturbance, and that then, when they had once begun to mutiny, they might throw all into confusion. Indeed such apprehension on their part seemed not altogether without grounds.

The legions arrived, and I, as was customary, went to meet them and exhorted them to continue their march. For one day they halted, and till that time

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἡμέραν ἐπέμεινεν, ἄχρις ἧς οὐδὲν ἦδειν ἐγὼ τῶν
 βεβουλευμένων αὐτοῖς· ἵστω Ζεὺς, Ἥλιος, Ἄρης,
 Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πάντες θεοί, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀφίκετό
 μοῦ τις τοιαύτη ὑπόνοια ἄχρι δείλης αὐτῆς· ὁψίας
 δὲ ἤδη περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐμηνύθη μοι, καὶ αὐτίκα
 τὰ βασίλεια περιείληπτο, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες, ἔτι
 φροντίζοντός μου τί χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ οὐπω σφόδρα
 πιστεύοντος· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔτι τῆς γαμετῆς ζώσης C
 μοι ἀναπαυσόμενος ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὑπερῶν
 ἀνελθὼν. εἴτα ἐκείθεν· ἀνεπέπτατο γὰρ ὁ τοίχος·
 προσεκύνησα τὸν Δία. γενομένης δὲ ἔτι μείζονος
 τῆς βοῆς καὶ θορυβουμένων πάντων ἐν τοῖς βασι-
 λείοις, ἡτέομεν τὸν θεὸν δοῦναι τέρας. αὐτὰρ ὃ γ'
 ἡμῖν δείξε καὶ ἡνώγει πεισθῆναι καὶ μὴ προσεν-
 αντιοῦσθαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῇ προθυμίᾳ.
 γενομένων ὅμως ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτων τῶν σημείων, οὐκ D
 εἶξα ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ' ἀντέσχον εἰς ὅσον ἡδυνάμην,
 καὶ οὔτε τὴν πρόσρησιν οὔτε τὸν στέφανον προσ-
 ιέμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε εἰς ὧν¹ πολλῶν ἡδυνάμην
 κρατεῖν οἷ τε τοῦτο βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι θεοὶ τοὺς
 μὲν παρώξυνον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔθελγον τὴν γνώμην, ὥρα
 που τρίτῃ σχεδὸν οὐκ οἶδα οὐτινὸς μοι στρατιώτου
 δόντος μανιάκην περιεθέμην καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὰ
 βασίλεια, ἔνδοθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοί,
 στένων τῆς καρδίας. καίτοι χρὴν δήπουθεν πι- 285
 στεύοντα τῷ φήναντι θεῷ τὸ τέρας θαρρεῖν· ἀλλ'

¹ ὧν Cobet, τῶν Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

I knew nothing whatever of what they had determined ; I call to witness Zeus, Helios, Ares, Athene, and all the other gods that no such suspicion even entered my mind until that very evening. It was already late, when about sunset the news was brought to me, and suddenly the palace was surrounded and they all began to shout aloud, while I was still considering what I ought to do and feeling by no means confident. My wife was still alive and it happened, that in order to rest alone, I had gone to the upper room near hers. Then from there through an opening in the wall I prayed to Zeus. And when the shouting grew still louder and all was in a tumult in the palace I entreated the god to give me a sign ; and thereupon he showed me a sign ¹ and bade me yield and not oppose myself to the will of the army. Nevertheless even after these tokens had been vouchsafed to me I did not yield without reluctance, but resisted as long as I could, and would not accept either the salutation ² or the diadem. But since I could not singlehanded control so many, and moreover the gods, who willed that this should happen, spurred on the soldiers and gradually softened my resolution, somewhere about the third hour some soldier or other gave me the collar and I put it on my head and returned to the palace, as the gods know groaning in my heart. And yet surely it was my duty to feel confidence and to trust in the god after he had shown me the sign ; but I was terribly ashamed and ready to

¹ *Odyssey* 3. 173

ἡτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φῆναι τέρας, αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἡμῖν
δείξε καὶ ἡνώγει.

² *i.e.* the title of Augustus.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

ἡσυχυνόμενῃ δεινῶς καὶ κατεδυνόμενῃ, εἰ δόξαιμι μὴ πιστῶς ἄχρι τέλους ὑπακοῦσαι Κωνσταντίῳ.

Πολλῆς οὖν οὔσης περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατηφείας, τοῦτον εὐθύς οἱ Κωνσταντίου φίλοι τὸν καιρὸν ἀρπάσαι διανοηθέντες ἐπιβουλήν μοι ῥάπτουσιν αὐτίκα καὶ διένειμαν τοῖς στρατιώταις χρήματα, δυοῖν θάτερον προσδοκῶντες, ἢ διαστήσειν ἀλλήλους ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι¹ μοι φανερώς. B αἰσθόμενός τις τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων τῇ προόδῳ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς λάθρα πραττόμενον αὐτὸ ἐμοὶ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμήνυσεν, ὥς δὲ ἑώρα με μηδὲν προσέχοντα, παραφρονήσας ὥσπερ οἱ θεόληπτοι δημοσία βοᾶν ἤρξατο κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται, μὴ προδῶτε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. εἴτα ἐμπίπτει θυμὸς εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἔθεον. καταλαβόντες δέ με ζῶντα καὶ C χαρέντες ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνελπίστων ὀφθέντας φίλους ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν περιέβαλλον καὶ περιέπλεκον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔφερον, καὶ ἦν πῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα θέας ἄξιον, ἐνθουσιασμῷ γὰρ ἐώκει. ὥς δέ με ἀπανταχόθεν περιέσχον, ἐξήτουν ἅπαντας τοὺς Κωνσταντίου φίλους ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ. πηλίκον ἡγωνισάμην ἀγῶνα σῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτούς, D ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες.

Ἄλλὰ δὴ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο πῶς πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντίον διεπραξάμην; οὐπω καὶ τήμερον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολαῖς τῇ δοθείσῃ

¹ ἐπιθήσεσθαι Cobet, -ἐπιθέσθαι Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

sink into the earth at the thought of not seeming to obey Constantius faithfully to the last.

Now since there was the greatest consternation in the palace, the friends of Constantius thought they would seize the occasion to contrive a plot against me without delay, and they distributed money to the soldiers, expecting one of two things, either that they would cause dissension between me and the troops, or no doubt that the latter would attack me openly. But when a certain officer belonging to those who commanded my wife's escort perceived that this was being secretly contrived, he first reported it to me and then, when he saw that I paid no attention to him, he became frantic, and like one possessed he began to cry aloud before the people in the market-place, "Fellow soldiers, strangers, and citizens, do not abandon the Emperor!" Then the soldiers were inspired by a frenzy of rage and they all rushed to the palace under arms. And when they found me alive, in their delight, like men who meet friends whom they had not hoped to see again, they pressed round me on this side and on that, and embraced me and carried me on their shoulders. And it was a sight worth seeing, for they were like men seized with a divine frenzy. Then after they had surrounded me on all sides they demanded that I give up to them for punishment the friends of Constantius. What fierce opposition I had to fight down in my desire to save those persons is known to all the gods.

But further, how did I behave to Constantius after this? Even to this day I have not yet used in my letters to him the title which was bestowed on me

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

μοι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπωνυμία κεχρημαι, καίσαρα δὲ ἔμαντον γέγραφα, καὶ πέπεικα τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁμόσαι μοι μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμήσειν, εἴπερ ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἀδεῶς οἰκεῖν τὰς Γαλλίας, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις συναινέσας. ἅπαντα τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ 286 τάγματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἰκετεύοντα περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν ὁμονοίας. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέβαλεν ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἀνηγόρευσέ με παρ' ἐκείνοις, καὶ μισθοὺς ἐτέλεσεν, ὅπως τὸ Γαλλίων ἔθνος πορθηθείη; γράφων τε ἐν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Γαλλίων παρεκελεύετο, καὶ περὶ B τοὺς Γαλλικοὺς ὄρους ἐν ταῖς πλησίον πόλεσιν εἰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας μεδίμνων πυροῦ κατεργασμένου ἐν τῇ Βριγαντία, τοσοῦτον ἕτερον περὶ τὰς Κοττίας Ἀλπεῖς ὥς ἐπ' ἐμὲ στρατεύσων ἐκέλευσε παρασκευασθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λόγοι, σαφὴ δὲ ἔργα. καὶ γὰρ ἅς γέγραφεν ἐπιστολάς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κομισθείσας ἐδεξάμην, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς τὰς παρεσκευασμένας κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς Ταύρου. πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι C νῦν μοι ὥς καίσαρι¹ γράφει, καὶ οὐδὲ συνθήσεσθαι πώποτε πρὸς με ὑπέστη, ἀλλ' Ἐπίκτητόν τινα τῶν Γαλλίων² ἐπίσκοπον ἔπεμψεν ὥς πιστά μοι περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς ἔμαντοῦ παρέξοντα, καὶ τοῦτο θρυλεῖ δι' ὅλων αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ὥς οὐκ ἀφαιρησόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς οὐδὲν μνημονεύει. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὄρκους

¹ ὡς καίσαρι Hertlein suggests, καίσαρι MSS.

² Athanasius says that Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae; hence Petavius suggests Κεντουκελλῶν for τῶν Γαλλίων.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

by the gods, but I have always signed myself Caesar, and I have persuaded the soldiers to demand nothing more if only he would allow us to dwell peaceably in Gaul and would ratify what has been already done. All the legions with me sent letters to him praying that there might be harmony between us. But instead of this he let loose against us the barbarians, and among them proclaimed me his foe and paid them bribes so that the people of the Gauls might be laid waste ; moreover he wrote to the forces in Italy and bade them be on their guard against any who should come from Gaul ; and on the frontiers of Gaul in the cities near by he ordered to be got ready three million bushels of wheat which had been ground at Brigantia,¹ and the same amount near the Cottian Alps, with the intention of marching to oppose me. These are not mere words but deeds that speak plain. In fact the letters that he wrote I obtained from the barbarians who brought them to me ; and I seized the provisions that had been made ready, and the letters of Taurus. Besides, even now in his letters he addresses me as "Caesar" and declares that he will never make terms with me : but he sent one Epictetus, a bishop of Gaul,² to offer a guarantee for my personal safety ; and throughout his letters he keeps repeating that he will not take my life, but about my honour he says not a word. As for his oaths, for my part I think they should, as the proverb says, be written in ashes,³ so little do they inspire belief. But my honour I will not give

¹ Bregentz, on Lake Constance.

² Epictetus was bishop of Centumcellae (Civita Vecchia) ; see critical note.

³ cf. "Write in dust" or "write in water."

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

αὐτοῦ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας οἶμαι δεῖν εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, οὕτως εἰσὶ πιστοί· τῆς τιμῆς δὲ οὐ τοῦ D καλοῦ καὶ πρέποντος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἔνεκα σωτηρίας ἀντέχομαι· καὶ οὕτω φημι τὴν πανταχοῦ γῆς γυμναζομένην πικρίαν.

Ταῦτα ἔπεισέ με, ταῦτα ἐφάνη μοι δίκαια. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τοῖς πάντα ὁρῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἀνεθέμην θεοῖς. εἶτα θυσάμενος περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου καὶ γενομένων καλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς στρατιώταις περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε πορείας ἔμελλον διαλέγεσθαι, 287 ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ πολὺ πλεον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν εὐπραγίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Κελτῶν ἔθνους, ὃ δις ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξέδωκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν προγονικῶν φεισάμενος τάφων, ὃ τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους πάνυ θεραπεύων, ὥήθην δεῖν ἔθνη τε προσλαβεῖν τὰ δυνατώτατα καὶ χρημάτων πόρους δικαιοτάτων ἐξ ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσείων, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀγαπήσειεν ἔτι νῦν γοῦν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν, εἴσω τῶν νῦν ἐχομένων μένειν, εἰ δὲ B πολεμεῖν διανοοῖτο καὶ μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας γνώμης χαλάσειεν, ὃ, τι ἂν ᾗ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον πᾶσχειν ἢ πράττειν, ὥς αἰσχίον ἀνανδρία ψυχῆς καὶ διανοίας ἀμαθία ἢ πλήθει δυνάμεως ἀσθενέστερον αὐτοῦ φανῆναι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ τῷ πλήθει κρατήσειεν, οὐκ ἐκείνου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις περιμένοντά με καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀγαπῶντα καὶ διακλίνοντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπανταχόθεν περικόψας C

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

up, partly out of regard for what is seemly and fitting, but also to secure the safety of my friends. And I have not yet described the cruelty that he is practising over the whole earth.

These then were the events that persuaded me ; this was the conduct I thought just. And first I imparted it to the gods who see and hear all things. Then when I had offered sacrifices for my departure, the omens were favourable on that very day on which I was about to announce to the troops that they were to march to this place ; and since it was not only on behalf of my own safety but far more for the sake of the general welfare and the freedom of all men and in particular of the people of Gaul,—for twice already he had betrayed them to the enemy and had not even spared the tombs of their ancestors, he who is so anxious to conciliate strangers !—then, I say, I thought that I ought to add to my forces certain very powerful tribes and to obtain supplies of money, which I had a perfect right to coin, both gold and silver. Moreover if even now he would welcome a reconciliation with me I would keep to what I at present possess ; but if he should decide to go to war and will in no wise relent from his earlier purpose, then I ought to do and to suffer whatever is the will of the gods ; seeing that it would be more disgraceful to show myself his inferior through failure of courage or lack of intelligence than in mere numbers. For if he now defeats me by force of numbers that will not be his doing, but will be due to the larger army that he has at his command. If on the other hand he had surprised me loitering in Gaul and clinging to bare life and, while I tried to avoid the danger, had attacked me on all sides, in

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

κατέλαβε, κύκλω μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στόμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων, τὸ παθεῖν τε οἶμαι τὰ ἔσχατα προσῆν καὶ ἔτι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σῶφροσι.

Ταῦτα διανοηθείς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς τε συστρατιώταις τοῖς ἐμοῖς διήλθον καὶ πρὸς κοινούς τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολίτας γράφω. θεοὶ δὲ οἱ πάντων κύριοι συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν τὴν D ἑαυτῶν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, εἰς τέλος δοῖεν καὶ παράσχοιεν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὑφ' ἡμῶν τε εἰς ὅσον δύναμις εὖ παθεῖν καὶ τοιούτους σχεῖν ἐς αἰ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, οἳ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτὰς αἰδέσονται¹ καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν.

¹ αἰδέσονται Cobet, εἰσονται Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO THE ATHENIANS

the rear and on the flanks by means of the barbarians, and in front by his own legions, I should I believe have had to face complete ruin, and moreover the disgrace of such conduct is greater than any punishment—at least in the sight of the wise.¹

These then are the views, men of Athens, which I have communicated to my fellow soldiers and which I am now writing to the whole body of the citizens throughout all Greece. May the gods who decide all things vouchsafe me to the end the assistance which they have promised, and may they grant to Athens all possible favours at my hands! May she always have such Emperors as will honour her and love her above and beyond all other cities!

¹ Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 1. 27.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER
TO A PRIEST

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN was Supreme Pontiff, and as such felt responsible for the teachings and conduct of the priesthood. He saw that in order to offset the influence of the Christian priests which he thought was partly due to their moral teaching, partly to their charity towards the poor, the pagans must follow their example. Hitherto the preaching of morals had been left to the philosophers. Julian's admonitions as to the treatment of the poor and of those in prison, and the rules that he lays down for the private life of a priest are evidently borrowed from the Christians.

This Fragment occurs in the *Vossianus* MS., inserted in the *Letter to Themistius*,¹ and was identified and published separately by Petavius. It was probably written when Julian was at Antioch on the way to Persia.

¹ p. 256 c, between τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον and καὶ πεποιήκασι.

* * * * *

. πλὴν ἤν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιδωσιν
 ἀτακτοῦντάς τινας, αὐτίκα μάλα κολάζουσιν· ἐπὶ
 δὲ τοὺς οὐ προσιόντας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν
 πονηρῶν δαιμόνων τεταγμένον φύλον, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ B
 πολλοὶ παροιστρούμενοι τῶν ἀθέων ἀναπεύθονται
 θανατᾶν, ὡς ἀναπτησόμενοι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν,
 ὅταν ἀπορρήξωσι τὴν ψυχὴν βιαίως. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ
 καὶ τὰς ἐρημίας ἀντὶ τῶν πόλεων διώκουσιν, ὄντος
 τ' ἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζῴου καὶ ἡμέρου,
 δαίμοσιν ἐκδεδομένοι πονηροῖς, ὑφ' ὧν εἰς ταύτην
 ἄγονται τὴν μισανθρωπίαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ
 κλοιοὺς ἐξηῦρον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων· οὕτω παντα-
 χόθεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κακὸς συνελαύνει δαίμων, ᾧ
 δεδώκασιν ἐκόντες ἑαυτούς, ἀποστάντες τῶν
 αἰδίων καὶ σωτήρων θεῶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων C
 ἀπόχρη τοσαῦτα εἰπεῖν· ὅθεν δ' ἐξέβην εἰς τοῦτο
 ἐπανήξω.

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER TO A PRIEST

* * * * *

. ONLY¹ that they chastise, then and there, any whom they see rebelling against their king. And the tribe of evil demons is appointed to punish those who do not worship the gods, and stung to madness by them many atheists are induced to court death in the belief that they will fly up to heaven when they have brought their lives to a violent end. Some men there are also who, though man is naturally a social and civilised being, seek out desert places instead of cities, since they have been given over to evil demons and are led by them into this hatred of their kind. And many of them have even devised fetters and stocks to wear; to such a degree does the evil demon to whom they have of their own accord given themselves abet them in all ways, after they have rebelled against the everlasting and saving gods. But on this subject what I have said is enough, and I will go back to the point at which I digressed.

¹ The beginning is lost: Julian has apparently been describing the functions of good demons, and now passes on to the demons whose task is to punish evil-doers; cf. *Oration* 2, 90 B.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

Δικαιοπραγίας οὖν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολι-
 τικοὺς νόμους εὐδήλον ὅτι μελήσει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις
 τῶν πόλεων, πρέποι δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμῖν εἰς παραίνεσιν
 τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἱεροὺς ὄντας τῶν θεῶν τοὺς
 νόμους. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἱερατικὸν βίον εἶναι χρή τοῦ 289
 πολιτικοῦ σεμνότερον, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοῦτον καὶ
 διδακτέον· ἔψονται δέ, ὡς εἰκός, οἱ βελτίους· ἐγὼ
 μὲν γὰρ εὐχομαι καὶ πάντας, ἐλπίζω δὲ τοὺς
 ἐπικεικείς φύσει καὶ σπουδαίους· ἐπιγνώσονται γὰρ
 οἰκείους ὄντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς λόγους.

Ἀσκητέα τοίνυν πρὸ πάντων ἡ φιланθρωπία·
 ταύτῃ γὰρ ἔπεται πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἡ παρὰ τῶν B
 θεῶν εὐμένεια. καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
 δεσπόταις συνδιατιθέμενοι περί τε φιλίας καὶ
 σπουδᾶς καὶ ἔρωτας ἀγαπῶνται πλέον τῶν
 ὁμοδούλων, οὕτω νομιστέον φύσει φιλάνθρωπον
 ὃν τὸ θεῖον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ φιланθρωπία πολλή καὶ παντοία· C
 καὶ τὸ πεφεισμένως κολάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ
 τῷ βελτίονι τῶν κολαζομένων, ὥσπερ οἱ διδά-
 σκαλοι τὰ παιδιά, καὶ τὸ τὰς χρείας αὐτῶν
 ἐπανορθοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας. ὁρᾶτε
 ὅσα ἡμῖν δεδώκασιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθά, τροφὰς
 παντοίας καὶ ὁπόσας οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτέχθημεν γυμνοί, ταῖς τε τῶν ζώων ἡμᾶς
 θριξὶν ἐσκέπασαν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένοις
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δένδρων. καὶ οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ
 αὐτοσχεδίως, καθάπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἔφη τοὺς χιτῶ- D
 298

LETTER TO A PRIEST

Though just conduct in accordance with the laws of the state will evidently be the concern of the governors of cities, you in your turn will properly take care to exhort men not to transgress the laws of the gods, since those are sacred. Moreover, inasmuch as the life of a priest ought to be more holy than the political life, you must guide and instruct men to adopt it. And the better sort will naturally follow your guidance. Nay I pray that all men may, but at any rate I hope that those who are naturally good and upright will do so ; for they will recognise that your teachings are peculiarly adapted to them.

You must above all exercise philanthropy, for from it result many other blessings, and moreover that choicest and greatest blessing of all, the good will of the gods. For just as those who are in agreement with their masters about their friendships and ambitions and loves are more kindly treated than their fellow slaves, so we must suppose that God, who naturally loves human beings, has more kindness for those men who love their fellows. Now philanthropy has many divisions and is of many kinds. For instance it is shown when men are punished in moderation with a view to the betterment of those punished, as schoolmasters punish children ; and again in ministering to men's needs, even as the gods minister to our own. You see all the blessings of the earth that they have granted to us, food of all sorts, and in an abundance that they have not granted to all other creatures put together. And since we were born naked they covered us with the hair of animals, and with things that grow in the ground and on trees. Nor were they content to do this simply or off-hand, as Moses bade men take

LETTER TO A PRIEST

νας λαβεῖν δερματίνους, ἀλλ' ὁράτε ὅσα ἐγένετο
 τῆς Ἑργάνης Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ δῶρα. ποῖον οἶνον
 χρῆται ζῶον; ποῖον ἐλαίῳ; πλὴν εἴ τισιν ἡμεῖς
 καὶ τούτων μεταδίδομεν, οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐ
 μεταδιδόντες. τί δὲ τῶν θαλαττίων σίτῳ, τί δὲ
 τῶν χερσαίων τοῖς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆται; χρυσὸν
 οὐπω λέγω καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, οἷς πᾶσιν οἱ
 θεοὶ ζαπλούτους ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν, οὐχ ἵνα ὄνειδος
 αὐτῶν περιορῶμεν περινοστοῦντας τοὺς πένητας,
 ἄλλως τε ὅταν καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς τινες τύχωσι τὸν 290
 τρόπον, οἷς πατρῷος μὲν κλῆρος οὐ γέγονεν, ὑπὸ
 δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας ἥκιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντες χρημάτων
 πένονται. τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
 ὀνειδίζουσιν. αἵτιοι δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ τῆς
 τούτων πενίας, ἡ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν κεκτημένων
 ἀπληστία καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ
 ἀληθοῦς ὑπολήψεως αἰτία γίνεται καὶ προσέτι
 τοῖς θεοῖς ὀνειδούς ἀδίκου. τί γὰρ ἀπαιτοῦμεν, B
 ἵνα χρυσὸν ὥσπερ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὁ θεὸς ὕσῃ τοῖς
 πένησιν; ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ταχέως ἡμεῖς
 ὑποβαλλόμενοι τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ προθέντες παν-
 ταχοῦ τὰ ἀγγεῖα πάντας ἀπελάσομεν, ἵνα μόνοι
 τὰ κοινὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάσωμεν δῶρα. θαυμάσειε
 δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως, εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀξιοῖμεν¹ οὔτε
 πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀλυσιτελὲς πάντῃ, τὰ

¹ ἀξιοῖμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀξιοῦμεν MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

coats of skins,¹ but you see how numerous are the gifts of Athene the Craftswoman. What other animals use wine, or olive oil? Except indeed in cases where we let them share in these things, even though we do not share them with our fellowmen. What creature of the sea uses corn, what land animal uses things that grow in the sea? And I have not yet mentioned gold and bronze and iron, though in all these the gods have made us very rich; yet not to the end that we may bring reproach on them by disregarding the poor who go about in our midst, especially when they happen to be of good character—men for instance who have inherited no paternal estate, and are poor because in the greatness of their souls they have no desire for money. Now the crowd when they see such men blame the gods. However it is not the gods who are to blame for their poverty, but rather the insatiate greed of us men of property becomes the cause of this false conception of the gods among men, and besides of unjust blame of the gods. Of what use, I ask, is it for us to pray that God will rain gold on the poor as he did on the people of Rhodes?² For even though this should come to pass, we should forthwith set our slaves underneath to catch it, and put out vessels everywhere, and drive off all comers so that we alone might seize upon the gifts of the gods meant for all in common. And anyone would naturally think it strange if we should ask for this, which is not in the nature of things, and is in every way unprofitable, while we do

¹ *Genesis* 3. 21.

² Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 7. 49; this became a Sophistic commonplace. Cf. Menander (Spengel) 3. 362; Aristides 1. 807; Libanius 31. 6, Foerster; Philostratus, *Imagines* 2. 270.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

δυνατὰ δὲ μὴ πράττομεν. τίς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεταδι- C
 δόναυ τοῖς πέλας ἐγένετο πένης; ἐγὼ τοι πολλάκις
 τοῖς δεομένοις προέμενος ἐκτησάμην αὐτὰ παρὰ
 θεῶν¹ πολλαπλάσια καίπερ ὦν φαῦλος χρημα-
 τιστής, καὶ οὐδέποτε μοι μετεμέλησε προεμένῳ.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη
 παντελῶς ἄλογον, εἰ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἀξιώσαιμι
 βασιλικαῖς παραβάλλεσθαι χορηγίαις· ἀλλ' ὅτε D
 ἔτι ἐτύγγανον ιδιώτης, σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο
 ἀποβαῖν πολλάκις. ἀπεσώθη μοι τέλειος ὁ κλῆρος
 τῆς τήθης, ἐχόμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων βιαίως ἐκ βραχέων
 ὧν εἶχον ἀναλίσκοντι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μετα-
 διδόντι.

Κοινωνητέον οὖν τῶν χρημάτων ἅπασιν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιεικέσιν ἐλευθεριώτερον,
 τοῖς δὲ ἀπόροις καὶ πένησιν ὅσον ἐπαρκέσαι τῇ
 χρεία. φαίην δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι
 καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς² ἐσθῆτος καὶ τροφῆς ὅσιον ἂν εἴη
 μεταδιδόναι· τῷ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ οὐ τῷ τρόπῳ 291
 δίδομεν. διόπερ οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
 καθειργμένους ἀξιωτέον τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμελείας.
 οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύσει τὴν δίκην ἢ τοιαύτη φιλαν-
 θρωπία. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, πολλῶν ἀπο-
 κεκλεισμένων ἐπὶ κρίσει, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὀφλησόντων,
 τῶν δὲ ἀθῶων ἀποφανθησομένων, μὴ διὰ τοὺς
 ἀναιτίους οἰκτὸν τινα νέμειν καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἕνεκα καὶ περὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν B
 ἡδικηκότας ἀνηλεῶς καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακεῖσθαι.

¹ παρὰ θεῶν Hertlein suggests, παρ' αὐτῶν MSS.

² πονηροῖς Hertlein suggests, πολέμοις MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

not do what is in our power. Who, I ask, ever became poor by giving to his neighbours? Indeed I myself, who have often given lavishly to those in need, have recovered my gifts again many times over at the hands of the gods, though I am a poor man of business; nor have I ever repented of that lavish giving. And of the present time I will say nothing, for it would be altogether irrational of me to compare the expenditure of private persons with that of an Emperor; but when I was myself still a private person I know that this happened to me many times. My grandmother's estate for instance was kept for me untouched, though others had taken possession of it by violence, because from the little that I had I spent money on those in need and gave them a share.

We ought then to share our money with all men, but more generously with the good, and with the helpless and poor so as to suffice for their need. And I will assert, even though it be paradoxical to say so, that it would be a pious act to share our clothes and food even with the wicked. For it is to the humanity in a man that we give, and not to his moral character. Hence I think that even those who are shut up in prison have a right to the same sort of care; since this kind of philanthropy will not hinder justice. For when many have been shut up in prison to await trial, of whom some will be found guilty, while others will prove to be innocent, it would be harsh indeed if out of regard for the guiltless we should not bestow some pity on the guilty also, or again, if on account of the guilty we should behave ruthlessly and inhumanly to those also who have done no wrong. This too, when I consider it,

LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐννοοῦντί μοι παντάπασιν ἄδικον κατα-
φαίνεται· Ξένιον ὀνομάζομεν Δία, καὶ γιγνώμεθα
τῶν Σκυθῶν κακοξενώτεροι. πῶς οὖν ὁ βουλό-
μενος τῷ Ξενίῳ θῦσαι Διὶ φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὸν νεών;
μετὰ ποταποῦ συνειδότος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ

πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Πτωχοί τε ξεινοί τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε;

Πῶς δὲ ὁ τὸν Ἑταίρειον θεραπεύων Δία, ὁρῶν C
τοὺς πέλας ἐνδεεῖς χρημάτων, εἴτα μὴδ' ὅσον
δραχμῆς μεταδιδούς, οἴεται τὸν Δία καλῶς θερα-
πεύειν; ὅταν εἰς ταῦτα ἀπιδῶ, παντελῶς ἀχανὲς
γίνομαι, τὰς μὲν ἐπωνυμίας τῶν θεῶν ἅμα τῷ
κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ εἰκόνας γραπτὰς ὁρῶν,
ἔργῳ δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπιτηδευόμενον.
ὁμόγνιοι λέγονται παρ' ἡμῖν θεοὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁμό- D
γνιος, ἔχομεν δὲ ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους τοὺς
συγγενεῖς· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἐκὼν καὶ
ἄκων πᾶς ἐστι συγγενής, εἴτε, καθάπερ λέγεται
παρά τινων, ἐξ ἐνός τε καὶ μιᾶς γενόμεν πάντες,
εἴθ' ὅπως οὖν ἄλλως, ἀθρόως ὑποστησάντων ἡμᾶς
τῶν θεῶν ἅμα τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἓνα καὶ
μίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἅμα καὶ πολλὰς. οἱ γὰρ ἓνα 292
καὶ μίαν δυνηθέντες οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἅμα καὶ πολλοὺς
καὶ πολλὰς ὑποστήσαι.¹ καὶ γὰρ ὃν τρόπον τόν
τε ἓνα καὶ τὴν μίαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοὺς
πολλοὺς τε καὶ τὰς πολλὰς. εἷς τε τὸ διάφορον

¹ ὑποστήσαι Reiske would add.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

seems to me altogether wrong ; I mean that we call Zeus by the title "God of Strangers," while we show ourselves more inhospitable to strangers than are the very Scythians. How, I ask, can one who wishes to sacrifice to Zeus, the God of Strangers, even approach his temple ? With what conscience can he do so, when he has forgotten the saying "From Zeus come all beggars and strangers ; and a gift is precious though small" ? ¹

Again, the man who worships Zeus the God of Comrades, and who, though he sees his neighbours in need of money, does not give them even so much as a drachma, how, I say, can he think that he is worshipping Zeus aright ? When I observe this I am wholly amazed, since I see that these titles of the gods are from the beginning of the world their express images, yet in our practice we pay no attention to anything of the sort. The gods are called by us "gods of kindred," and Zeus the "God of Kindred," but we treat our kinsmen as though they were strangers. I say "kinsmen" because every man, whether he will or no, is akin to every other man, whether it be true, as some say, that we are all descended from one man and one woman, or whether it came about in some other way, and the gods created us all together, at the first when the world began, not one man and one woman only, but many men and many women at once. For they who had the power to create one man and one woman, were able to create many men and women at once ; since the manner of creating one man and one woman is the same as that of creating many men and many women. And ²

¹ *Odyssey* 6. 207.

² The connection of the thought is not clear, and Petavius thinks that something has been lost.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἀποβλέψαντα τῶν ἐθνῶν¹ καὶ τῶν νόμων, οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ τιμιώτερον καὶ
 κυριώτερον, εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται
 διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς B
 ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πε-
 σουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε
 γένος. καὶ οὕτως οὖν συγγενεῖς γινόμεθα πάντες,
 εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ μιᾶς, ἐκ δυοῖν ἀνθρώποιν ὄντες
 οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλαί, εἰ δέ, καθάπερ οἱ θεοὶ
 φασι καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ἐπιμαρτυρούντων τῶν
 ἔργων, ἐκ τῶν θεῶν πάντες γεγονότες. ὅτι δὲ C
 πολλοὺς ἅμα ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ τὰ
 ἔργα, ῥηθήσεται μὲν ἀλλαχοῦ δι' ἀκριβείας,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀρκέσει τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς
 μὲν καὶ μιᾶς οὖσιν οὔτε τοὺς νόμους εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
 τοσοῦτον παραλλάξαι οὔτε ἄλλως τὴν γῆν ὑφ' ἑνὸς
 ἐμπλησθῆναι πᾶσαν, οὐδὲ εἰ τέκνα² ἅμα πολλὰ
 καθάπερ αἱ σύες ἔτικτον αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες.
 πανταχοῦ δὲ ἀθρόως φυτευσάντων τῶν³ θεῶν,
 ὄνπερ τρόπον ὁ εἷς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πλείους προ-
 ῆλθον ἄνθρωποι τοῖς γενεάρχαις θεοῖς ἀποκληρω-
 θέντες, οἳ καὶ προήγαγον αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ δημι- D
 ουργοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς παραλαμβάνοντες ἐξ αἰῶνος.

Κάκεινο δ' ἄξιον ἐννοεῖν, ὅσοι παρὰ τῶν ἐμπρο-
 σθεν ἀνάλωνται λόγοι περὶ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικὸν
 εἶναι ζῶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ ταῦτα
 εἰπόντες καὶ διατάξαντες ἀκοινωνήτως πρὸς τοὺς

¹ ἐθνῶν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαθῶν Petavius, ἡθῶν MSS.

² τέκνα Hertlein would add.

³ φυτευσάντων τῶν Hertlein suggests, νευσάντων MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

one must have regard to the differences in our habits and laws, or still more to that which is higher and more precious and more authoritative, I mean the sacred tradition of the gods which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of earlier days, namely that when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood, and from them, as they say, arose the race of men. It follows therefore that we are all kinsmen, whether, many men and women as we are, we come from two human beings, or whether, as the gods tell us, and as we ought to believe, since facts bear witness thereto, we are all descended from the gods. And that facts bear witness that many men came into the world at once, I shall maintain elsewhere, and precisely, but for the moment it will be enough to say this much, that if we were descended from one man and one woman, it is not likely that our laws would show such great divergence; nor in any case is it likely that the whole earth was filled with people by one man; nay, not even if the women used to bear many children at a time to their husbands, like swine. But when the gods all together had given birth to men, just as one man came forth, so in like manner came forth many men who had been allotted to the gods who rule over births; and they brought them forth, receiving their souls from the Demiurge from eternity.¹

It is proper also to bear in mind how many discourses have been devoted by men in the past to show that man is by nature a social animal. And shall we, after asserting this and enjoining it, bear

¹ Julian here prefers the Platonic account of the creation in the *Timaeus* to the Biblical narrative.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

πλησίον ἔξομεν; ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων ἡθῶν τε καὶ
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὁρμώμενος εὐλαβείας
 τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, χρηστότητος τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους, 293
 ἀγνείας τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα
 πληρούτω, πειρώμενος δὲ αἰεὶ τι περὶ τῶν θεῶν
 εὐσεβὲς διανοεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τινος ἀποβλέπων
 εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τιμῆς καὶ
 ὁσιότητος, σεβόμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παρόντας ἐώρα
 τοὺς θεοὺς. ἀγάλματα γὰρ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ πυρὸς
 ἀσβέστου φυλακὴν καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 σύμβολα οἱ πατέρες ἔθεντο τῆς παρουσίας τῶν
 θεῶν, οὐχ ἵνα ἐκεῖνα θεοὺς νομίσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα B
 δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύσωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
 ἡμᾶς ὄντας ἐν σώματι σωματικῶς¹ ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι
 τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰς λατρείας, ἀσώματοι δὲ εἰσιν
 αὐτοί· πρῶτα μὲν ἔδειξαν ἡμῖν ἀγάλματα τὸ
 δεύτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν θεῶν γένος περὶ
 πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν κύκλῳ περιφερόμενον. δυνα- C
 μένης δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀποδίδοσθαι τῆς θεραπείας
 σωματικῶς· ἀπροσδεᾶ γάρ ἐστι φύσει· ἕτερον²
 ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξηυρέθη γένος ἀγαλμάτων, εἰς δὲ τὰς
 θεραπείας ἐκτελοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὐμενεῖς τοὺς
 θεοὺς καταστήσομεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βασι-
 λέων θεραπεύοντες εἰκόνας, οὐδὲν δεομένων, ὅμως
 ἐφέλκονται τὴν εὐνοίαν εἰς ἑαυτούς, οὕτω καὶ οἱ
 θεῶν θεραπεύοντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, δεομένων οὐδὲν D
 τῶν θεῶν, ὅμως πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπαμύνειν σφίσι

¹ σωματικῶς Petavius, Hertlein approves, σωματικὰς MSS.

² ἕτερον Hertlein suggests, δεύτερον Reiske, τρίτον MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

ourselves unsociably to our neighbours? Then let everyone make the basis of his conduct moral virtues, and actions like these, namely reverence towards the gods, benevolence towards men, personal chastity; and thus let him abound in pious acts, I mean by endeavouring always to have pious thoughts about the gods, and by regarding the temples and images of the gods with due honour and veneration, and by worshipping the gods as though he saw them actually present. For our fathers established images and altars, and the maintenance of undying fire, and, generally speaking, everything of the sort, as symbols of the presence of the gods, not that we may regard such things as gods, but that we may worship the gods through them. For since being in the body it was in bodily wise that we must needs perform our service to the gods also, though they are themselves without bodies; they therefore revealed to us in the earliest images the class of gods next in rank to the first, even those that revolve in a circle about the whole heavens. But since not even to these can due worship be offered in bodily wise—for they are by nature not in need of anything¹—another class of images was invented on the earth, and by performing our worship to them we shall make the gods propitious to ourselves. For just as those who make offerings to the statues of the emperors, who are in need of nothing, nevertheless induce goodwill towards themselves thereby, so too those who make offerings to the images of the gods, though the gods need nothing, do nevertheless thereby persuade them to help and

¹ cf. St. Paul, *Acts* 17. 25, “neither is he worshipped with men’s hands, as though he needed anything.”

LETTER TO A PRIEST

καὶ κήδεσθαι· δεῖγμα γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς
 ὁσιότητος ἢ περὶ τὰ δυνατὰ προθυμία, καὶ ὁ
 ταύτην πληρῶν εὐδηλον ὅτι μειζόνως ἐκείνην
 ἀποδίδωσιν, ὁ δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ὀλιγωρῶν, εἴτα
 προσποιούμενος τῶν ἀδυνάτων ὀρέγεσθαι δῆλός
 ἐστιν οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα παρο- 294
 ρῶν· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ὁ θεὸς δεῖται, διὰ τοῦτο
 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσοιστέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς διὰ λόγων
 εὐφημίας δεῖται. τί οὖν; εὐλογον αὐτὸν ἀπο-
 στερήσαι καὶ ταύτης; οὐδαμῶς. οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ B
 τῆς διὰ τῶν ἔργων εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνομένης τιμῆς, ἥς
 ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς οὐδὲ τρισχίλιοι,
 πᾶς δὲ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰὼν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς γῆς
 ἔθνεσιν.

Ἀφορῶντες οὖν εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα μή C
 τοι νομίζωμεν αὐτὰ λίθους εἶναι μηδὲ ξύλα, μηδὲ
 μέντοι τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰκόνας ξύλα καὶ λίθον καὶ
 χαλκὸν λέγομεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βα-
 σιλέας, ἀλλὰ εἰκόνας βασιλέων. ὅστις οὖν ἐστι
 φιλοβασιλεὺς ἡδέως ὁρᾷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰ-
 κόνα, καὶ ὅστις ἐστὶ φιλόπαις ἡδέως ὁρᾷ τὴν τοῦ D
 παιδός, καὶ ὅστις φιλοπάτωρ τὴν τοῦ πατρός.
 οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅστις φιλόθεος ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν
 ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποβλέπει, σεβόμε-
 νος ἅμα καὶ φρίττων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὁρῶντας εἰς αὐ-
 τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς. εἴ τις οὖν οἴεται δεῖν αὐτὰ μηδὲ
 φθείρεσθαι διὰ τὸ θεῶν ἅπαξ εἰκόνας κληθῆναι,
 310

LETTER TO A PRIEST

to care for them. For zeal to do all that is in one's power is, in truth, a proof of piety, and it is evident that he who abounds in such zeal thereby displays a higher degree of piety; whereas he who neglects what is possible, and then pretends to aim at what is impossible, evidently does not strive after the impossible, since he overlooks the possible. For even though God stands in need of nothing, it does not follow that on that account nothing ought to be offered to him. He does not need the reverence that is paid in words. What then? Is it rational to deprive him of this also? By no means. It follows then that one ought not to deprive him either of the honour that is paid to him through deeds, an honour which not three years or three thousand years have ordained, but all past time among all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, when we look at the images of the gods, let us not indeed think they are stones or wood, but neither let us think they are the gods themselves; and indeed we do not say that the statues of the emperors are mere wood and stone and bronze, but still less do we say they are the emperors themselves. He therefore who loves the emperor delights to see the emperor's statue, and he who loves his son delights to see his son's statue, and he who loves his father delights to see his father's statue. It follows that he who loves the gods delights to gaze on the images of the gods, and their likenesses, and he feels reverence and shudders with awe of the gods who look at him from the unseen world. Therefore if any man thinks that because they have once been called likenesses of the gods, they are incapable of being destroyed, he is, it

LETTER TO A PRIEST

παντελῶς ἄφρων εἶναί μοι φαίνεται. χρῆν γὰρ
 δῆπουθεν αὐτὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι. τὸ 295
 δὲ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀν-
 θρώπου ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀμαθοῦς φθαρῆναι δύναται.
 τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ζῶντα ἀγάλματα κατασκευα-
 σθέντα τῆς ἀφανοῦς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, οἱ περὶ τὸν
 οὐρανὸν κύκλῳ φερόμενοι θεοί, μένει τὸν αἰ-
 χρόνον αἰδία. μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπιστεῖτω θεοῖς ὁρῶν
 καὶ ἀκούων, ὥς ἐνύβρισάν τινες εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα
 καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς. ἄρ' οὐκ ἀνθρώπους χρηστοὺς
 ἀπέκτειναν πολλοί, καθάπερ Σωκράτη καὶ Δίωνα B
 καὶ τὸν μέγαν Ἐμπεδοκτίμον; ὧν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μᾶλ-
 λον ἐμέλησε τοῖς θεοῖς. ἀλλ' ὁράτε, ὅτι καὶ τούτων
 φθαρτὸν εἰδότες τὸ σῶμα συνεχώρησαν εἰξαι τῇ
 φύσει καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, δίκην δὲ ἀπήτησαν
 ὕστερον παρὰ τῶν κτεινάντων. ὁ δὲ συνέβη
 φανερώς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ἱεροσύλων.

Μηδεὶς οὖν ἀπατάτω λόγοις μηδὲ ταραττέτω
 περὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς. οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὄνειδίζοντες C
 τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ προφήται, τί περὶ
 τοῦ νεὸς φήσουσι τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀνατρα-
 πέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν; ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον οὐκ
 ὄνειδίζων ἐκείνοις, ὅς γε τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρό-
 νοις ἀναστήσασθαι διενεόθηεν αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ
 κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῦ· νυνὶ δὲ ἐχρησάμην
 αὐτῷ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων D
 οὐδὲν ἄφθαρτον εἶναι δύναται καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα

LETTER TO A PRIEST

seems to me, altogether foolish; for surely in that case they were incapable of being made by men's hands. But what has been made by a wise and good man can be destroyed by a bad and ignorant man. But those beings which were fashioned by the gods as the living images of their invisible nature, I mean the gods who revolve in a circle in the heavens, abide imperishable for all time. Therefore let no man disbelieve in gods because he sees and hears that certain persons have profaned their images and temples. Have they not in many cases put good men to death, like Socrates and Dio and the great Empedotimus?¹ And yet I am very sure that the gods cared more for these men than for the temples. But observe that since they knew that the bodies even of these men were destructible, they allowed them to yield to nature and to submit, but later on they exacted punishment from their slayers; and this has happened in the sight of all, in our own day also, in the case of all who have profaned the temples.

Therefore let no man deceive us with his sayings or trouble our faith in a divine providence. For as for those who make such profanation a reproach against us, I mean the prophets of the Jews, what have they to say about their own temple, which was overthrown three times and even now is not being raised up again? This I mention not as a reproach against them, for I myself, after so great a lapse of time, intended to restore it, in honour of the god whose name has been associated with it. But in the present case I have used this instance because I wish to prove that nothing made by man can be inde-

¹ Of Syracuse, whose claim to be immortal was accepted by the Sicilians.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

γράφοντες ἐλήρουν προφήται, γραδίοις ψυχροῖς
 ὁμιλοῦντες. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι κωλύει τὸν μὲν
 θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν, οὐ μὴν σπουδαίων προφητῶν
 οὐδὲ ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν. αἷτιον δέ, ὅτι τὴν ἑαυτῶν
 ψυχὴν οὐ παρέσχον ἀποκαθῆραι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίσις
 μαθήμασιν οὐδὲ ἀνοῖξαι μεμυκότα λίαν τὰ ὅμματα
 οὐδὲ ἀνακαθῆραι τὴν ἐπικειμένην αὐτοῖς ἀχλὺν, 296
 ἀλλ' οἶον φῶς μέγα δι' ὁμίχλης οἱ ἄνθρωποι βλέ-
 ποντες οὐ καθαρῶς οὐδὲ εἰλικρινῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ
 ἐκεῖνο νενομικότες οὐχὶ φῶς καθαρὸν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ
 καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὄντες ἀθέατοι βοῶσι
 μέγα· Φρίττετε, φοβεῖσθε, πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος,
 μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι μίαν ἐξηγού-
 μενοι τὴν βλαπτικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν. ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων ἰδίᾳ βέλτιον παραστήσαι, πόσῃ B
 φαυλότεροι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὗτοι γεγόνασι ποιητῶν
 οἱ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγων διδάσκαλοι.

Προσῆκει δὲ οὐ τὰ τῶν θεῶν μόνον ἀγάλματα
 προσκυνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς καὶ τὰ τεμένη
 καὶ τοὺς βωμούς· εὐλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας
 τιμᾶν ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ
 διακονοῦντας ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, συνεπι-
 σχύοντας τῇ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόσει. C
 προθύουσι γὰρ πάντων καὶ ὑπερεύχονται. δί-
 καιον οὖν ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔλαττον,
 εἰ μὴ καὶ πλέον, ἢ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσι τὰς
 τιμὰς. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται τοῦτο ἐπ' ἴσης χρῆναι
 νέμειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐπεὶ

LETTER TO A PRIEST

structible, and that those prophets who wrote such statements were uttering nonsense, due to their gossiping with silly old women. In my opinion, there is no reason why their god should not be a mighty god, even though he does not happen to have wise prophets or interpreters. But the real reason why they are not wise is that they have not submitted their souls to be cleansed by the regular course of study, nor have they allowed those studies to open their tightly closed eyes, and to clear away the mist that hangs over them. But since these men see as it were a great light through a fog, not plainly or clearly, and since they think that what they see is not a pure light but a fire, and they fail to discern all that surrounds it, they cry with a loud voice : "Tremble, be afraid, fire, flame, death, a dagger, a broad-sword !" thus describing under many names the harmful might of fire. But on this subject it will be better to demonstrate separately how much inferior to our own poets are these teachers of tales about the gods.

It is our duty to adore not only the images of the gods, but also their temples and sacred precincts and altars. And it is reasonable to honour the priests also as officials and servants of the gods ; and because they minister to us what concerns the gods, and they lend strength to the gods' gift of good things to us ; for they sacrifice and pray on behalf of all men. It is therefore right that we should pay them all not less, if not indeed more, than the honours that we pay to the magistrates of the state. And if any one thinks that we ought to assign equal honours to them and to the magistrates of the state, since the latter

LETTER TO A PRIEST

κακείνοι τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱερατεύουσι, φύλακες ὄντες τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ τά γε τῆς εὐνοίας παρὰ πολὺν χρῆνέ μιν τούτοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ D Ἀχαιοὶ καί περ πολέμιον ὄντα τὸν ἱερέα προσέταττον αἰδεῖσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους αἰδούμεθα τοὺς εὐχομένους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θύοντας.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὴν πάλαι ποθουμένην ἀρχὴν ἐλήλυθεν, ἄξιον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ διελθεῖν ἐφεξῆς, ὁποῖός τις ὦν ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτός τε δικαίως τιμηθήσεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι ποιήσει.¹ τὸ γὰρ ἡμέτερον οὐ χρῆν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ ἕως ἂν ἱερεὺς τις ὀνομάζεται, 297 τιμᾶν αὐτὸν χρῆν καὶ θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ εἷη πονηρός, ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὡς ἀνάξιον ἀποφανθέντα περιορᾶν· ἕως δὲ προθύει καὶ κατάρχεται καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὡς τὸ τιμιώτατον τῶν θεῶν κτῆμα προσβλεπτέος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας. ἄτοπον γάρ, εἰ τοὺς μὲν λίθους, ἐξ ὧν οἱ βωμοὶ πεποίηνται, διὰ τὸ καθιερωθῆναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀγαπῶμεν,² ὅτι μορφὴν ἔχουσι καὶ σχῆμα πρέπον, εἰς ἣν εἰσι κατεσκευασμένοι λειτουργίαν, B ἄνδρα δὲ καθωσιωμένον τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ οἰησόμεθα χρῆναι τιμᾶν. ἴσως ὑπολήψεται τις· ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐξαμαρτάνοντα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς

¹ καὶ—ποιήσει Hertlein suggests, lacuna MSS.

² ἀγαπῶμεν Hertlein suggests, ἀγαπήσομεν MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

also are in some sort dedicated to the service of the gods, as being guardians of the laws, nevertheless we ought at any rate to give the priests a far greater share of our good will. The Achaeans, for instance, enjoined on their king¹ to reverence the priest, though he was one of the enemy, whereas we do not even reverence the priests who are our friends, and who pray and sacrifice on our behalf.

But since my discourse has come back again to the beginning as I have so long wished, I think it is worth while for me to describe next in order what sort of man a priest ought to be, in order that he may justly be honoured himself and may cause the gods to be honoured. For as for us, we ought not to investigate or enquire as to his conduct, but so long as a man is called a priest we ought to honour and cherish him, but if he prove to be wicked we ought to allow his priestly office to be taken away from him, since he has shown himself unworthy of it. But so long as he sacrifices for us and makes offerings and stands in the presence of the gods, we must regard him with respect and reverence as the most highly honoured chattel² of the gods. For it would be absurd for us to pay respect to the very stones of which the altars are made, on account of their being dedicated to the gods, because they have a certain shape and form suited to the ritual for which they have been fashioned, and then not to think that we ought to honour a man who has been dedicated to the gods. Perhaps someone will object—"But suppose he does wrong and often fails to offer to the gods their sacred

¹ Agamemnon ; *Iliad* 1. 23.

² cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 62 c ; *Letter to the Athenians* 276 B.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

τοὺς θεοὺς ὁσίων; ἐγὼ δὴ φημι χρῆναι τὸν μὲν
 τοιοῦτον ἐξελέγχειν, ἵνα μὴ πονηρὸς ὢν ἐνοχλῇ
 τοὺς θεοὺς, ἕως δ' ἂν ἐξελέγξῃ¹ τις, μὴ ἀτιμάζειν.
 οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογον ἐπιλαβομένους ταύτης τῆς C
 ἀφορμῆς οὐ τούτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτη-
 δείων τιμᾶσθαι τὴν τιμὴν προσαφαιρεῖσθαι. ἔστω
 τοῖνυν ὥσπερ ἄρχων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἱερεὺς πᾶς
 αἰδέσιμος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀπόφασίς ἐστι θεοῦ τοῦ
 Διδυμαίου τοιαύτη·

Ὅσσοι ἐς ἀρητῆρας ἰτασθαλίῃσι νόοιο
 Ἀθανάτων ῥέξουσ' ἀποφώλια, καὶ γεράεσσιν
 Ἀντία βουλεύουσιν ἀδαισιθέοισι λογισμοῖς, D
 Οὐκέθ' ὅλην βιότοιο διεκπερώσιν ἀταρπόν,
 Ὅσσοι περ μακάρεσσιν ἐλωβήσαντο θεοῖσιν,
 Ὡν κεῖνοι θεόσεπτον ἔλον θεραπῆίδα τιμῇ,

καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλοις ὁ θεός φησι

29

Πάντας μὲν θεράποντας ἐμοὺς ὀλοῆς κακός-
 τητος—,

καὶ φησιν ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ἐπιθήσειν αὐτοῖς.

Πολλῶν δὲ εἰρημένων τοιούτων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,
 δι' ὧν ἔνεστι μαθόντας ὅπως χρὴ τιμᾶν καὶ
 θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰρήσεται μοι διὰ πλει-
 ὄνων ἐν ἄλλοις· ἀπόχρη δὲ νῦν, ὅτι μὴ σχεδιάζω
 μηδὲν, ἐπιδείξαι τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν B
 καὶ τὸ ἐπίταγμα τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἱκανὸν
 ἡγούμενος. εἴ τις οὖν ἀξιόπιστον ὑπέιληφεν
 ἐμὲ διδάσκαλον τῶν τοιούτων, αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν

¹ ἐξελέγξῃ Hertlein suggests, ἐξελέγχη MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

rites?" Then indeed I answer that we ought to convict a man of that sort, so that he may not by his wickedness offend the gods; but that we ought not to dishonour him until he has been convicted. Nor indeed is it reasonable that when we have set our hands to this business, we should take away their honour not only from these offenders but also from those who are worthy to be honoured. Then let every priest, like every magistrate, be treated with respect, since there is also an oracle to that effect from the Didymæan god:¹ "As for men who with reckless minds work wickedness against the priests of the deathless gods and plot against their privileges with plans that fear not the gods, never shall such men travel life's path to the end, men who have sinned against the blessed gods whose honour and holy service those priests have in charge."² And again in another oracle the god says: "All my servants from harmful mischief——;"³ and he says that on their behalf he will inflict punishment on the aggressors.

Now though there are many utterances of the god to the same effect, by means of which we may learn to honour and cherish priests as we ought, I shall speak on this subject elsewhere at greater length. But for the present it is enough to point out that I am not inventing anything offhand, since I think that the declaration made by the god and the injunction expressed in his own words are sufficient. Therefore let any man who considers that as a teacher of such matters I am worthy to be believed

¹ Apollo.

² An oracle from an unknown source: these verses occur again in *Epistle* 62. 451 A.

³ Sc. I will protect.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

θεὸν ἐκείνῳ πειθέσθω καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν
 θεῶν τιμάτω διαφερόντως· ὅποιον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι
 χρή, πειράσομαι νῦν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ· τοῦτο
 μὲν γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ νῦν ἡπιστάμην, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ
 καθηγεμόνος, ἅμα δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν μαρτυ-
 ρούντων, ὅτι τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην διαθήσῃ C
 καλῶς, ὅσα γε εἰς προαίρεσιν ἤκει τὴν σὴν, οὐδ'
 ἂν ἐτόλμησά σοι μεταδοῦναι τοσοῦτου πράγ-
 ματος· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχῃς ἐντεῦθεν διδάσκειν τοὺς
 ἄλλους, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς ἀγροῖς εὐλογώτερον καὶ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας, ὥς οὐκ
 οἴκοθεν αὐτὰ νοεῖς καὶ πράττεις μόνος, ἔχεις δὲ
 • καὶ ἐμὲ σύμφηφον σεαυτῷ, δοκοῦντά γε εἶναι
 διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, ἄξιον μὲν οὐ-
 δαμῶς πράγματος τοσοῦτου, βουλόμενον δὲ εἶναι
 καὶ προσευχόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, D
 μεγάλας ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐλπίδας
 ἐπαγγέλλονται. πειστέον δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντως.
 ἀψευδεῖν γὰρ εἰώθασιν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τῷδε. οἱ δὲ διὰ
 περιουσίαν δυνάμεως οἰοί τε ὄντες καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ 299
 βίῳ τούτῳ περιγενέσθαι ταραχῆς καὶ τὸ ἄτακτον
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον ἐπανορθοῦν ἂρ' οὐκ ἐν
 ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον, ὅπου διήρηται τὰ μαχόμενα, χωρι-
 σθείσης μὲν τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς, γῆς δὲ γενο-
 μένου τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος, ἱκανοὶ παρασχεῖν
 ἔσονται ταῦθ' ὅσαπερ ἐπηγγείλαντο τοῖς ἀν-
 θρώποις; εἰδότες οὖν, ὅτι μεγάλας ἔχειν ἔδωσαν
 320

LETTER TO A PRIEST

show due respect to the god and obey him, and honour the priests of the gods above all other men. And now I will try to describe what sort of man a priest himself ought to be, though not for your especial benefit. For if I did not already know from the evidence both of the high priest and of the most mighty gods that you administer this priestly office aright—at least all matters that come under your management—I should not have ventured to confide to you a matter so important. But I do so in order that you may be able from what I say to instruct the other priests, not only in the cities but in the country districts also, more convincingly and with complete freedom ; since not of your own self do you alone devise these precepts and practise them, but you have me also to give you support, who by the grace of the gods am known as sovereign pontiff, though I am indeed by no means worthy of so high an office ; though I desire, and moreover constantly pray to the gods that I may be worthy. For the gods, you must know, hold out great hopes for us after death ; and we must believe them absolutely. For they are always truthful, not only about the future life, but about the affairs of this life also. And since in the superabundance of their power they are able both to overcome the confusion that exists in this life and to regulate its disorders and irregularities, will they not all the more in that other life where conflicting things are reconciled, after the immortal soul has been separated from the body and the lifeless body has turned to earth, be able to bestow all those things for which they have held out hopes to mankind ? Therefore since we know that the gods

LETTER TO A PRIEST

οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς ἀμοιβάς, ἐγγύους αὐτοὺς
ἐν πᾶσι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσωμεν, ὧν B
πρὸς τὰ πλήθη χρὴ λέγειν δεῖγμα τὸν ἑαυτῶν
ἐκφέροντας βίον.

Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας.
οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς πρέπει τοῖς θεοῖς λειτουργεῖν ὡς
παρεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρώσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, οὐχ
ὀρωμένοις δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πάσης αὐγῆς ὄμμα C
κρεῖττον ἄχρι τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων ἡμῖν λογι-
σμῶν διατετακόσιν. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος
οὗτός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ πολλῶν μὲν
εἰρημένος λόγων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δῆτα ἀπόχρη καὶ ἕνα
παραθεμένῳ δύο δι' ἑνὸς παραστήσαι, πῶς μὲν
ὀρώσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντα, πῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν
εὐφραίνονται·

Πάντη Φοιβείῃ τέταται ταυσισκοπος ἀκτίς·
Καί τε διὰ στερεῶν χωρεῖ θοδὸν ὄμμα πετράων, D
Καὶ διὰ κυανέης ἀλὸς ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ἐ λήθει
Πληθὺς ἀστερόεσσα παλινδίνητος ἰοῦσα
Οὐρανὸν εἰς ἀκάμαντα σοφῆς κατὰ θεσμὸν
ἀνάγκης,
Οὐδ' ὅσα νερτερίων ὑπεδέξατο φύλα καμόντων
Τάρταρος ἀχλυνέντος¹ ὑπὸ ζόφον αἰδὸς εἴσω· 300
Εὐσεβέσιν δὲ βροτοῖς γάννυμαι τόσον, ὅσον
Ὀλύμπῳ.

Ὅσω δὲ λίθου καὶ πέτρας ἅπασα μὲν ψυχῇ,
πολὺ δὲ πλεον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκειότερον ἔχει
καὶ συγγενέστερον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοσούτῳ
μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ ῥᾶον καὶ ἐνεργέστερον δι' αὐτῆς

¹ ἀχλυνέντος Hertlein suggests; ἀχλυνέσαν MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

have granted to their priests a great recompense, let us make them responsible in all things for men's esteem of the gods, displaying their own lives as an example of what they ought to preach to the people.

The first thing we ought to preach is reverence towards the gods. For it is fitting that we should perform our service to the gods as though they were themselves present with us and beheld us, and though not seen by us could direct their gaze, which is more powerful than any light, even as far as our hidden thoughts. And this saying is not my own¹ but the god's, and has been declared in many utterances, but for me surely it is sufficient, by bringing forth one such utterance, to illustrate two things in one, namely how the gods see all things and how they rejoice in god-fearing men: "On all sides extend the far-seeing rays of Phoebus. His swift gaze pierces even through sturdy rocks, and travels through the dark blue sea, nor is he unaware of the starry multitude that passes in returning circuit through the unwearied heavens for ever by the statutes of necessity; nor of all the tribes of the dead in the underworld whom Tartarus has admitted within the misty dwelling of Hades, beneath the western darkness. And I delight in god-fearing men as much even as in Olympus."²

Now in so far as all soul, but in a much higher degree the soul of man, is akin to and related to the gods, so much the more is it likely that the gaze of the gods should penetrate through his soul easily and

¹ Euripides, *fr.* 488 Nauck; cf. 197 c, 358 D, 387 B, 391
this phrase became a proverb; cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 789.

² An oracle from an unknown source.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

χωρεῖν τῶν θεῶν τὸ ὄμμα. θεά¹ δὲ τὴν φιλαν- B
θρωπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γάνυσθαι φάσκοντος τῇ τῶν
εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν διανοίᾳ ὅσον Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ καθα-
ρωτάτῳ. πῶς² ἡμῖν οὗτος οὐχὶ καὶ ἀνάξει τὰς
ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζόφου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου
μετ' εὐσεβείας αὐτῷ προσιόντων; οἶδε μὲν γὰρ καὶ
τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ κατακεκλεισμένους· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐκτὸς πίπτει δυνάμεως·
ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀντὶ C
τοῦ Ταρτάρου. διόπερ χρὴ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς
εὐσεβείας ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι, προσιόντας μὲν τοῖς
θεοῖς μετ' εὐλαβείας, αἰσχρὸν μηδὲν μήτε λέγοντας
μήτε ἀκούοντας. ἀγνεύειν δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἱερέας οὐκ
ἔργων μόνον ἀκαθάρτων οὐδὲ ἀσελγῶν πράξεων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ ἀκροαμάτων τοιούτων.
ἐξελατέα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐπαχθῇ
σκώμματα, πᾶσα δὲ ἀσελγῆς ὁμιλία. καὶ ὅπως
εἰδέναι ἔχῃς ὃ βούλομαι φράζειν, ἱερωμένος τις
μήτε Ἀρχίλοχον ἀναγινωσκέτω μήτε Ἰππώνακτα D
μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γραφόντων.
ἀποκλινέτω καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμωδίας ὅσα τῆς
τοιαύτης ἰδέας· ἄμεινον μὲν γάρ· καὶ πάντως
πρέποι δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἡ φιλοσοφία μόνη, καὶ τούτων·
οἱ θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας προστησάμενοι τῆς ἑαυτῶν
παιδείας, ὥσπερ³ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλης οἳ τε ἀμφὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Ζήνωνα.
προσεκτέον μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πᾶσιν οὔτε τοῖς πάντων
δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοις μόνον καὶ ἐκείνων, ὅσα 301

¹ θεά Brambs, MSS., θεῶ Reiske, Cobet, Hertlein.

² πῶς Hertlein suggests, πάντως MSS.

³ ὥσπερ Hertlein suggests, ὅπερ MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

effectively. And observe the love of the god for mankind when he says that he delights in the disposition of god-fearing men as much as in Olympus most pure and bright. How then shall he not lead up our souls from the darkness and from Tartarus, if we approach him with pious awe? And indeed he has knowledge even of those who have been imprisoned in Tartarus—for not even that region falls outside the power of the gods,—and to the god-fearing he promises Olympus instead of Tartarus. Wherefore we ought by all means to hold fast to deeds of piety, approaching the gods with reverence, and neither saying nor listening to anything base. And the priests ought to keep themselves pure not only from impure or shameful acts, but also from uttering words and hearing speeches of that character. Accordingly we must banish all offensive jests and all licentious intercourse. And that you may understand what I mean by this, let no one who has been consecrated a priest read either Archilochus or Hipponax¹ or anyone else who writes such poems as theirs. And in Old Comedy let him avoid everything of that type—for it is better so—and indeed on all accounts philosophy alone will be appropriate for us priests; and of philosophers only those who chose the gods as guides of their mental discipline, like Pythagoras and Plato and Aristotle, and the school of Chrysippus and Zeno. For we ought not to give heed to them all nor to the doctrines of all, but only to those philosophers and those of their doctrines that make

¹ Hipponax of Ephesus, a scurrilous poet who wrote in choliambics (the skazon) and flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C.; cf. Horace, *Epodes* 6. 12.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ ποιητικὰ καὶ διδάσκει περὶ θεῶν
 πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εἰσὶν, εἶτα ὡς προνοοῦσι τῶν τῆδε,
 καὶ ὡς ἐργάζονται μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν κακὸν οὔτε ἀνθρώ-
 πους οὔτε ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες
 καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ὅποια γράφοντες οἱ μὲν παρ'
 ἡμῖν ποιηταὶ κατεφρονήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 προφήται διατεταμένως συγκατασκευάζοντες ὑπὸ B
 τῶν ἀθλίων τούτων τῶν προσνειμάντων ἑαυτοὺς
 τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις θαυμάζονται.

Πρέποι δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅποσαι
 συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεπονημένοις τοῖς ἔργοις· ὅσα
 δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει παρὰ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
 ἀπηγγελέμενα πλάσματα παραιτητέον, ἐρωτικὰς
 ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. καθάπερ
 γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁδὸς πᾶσα τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀρμόττει,
 τετάχθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτας, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀνά- C
 γνωσμα πᾶν ἱερωμένῳ πρέπει. ἐγγίνεται γάρ
 τις τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ κατ'
 ὀλίγον ἐγείρει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, εἶτα ἐξαίφνης
 ἀνάπτει δεινὴν φλόγα, πρὸς ἣν οἶμαι χρὴ πόρρω-
 θεν παρατετάχθαι.

Μήτε Ἐπικούρειος εἰσίτω λόγος μήτε Πυρρῶ-
 νειος· ἥδη μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ποιοῦντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ
 ἀννῆράσιν, ὥστε ἐπιλείπειν καὶ τὰ πλείστα D
 τῶν βιβλίων. ὅμως οὐδὲν κωλύει τύπου χάριν
 ἐπιμνησθῆναι μὲν καὶ τούτων, ὁποίων χρὴ μάλιστα
 τοὺς ἱερέας ἀπέχεσθαι λόγων, εἰ δὲ λόγων, πολὺ
 πρότερον ἐννοιῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶμαι ταυτόν ἐστιν
 326

LETTER TO A PRIEST

men god-fearing, and teach concerning the gods, first that they exist, secondly that they concern themselves with the things of this world, and further that they do no injury at all either to mankind or to one another, out of jealousy or envy or enmity. I mean the sort of thing our poets in the first place have brought themselves into disrepute by writing, and in the second place such tales as the prophets of the Jews take pains to invent, and are admired for so doing by those miserable men who have attached themselves to the Galilaeans.

But for us it will be appropriate to read such narratives as have been composed about deeds that have actually been done; but we must avoid all fictions in the form of narrative such as were circulated among men in the past, for instance tales whose theme is love, and generally speaking everything of that sort. For just as not every road is suitable for consecrated priests, but the roads they travel ought to be duly assigned, so not every sort of reading is suitable for a priest. For words breed a certain sort of disposition in the soul, and little by little it arouses desires, and then on a sudden kindles a terrible blaze, against which one ought, in my opinion, to arm oneself well in advance.

Let us not admit discourses by Epicurus or Pyrrho; but indeed the gods have already in their wisdom destroyed their works, so that most of their books have ceased to be. Nevertheless there is no reason why I should not, by way of example, mention these works too, to show what sort of discourses priests must especially avoid; and if such discourses, then much more must they avoid such thoughts. For an error of speech is, in my

LETTER TO A PRIEST

ἁμάρτημα γλώττης καὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην
 χρή μάλιστα θεραπεύειν, ὡς καὶ τῆς γλώττης
 ἐκείνη συνεξαμαρτανούσης. ἐκμανθάνειν χρή τοὺς
 ὕμνους τῶν θεῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ
 καλοὶ πεπονημένοι παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις· οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνους πειρατέον ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
 ἱεροῖς ἄδομένους. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν θεῶν ἱκετευθέντων ἐδόθησαν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες 302
 ἐποιήθησαν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ πνεύματος
 ἐνθέου καὶ ψυχῆς ἀβάτου τοῖς κακοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
 θεῶν τιμῇ συγκείμενοι.

Ταῦτά γε ἄξιον ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι
 πολλάκις τοῖς θεοῖς ἰδία καὶ δημοσία, μάλιστα
 μὲν τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως ὄρθρου γε¹
 καὶ δείλης· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογον ἄθυτον ἄγειν ἡμέραν
 ἢ νύκτα τὸν ἱερωμένον· ἀρχὴ δὲ ὄρθρος μὲν ἡμέρας, B
 ὁψία δὲ νυκτός. εὐλογον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς θεοῖς
 ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς
 ἱερατικῆς ὄντες τυγχάνωμεν λειτουργίας· ὡς τὰ
 γε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὅσα πάτριος διαγορεύει νόμος,
 φυλάττειν πρέπει, καὶ οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἔλαττόν
 τι ποιητέον αὐτῶν· αἶδια γάρ ἐστι τὰ τῶν θεῶν·
 ὥστε καὶ ἡμᾶς χρή μιμεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν,
 ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἱλασκώμεθα διὰ τοῦτο πλέον. C

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς αὐτοψυχὰι μόναι, τὸ σῶμα δὲ
 πρὸς μηδὲν ἡμῖν διώχλει, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν ἓνα τινὰ
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀφορίζειν βίον· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἱερεῦσιν
 ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ² ἱερεῖ προσήκει μόνον, ὃ δὴ
 κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηδευτέον,

¹ γε Hertlein suggests, τε MSS.

² τῷ Wright, ὡς Hertlein, MSS. The meaning is not clear
 and Petavius suspects corruption.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

opinion, by no means the same as an error of the mind, but we ought to give heed to the mind first of all, since the tongue sins in company with it. We ought to learn by heart the hymns in honour of the gods—and many and beautiful they are, composed by men of old and of our own time—though indeed we ought to try to know also those which are being sung in the temples. For the greater number were bestowed on us by the gods themselves, in answer to prayer, though some few also were written by men, and were composed in honour of the gods by the aid of divine inspiration and a soul inaccessible to things evil.

All this, at least, we ought to study to do, and we ought also to pray often to the gods, both in private and in public, if possible three times a day, but if not so often, certainly at dawn and in the evening. For it is not meet that a consecrated priest should pass a day or a night without sacrifice; and dawn is the beginning of the day as twilight is of the night. And it is proper to begin both periods with sacrifice to the gods, even when we happen not to be assigned to perform the service. For it is our duty to maintain all the ritual of the temples that the law of our fathers prescribes, and we ought to perform neither more nor less than that ritual; for eternal are the gods, so that we too ought to imitate their essential nature in order that thereby we may make them propitious.

Now if we were pure soul alone, and our bodies did not hinder us in any respect, it would be well to prescribe one sort of life for priests. But since what he should practise when on duty concerns the individual priest alone, not priests absolutely, what

LETTER TO A PRIEST

τί δὲ τῷ¹ ἱερατεύειν ἀνθρώπῳ λαχόντι συγχωρητέον, ὅταν ἐκτὸς ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας; οἶμαι δὲ χρήναι τὸν ἱερέα πάντων ἀγνεύσαντα D
 νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, εἴτα ἄλλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ νύκτα καθηράμενον οἷς διαγορεύουσιν οἱ θεσμοὶ καθαρμοῖς οὕτως εἴσω φοιτῶντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μένειν ὅσας ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ νόμος κελεύῃ. τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρ' ἄλλοις δὲ ἄλλως. εὐλογον οὖν οἶμαι μένειν ἀπάσας ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φιλοσοφοῦντα, καὶ μήτε εἰς οἰκίαν βαδίζειν μήτε εἰς ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ 303
 ἄρχοντα πλὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὄρᾶν, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θεραπείας αὐτὸν ἐφορῶντα πάντα καὶ διατάττοντα, πληρώσαντα δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας εἴτα ἐτέρῳ παραχωρεῖν τῆς λειτουργίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρεπομένῳ βίον ἐξέστω καὶ βαδίζειν εἰς οἰκίαν φίλου καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν ἀπαντᾶν παρακληθέντα, μὴ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν B
 βελτίστων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγορὰν παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἄτοπον ὀλιγάκις, ἡγεμόνα τε προσεипεῖν καὶ ἔθνους ἄρχοντα, καὶ τοῖς εὐλόγως δεομένοις ὅσα ἐνδέχεται βοηθῆσαι.

Πρέπει δὲ οἶμαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνδον μὲν, ὅτε λειτουργοῦσιν, ἐσθῆτι χρῆσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῃ, τῶν ἱερῶν δὲ ἔξω τῇ συνήθει δίχα πολυ-

¹ τῷ Hertlein suggests, ὡς MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

should we concede to a man who has received the office of priest, on occasions when he is not actually engaged in service in the temples? I think that a priest ought to keep himself pure from all contamination, for a night and a day, and then after purifying himself for another night following on the first, with such rites of purification as the sacred laws prescribe, he should under these conditions enter the temple and remain there for as many days as the law commands. (Thirty is the number with us at Rome, but in other places the number varies.) It is proper then, I think, that he should remain throughout all these days in the sacred precincts, devoting himself to philosophy, and that he should not enter a house or a market-place, or see even a magistrate, except in the precincts, but should concern himself with his service to the god, overseeing and arranging everything in person; and then, when he has completed the term of days, he should retire from his office in favour of another. And when he turns again to the ordinary life of mankind, he may be allowed to visit a friend's house, and, when invited, to attend a feast, but not on the invitation of all but only of persons of the highest character. And at this time there would be nothing out of the way in his going occasionally to the market-place and conversing with the governor or the chief magistrate of his tribe, and giving aid, as far as lies in his power, to those who have a good reason for needing it.

And it is in my opinion fitting for priests to wear the most magnificent dress when they are within the temple performing the services, but when they are outside the sacred precincts to wear ordinary dress,

LETTER TO A PRIEST

τελείας· οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐλογον τοῖς δεδομένοις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ
 τιμῇ θεῶν εἰς κενοδοξίαν καταχρῆσθαι καὶ τύφον
 μάταιον. ὅθεν ἀφεκτέον ἡμῖν ἐσθῆτος πολυτελε- C
 στέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ κόμπου ἢ καὶ πάσης
 ἀπλῶς ἀλαζονείας. οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ τὴν τοσαύτην
 ἀγασθέντες Ἀμφιαράου σωφροσύνην, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ
 στρατεύματος ἐκείνου κατεδίκασαν φθορὰν εἰδώς
 τε αὐτὸς συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἦν ἄφευκτον αὐτῷ
 διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀπέφηναν αὐτὸν ἄλλον
 ἐξ ἄλλου καὶ μετέστησαν εἰς λήξιν θείαν. πάν-
 τῶν γοῦν τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ταῖς Θήβαις D
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων πρὶν κατεργάσασθαι σή-
 ματα γραφόντων καὶ ἐγειρόντων τὰ τρόπαια
 κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς¹ τῶν Καδμείων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν
 ὁμιλητῆς ἄσημα μὲν ἐπεστράτευσεν ἔχων ὄπλα,
 πραότητα δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην ὡς καὶ² ὑπὸ τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο. διόπερ οἶμαι χρῆ καὶ
 τοὺς ἱερέας ἡμᾶς τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτος σωφρονεῖν,³
 ἵνα τυγχάνωμεν εὐμενῶν τῶν θεῶν· ὡς οὐ μικρά
 γε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνομεν δημούμενοι τὰς
 ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτος καὶ δημοσιεύοντες καὶ παρέχοντες 304
 ἀπλῶς περιβλέπειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥσπερ τι
 θαυμαστόν. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο⁴ συμβαίνει, πολλοὶ
 πελάζουσιν ἡμῖν οὐ καθαροί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χραί-
 νεται τὰ τῶν θεῶν σύμβολα. τὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς

¹ κατὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς Hertlein suggests, καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς MSS.

² ὡς καὶ Hertlein would add.

³ ἡμᾶς—σωφρονεῖν Cobet suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

⁴ εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο Hertlein suggests, εἴπερ ἐκ τούτου MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

without any extravagance. For it is not rational that we should misuse, in empty conceit and vain ostentation, what has been given to us for the honour of the gods. And for this reason we ought in the market place to abstain from too costly dress and from outward show, and in a word from every sort of pretentiousness. For consider how the gods, because they admired the perfect moderation of Amphiaraus,¹ after they had decreed the destruction of that famous army—and he, though he knew that it would be so, went with the expedition and therefore did not escape his fated end,—the gods I say transformed him completely from what he had been, and removed him to the sphere of the gods. For all the others who were in the expedition against Thebes engraved a device on their shields before they had conquered the enemy, and erected trophies to celebrate the downfall of the Cadmeans; but he, the associate of the gods, when he went to war had arms with no device; but gentleness he had, and moderation, as even the enemy bore witness. Hence I think that we priests ought to show moderation in our dress, in order that we may win the goodwill of the gods, since it is no slight offence that we commit against them when we wear in public the sacred dress and make it public property, and in a word give all men an opportunity to stare at it as though it were something marvellous. For whenever this happens, many who are not purified come near us, and by this means the symbols of the gods are polluted. Moreover

¹ Cf. Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes*; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1118

ὁ μάντις Ἀμφιάραος οὐ σημεί' ἔχων
ὑβρισμέν', ἀλλὰ σωφρόνως ἔσημ' ὄπλα.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἱερατικῶς ζῶντας ἱερέων ἐσθῆτα περικεῖσθαι πόσης ἐστὶ παρανομίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰρήσεται μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις¹ δι' ἀκριβείας· νυνὶ δὲ ὡς τύπῳ πρὸς σὲ γράφω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Τοῖς ἀσελγέσι τούτοις θεάτροις τῶν ἱερέων B
μηδεὶς μηδαμοῦ παραβαλλέτω μηδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· πρέπει γὰρ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἷον τε ἦν ἐξελάσαι παντάπασιν αὐτὰ τῶν θεάτρων, ὥστε αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Διόνυσῳ καθαρὰ γενόμενα, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθην αὐτὸ προθύμως κατασκευάσαι. νυνὶ δὲ οἰόμενος C
τοῦτο οὔτε δυνατὸν οὔτε ἄλλως, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν φανείη, συμφέρον ἂν αὐτὸ γενέσθαι, ταύτης μὲν ἀπεσχόμην παντάπασι τῆς φιλοτιμίας· ἀξιῶ δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας ὑποχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀποστῆναι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἀσελγείας. μηδεὶς οὖν ἱερεὺς εἰς θέατρον εἰσίστω, μηδὲ ἐχέτω² φίλον θυμελικὸν μηδὲ ἀρματηλάτην, μηδὲ ὀρχηστῆς μηδὲ μῖμος αὐτοῦ τῇ θύρᾳ προσίτω· τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιτρέπω μόνον τῷ βουλομένῳ παραβάλλειν, D
ὧν ἀπηγόρευται μετέχειν οὐκ ἀγωνίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέας ταῖς γυναιξίν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, ὅσα ταῖς πόλεσιν εἴσω τῶν θεάτρων συντελεῖται, ὡς ἀφεκτέον τούτων ἐστὶν οὐχ ἱερεῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παισὶν ἱερέων;

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως πρὸ τούτων εἰρήσθαι καλόν, ὅθεν καὶ ὅπως χρῆ τοὺς ἱερέας ἀποδεικνύειν· οὐδὲν δὲ ἄτοπον εἰς τοῦτό μοι τοὺς λόγους λῆξαι. ἐγώ 305

¹ ἔν ἄλλοις Cobet would add ; cf. 298 A.

² ἐχέτω Petavius suggests, lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

what lawlessness it is, what arrogance towards the gods for us ourselves when we are not living the priestly life to wear the priestly dress! However, of this too I shall speak more particularly in another place; and what I am writing to you at the moment is only a mere outline of the subject.

No priest must anywhere be present at the licentious theatrical shows of the present day, nor introduce one into his own house; for that is altogether unfitting. Indeed if it were possible to banish such shows absolutely from the theatres so as to restore to Dionysus those theatres pure as of old, I should certainly have endeavoured with all my heart to bring this about; but as it is, since I thought that this is impossible, and that even if it should prove to be possible it would not on other accounts be expedient, I forebore entirely from this ambition. But I do demand that priests should withdraw themselves from the licentiousness of the theatres and leave them to the crowd. Therefore let no priest enter a theatre or have an actor or a chariot-driver for his friend; and let no dancer or mime even approach his door. And as for the sacred games, I permit anyone who will to attend those only in which women are forbidden not only to compete but even to be spectators. With regard to the hunting shows with dogs which are performed in the cities inside the theatres, need I say that not only priests but even the sons of priests must keep away from them?

Now it would perhaps have been well to say earlier from what class of men and by what method priests must be appointed; but it is quite appropriate that my remarks should end with this. I say

LETTER TO A PRIEST

φημι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βελτίστους καὶ μάλιστα
 μὲν φιλοθεωτάτους, ἔπειτα φιλανθρωποτάτους,
 ἐάν τε πένητες ὥσιν ἐάν τε πλούσιοι· διάκρισις
 ἔστω πρὸς τοῦτο μηδ' ἡτισοῦν ἀφανοὺς καὶ
 ἐπιφανοὺς· ὁ γὰρ διὰ πραγμάτων λεληθὼς οὐ διὰ
 τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος ἀφάνειαν δίκαιός ἐστι κω-
 λύεσθαι. καὶ πένης οὖν ἢ τις δημότης ἔχων
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ δύο ταῦτα, τό τε φιλόθεον καὶ τὸ
 φιλάνθρωπον, ἱερεὺς ἀποδεικνύσθω. δεῖγμα δὲ B
 τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς
 τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι, τοῦ
 φιλανθρώπου δέ, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως
 κοινωνεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως,
 εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἂν οἶός τε ᾖ.

Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ
 τὴν ἰατρείαν ἐντεῦθεν ποιητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι
 συνέβη τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορωμένους
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοή- C
 σαντες ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ τῇ φιλανθρωπία, καὶ τὸ
 χεῖριστον τῶν ἔργων διὰ τοῦ εὐδοκιμοῦντος¹ τῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκράτουναν. ὥσπερ γὰρ² οἱ τὰ
 παιδιά διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἔξαπατῶντες τῷ καὶ
 δις καὶ τρὶς προέσθαι πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν
 ἑαυτοῖς, εἰθ', ὅταν ἀποστήσωσι πόρρῳ τῶν οἰκείων,
 ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο, καὶ γέγονεν εἰς
 ἅπαντα τὸν ἐξῆς βίον πικρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον

¹ εὐδοκιμοῦντος Hertlein suggests, καλλίστου δοκοῦντος
 Reiske, δοκοῦντος MSS.

² γὰρ Hertlein would add.

LETTER TO A PRIEST

that the most upright men in every city, by preference those who show most love for the gods, and next those who show most love for their fellow men, must be appointed, whether they be poor or rich. And in this matter let there be no distinction whatever whether they are unknown or well known. For the man who by reason of his gentleness has not won notice ought not to be barred by reason of his want of fame. Even though he be poor and a man of the people, if he possess within himself these two things, love for God and love for his fellow men, let him be appointed priest. And a proof of his love for God is his inducing his own people to show reverence to the gods; a proof of his love for his fellows is his sharing cheerfully, even from a small store, with those in need, and his giving willingly thereof, and trying to do good to as many men as he is able.

We must pay especial attention to this point, and by this means effect a cure. For when it came about that the poor were neglected and overlooked by the priests, then I think the impious Galilaeans observed this fact and devoted themselves to philanthropy. And they have gained ascendancy in the worst of their deeds through the credit they win for such practices. For just as those who entice children with a cake, and by throwing it to them two or three times induce them to follow them, and then, when they are far away from their friends cast them on board a ship and sell them as slaves, and that which for the moment seemed sweet, proves to be bitter for all the rest of their lives—by the same method, I say, the Galilaeans

LETTER TO A PRIEST

γλυκύ, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολὺ· πλείστους ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα. * * *

LETTER TO A PRIEST

also begin with their so-called love-feast, or hospitality, or service of tables,—for they have many ways of carrying it out and hence call it by many names,—and the result is that they have led very many into atheism. . . .¹

¹ The conclusion is lost, and may have been suppressed by Christian copyists.

THE CAESARS

INTRODUCTION

THE *Caesars*, otherwise entitled in the MSS. *Symposium* or *Kronia* (Latin *Saturnalia*) was written at Constantinople in 361 and was probably addressed to Sallust, to whom Julian had sent his lost work the *Kronia*.¹ The interlocutor in the *prooemium*² is almost certainly Sallust.

"Caesar" was in Julian's time a Roman Emperor's most splendid title, and was regularly used by the barbarians when they referred to the Emperor. The idea and the working out of the satire is Lucianic and there are echoes here and there of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, but Julian is neither so witty nor so frivolous as Lucian. In speaking of the gods he allows himself a licence which is appropriate to the festival, but would otherwise seem inconsistent with the admonitions addressed to priests in the *Fragment of a Letter*. His conception of the State and of the ideal ruler is Greek rather than Roman.

¹ cf. *Oration* 4. 157 c.

² 306 A.

Ἐπειδὴ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς παίζειν· ἔστι γὰρ Κρόνια· γελοῖον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τερπνὸν οἶδα ἐγὼ, τὸ μὴ καταγέλαστα φράσαι φροντίδος ἔοικεν εἶναι ἄξιον, ὦ φιλότης.

Εἵτα τίς οὕτω παχύς ἐστι καὶ ἀρχαῖος, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὥστε καὶ παίζειν πεφροντισμένα; ἐγὼ ὦμην τὴν παιδιὰν ἀνεσὶν τε εἶναι ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν φροντίδων.

Ὅρθως γε σὺ τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐμοὶ δὲ Β οὐ ταύτη ἔοικεν ἀπαντᾶν τὸ χρήμα. πέφυκα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτήδειος οὔτε σκώπτειν οὔτε παρῳδεῖν οὔτε γελοιάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χρὴ τῷ νόμῳ πείθεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, βούλει σοι ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρος μῦθον διεξέλθω πολλὰ ἴσως ἔχοντα ἀκοῆς ἄξια;

Λέγοις ἂν καὶ μάλα ἀσμένῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς C οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τοὺς μύθους οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἐξελαύνω τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντας, ἀκόλουθά σοί τε καὶ φίλῳ τῷ σῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ κοινῷ, Πλάτωνι διανοούμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐν μύθοις ἐσπούδασται.

THE CAESARS

"IT is the season of the Kronia,¹ during which the god allows us to make merry. But, my dear friend, as I have no talent for amusing or entertaining I must methinks take pains not to talk mere nonsense."

"But, Caesar, can there be anyone so dull and stupid as to take pains over his jesting? I always thought that such pleasantries were a relaxation of the mind and a relief from pains and cares."

"Yes, and no doubt your view is correct, but that is not how the matter strikes me. For by nature I have no turn for raillery, or parody, or raising a laugh. But since I must obey the ordinance of the god of the festival, should you like me to relate to you by way of entertainment a myth in which there is perhaps much that is worth hearing?"

"I shall listen with great pleasure, for I too am not one to despise myths, and I am far from rejecting those that have the right tendency; indeed I am of the same opinion as you and your admired, or rather the universally admired, Plato. He also often conveyed a serious lesson in his myths."

¹ Better known by its Latin name Saturnalia. Saturn is the Greek Kronos.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Λέγεις ναὶ μὰ Δία ταῦτα ἀληθῆ.

Τίς δὲ καὶ ποταπὸς ὁ μῦθος;

Οὐ τῶν παλαιῶν τις, ὁποίους Αἰσωπος ἐποίη- 301
σεν, ἀλλ' εἴτε πλάσμα λέγοις Ἑρμοῦ· πεπυ-
σμένος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκείθεν σοι φράσω· εἴτε καὶ
τάληθές οὕτως ἔχει εἴτε μίξις τίς ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν,
αὐτό, φασί,¹ δείξει τὸ πρᾶγμα.

Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν ἤδη μυθικῶς ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῶς
ἐξείργασταί σοι τὸ προοίμιον· ἀλλὰ μοι τὸν
λόγον αὐτόν, ὁποῖός ποτέ ἐστιν, ἤδη διέξελθε.

Μανθάνοις ἄν.

Θύων ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὰ Κρόνια πάντας ἐκάλει B
τοὺς θεούς, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς² τοὺς καίσαρας.
κλῖναι δὲ ἐτύγχανον παρεσκευασμένοι τοῖς μὲν
θεοῖς ἄνω κατ' αὐτό, φασίν, οὐρανοῦ τὸ μετέωρον,

Οὐλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

λέγεται γὰρ μεθ' Ἡρακλέα παρελθεῖν ἐκείσε
καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος, ᾧ δὴ χρὴ καλεῖν αὐτὸν ὀνόματι,
τῇ θείᾳ πειθομένους φήμη. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς
ἐκείσε παρεσκεύαστο τὸ συμπόσιον· ὑπ' αὐτὴν δὲ C
τὴν σελήνην ἐπὶ μετεώρου τοῦ ἀέρος ἐδέδοκτο
τοὺς καίσαρας δειπνεῖν. ἀνείχε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ τε
τῶν σωμάτων κουφότης, ἅπερ ἐτύγχανον ἡμφιε-
σμένοι, καὶ ἡ περιφορὰ τῆς σελήνης. κλῖναι μὲν
οὖν ἔκειντο τέτταρες, εὐτρεπεῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις
θεοῖς. ἐβένου μὲν ἦν ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου στιλβούσης
καὶ πολλὴν ἐν τῷ μέλανι καὶ θείαν αὐγὴν κρυ-
πτούσης, ὥστε οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἦν ἀντιβλέπειν.

¹ φασί Cobet, lacuna V., Hertlein, ἐπιδείξει MSS.

² αὐτοὺς Hertlein suspects to be an interpolation

THE CAESARS

"By Zeus, that is true indeed!"

"But what is your myth and of what type?"

"Not one of those old-fashioned ones such as Aesop¹ wrote. But whether you should call mine an invention of Hermes—for it was from him I learned what I am going to tell you—or whether it is really true or a mixture of truth and fiction, the upshot, as the saying is, will decide."

"This is indeed a fine preface that you have composed, just the thing for a myth, not to say an oration! But now pray tell me the tale itself, whatever its type may be."

"Attend."

At the festival of the Kronia Romulus gave a banquet, and invited not only all the gods, but the Emperors as well. For the gods couches had been prepared on high, at the very apex, so to speak, of the sky,² on "Olympus where they say is the seat of the gods, unshaken for ever."³ For we are told that after Heracles, Quirinus also ascended thither, since we must give Romulus the name of Quirinus in obedience to the divine will.⁴ For the gods then the banquet had been made ready there. But just below the moon in the upper air he had decided to entertain the Emperors. The lightness of the bodies with which they had been invested, and also the revolution of the moon sustained them. Four couches were there made ready for the superior gods. That of Kronos was made of gleaming ebony, which concealed in its blackness a lustre so intense and divine that no one

¹ *i.e.* not a fable with a moral nor an animal fable.

² Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 B.

³ *Odyssey* 6. 42.

⁴ Cf. *Oration* 4. 149 B, 154 D.

ἔπασχε δὲ ταὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἔβεινον ἐκείνην τὰ D
 ὄμματα δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς λαμπηδόνης, ὅπερ οἶμαι
 πρὸς ἥλιον, ὅταν αὐτοῦ τῷ δίσκῳ τις ἀτενέστερον
 προσβλέπη. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ἦν ἀργύρου μὲν
 στιλπνοτέρα, χρυσοῦ δὲ λευκοτέρα. τοῦτο εἴτε
 ἤλεκτρον χρῆ καλεῖν εἴτε ἄλλο τι λέγειν, οὐ
 σφόδρα εἶχέ μοι γνωρίμως ὁ Ἑρμῆς φράσαι.
 χρυσοθρόνῳ δὲ παρ' ἐκάτερον ἐκαθεζέσθην¹ ἢ τε
 μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, Ἥρα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Δία, 308
 Ῥέα δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κρόνον. τὸ δὲ τῶν θεῶν κάλλος
 οὐδὲ ἐκείνος ἐπεξήει τῷ λόγῳ, μείζον εἶναι λέγων
 αὐτὸ καὶ νῶ θεατόν, ἀκοῇ δὲ καὶ ῥήμασιν οὔτε
 προοισθῆναι ῥάδιον οὔτε παραδεχθῆναι δυνατόν.
 οὐχ οὕτω τις ἔσται καὶ φανείται μεγαλόφωνος,
 ὥστε τὸ μέγεθος ἐκείνο φράσαι τοῦ κάλλους,
 ὅποσον ἐπιπρέπει τῇ τῶν θεῶν ὄψει.

Παρεσκευάστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐκάστῳ B
 θρόνος ἢ κλίνη κατὰ πρεσβείαν. ἤριζε δὲ οὐδεὶς,
 ἀλλ' ὅπερ Ὀμηρος ὀρθῶς ποιῶν ἔφη, δοκεῖν μοι
 παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν αὐτῶν ἀκηκοώς, ἔχειν ἕκαστον
 τῶν θεῶν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὐ πάντως αὐτῷ θέμις
 καθῆσθαι στερεῶς καὶ ἀμετακινήτως· ἐπεὶ καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξανιστάμενοι
 ταράττουσιν οὐδαμῶς τὰς καθέδρας οὐδὲ μετα-
 βαίνουσιν οὐδὲ ὑφαρπάζουσιν ἀλλήλων, γνωρίζει C
 δὲ ἕκαστος τὸ προσήκον αὐτῷ. πάντων οὖν
 κύκλῳ τῶν θεῶν καθημένων, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐρωτικῶς
 ἔχειν μοι δοκῶν τοῦ Διονύσου καλοῦ καὶ νέου καὶ

¹ ἐκαθεζέσθην Hertlein suggests, ἐκαθεζετον V., ἐκαθεζέτην MSS.

THE CAESARS

could endure to gaze thereon. For in looking at that ebony, the eyes suffered as much, methinks, from its excess of radiance as from the sun when one gazes too intently at his disc. The couch of Zeus was more brilliant than silver, but paler than gold; whether however one ought to call this "electron,"¹ or to give it some other name, Hermes could not inform me precisely. On either side of these sat on golden thrones the mother and daughter, Hera beside Zeus and Rhea beside Kronos. As for the beauty of the gods, not even Hermes tried to describe it in his tale; he said that it transcended description, and must be comprehended by the eye of the mind; for in words it was hard to portray and impossible to convey to mortal ears. Never indeed will there be or appear an orator so gifted that he could describe such surpassing beauty as shines forth on the countenances of the gods.

For the other gods had been prepared a throne or couch, for everyone according to seniority. Nor did any dispute arise as to this, but as Homer said,² and correctly, no doubt instructed by the Muses themselves, every god has his seat on which it is irrevocably ordained that he shall sit, firmly and immovably fixed; and though they rise on the entrance of their father they never confound or change the order of their seats or infringe on one another's, since every one knows his appointed place.

Now when the gods were seated in a circle, Silenus, amorous, methinks, of Dionysus ever fair and

¹ Cf. Martial 8. 51. 5: "Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo"; it is often uncertain whether electron means amber, or a combination of $\frac{1}{4}$ gold and $\frac{1}{4}$ silver.

² This is not in our Homer, but Julian may have in mind *Iliad* 11. 76.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Διὶ παραπλησίον πλησίον αὐτοῦ,
 τροφεύς τις οἶα καὶ παιδαγωγός, καθῆστο, τά τε D
 ἄλλα φιλοπαίγμονα καὶ φιλόγελων καὶ χαρι-
 τοδότῃν¹ ὄντα τὸν θεὸν εὐφραίνων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ
 σκώπτειν τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γελοιάζειν.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν καισάρων συνεκεκρότητο²
 συμπόσιον, εἰσῆει πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὑπὸ
 φιλοτιμίας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἐρίσαι τῷ Διὶ περὶ
 τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς δὲ ὁ Σειληνὸς βλέψας, "Ορα,
 εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, μή σε ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας
 ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανοηθῇ. καὶ γάρ,
 ὡς ὀρᾷς, ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ καλός· ἐμοὶ γοῦν, εἰ καὶ
 μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστι 309
 προσόμοιος. παίζοντος ἔτι τοιαῦτα τοῦ Σειληνοῦ
 καὶ τῶν θεῶν οὐ σφόδρα προσεχόντων αὐτῷ,
 Ὀκταβιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται πολλὰ ἀμείβων, ὥσπερ
 οἱ χαμαιλέοντες, χρώματα καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων,
 αὐθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γινόμενος, εἶτα μέλας καὶ ζοφώ-
 δης καὶ συννεφής· ἀνίετο δ' αὐθις εἰς Ἀφροδίτην B
 καὶ Χάριτας, εἶναί τε ἤθελε τὰς βολὰς τῶν
 ὀμμάτων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας Ἥλιος· οὐδένα
 γάρ οἱ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων³ ἀντιβλέπειν ἤξιον. καὶ
 ὁ Σειληνός, Βαβαί, ἔφη, τοῦ παντοδαποῦ τούτου
 θηρίου· τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσεται;
 Παῦσαι, εἶπε, ληρῶν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 αὐτὸν τουτῷ Ζήνωνι παραδοὺς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν
 ἀποφανῶ χρυσὸν ἀκήρατον. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπεν, ὦ C
 Ζήνων, ἐπιμελήθητι τοῦμοῦ θρέμματος. ὁ δὲ

¹ χαριτοδότῃν Spanheim, cf. 148 D, χαριδοτῃν Hertlein, MSS.

² συνεκεκρότητο Hertlein suggests, συνεκροτεῖτο MSS.

³ ἀπαντῶντων Spanheim, πάντων Hertlein, MSS.

THE CAESARS

ever young, who sat close to Zeus his father, took his seat next to him on the pretext that he had brought him up and was his tutor. And since Dionysus loves jesting and laughter and is the giver of the Graces, Silenus diverted the god with a continual flow of sarcasms and jests, and in other ways besides.

When the banquet had been arranged for the Emperors also, Julius Caesar entered first, and such was his passion for glory that he seemed ready to contend with Zeus himself for dominion. Whereupon Silenus observing him said, "Take care, Zeus, lest this man in his lust for power be minded to rob you of your empire. He is, as you see, tall and handsome, and if he resembles me in nothing else, round about his head he is very like me."¹ While Silenus, to whom the gods paid very little attention, was jesting thus, Octavian entered, changing colour continually, like a chameleon, turning now pale now red; one moment his expression was gloomy, sombre, and overcast, the next he unbent and showed all the charms of Aphrodite and the Graces. Moreover in the glances of his eyes he was fain to resemble mighty Helios, for he preferred that none who approached should be able to meet his gaze.² "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Silenus, "what a changeable monster is this! What mischief will he do us?" "Cease trifling," said Apollo, "after I have handed him over to Zeno³ here, I shall transform him for you straightway to gold without alloy. Come, Zeno," he cried, "take charge of my nursling." Zeno obeyed, and thereupon, by reciting over Octavian a few of his

¹ Silenus is usually represented as bald.

² Suetonius, *Augustus* 16.

³ The Stoic philosopher.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὑπακούσας, εἶτα ἐπάσας αὐτῷ μικρὰ τῶν δογμάτων; ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Ζαμόλξιδος ἐπιδὰς θρυλοῦντες, ἀπέφηνεν ἄνδρα ἔμφρονα καὶ σώφρονα.

Τρίτος ἐπεισέδραμεν αὐτοῖς Τιβέριος σεμνὸς τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ βλοσυρός, σῶφρόν τε ἄμα καὶ πολεμικὸν βλέπων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν καθέδραν ὥφθησαν ὠτειλαὶ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον μυρίαί, καυτῆρές τινες καὶ ξέσματα καὶ πληγαὶ χαλεπαὶ D καὶ μώλωπες ὑπὸ τε ἀκολασίας καὶ ὀμότητος ψῶραί τινες καὶ λειχῆνες οἶον ἐγκεκαυμένοι. εἶθ' ὁ Σειληνὸς

Ἄλλοιός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν εἰπὼν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι σπουδαιότερος. καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος πρὸς αὐτόν, Τί δῆτα, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον σπουδάξεις; καὶ ὅς, Ἐξέπληξέ με ὁ γέρων οὐτοσί, ὁ Σάτυρος, ἔφη, καὶ πεποίηκεν ἐκλαθόμενον ἑμαυτοῦ τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς προβαλέσθαι μούσας. ἀλλὰ σε, εἶπεν, ἔλξει τῶν ὧτων 310 λέγεται γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ γραμματιστὴν τινα τοῦτο ἐργάσασθαι. οἰμώζων μὲν οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ νησυδρίῳ τὰς Καπρέας αἰνιττόμενος· τὸν ἄθλιον ἀλιέα ψηχέτω. ταῦτα ἔτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται θηρίον πονηρόν. εἶτα οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ ὄμματα, κᾶτα αὐτὸν δίδωσιν ἢ Δίκη ταῖς Ποιναῖς, αἱ δὲ ἔρριψαν εἰς B

THE CAESARS

doctrines,¹ in the fashion of those who mutter the incantations of Zamolxis,² he made him wise and temperate.

The third to hasten in was Tiberius, with countenance solemn and grim, and an expression at once sober and martial. But as he turned to sit down his back was seen to be covered with countless scars, burns, and sores, painful welts and bruises, while ulcers and abscesses were as though branded thereon, the result of his self-indulgent and cruel life.³ Whereupon Silenus cried out, "Far different, friend, thou appearest now than before,"⁴ and seemed more serious than was his wont. "Pray, why so solemn, little father?" said Dionysus. "It was this old satyr," he replied, "he shocked me and made me forget myself and introduce Homer's Muse." "Take care," said Dionysus, "he will pull your ear, as he is said to have done to a certain grammarian."⁵ "Plague take him," said Silenus, "in his little island"—he was alluding to Capri—"let him scratch the face of that wretched fisherman."⁶ While they were still joking together, there came in a fierce monster.⁷ Thereupon all the gods turned away their eyes from the sight, and next moment Justice handed him over to the Avengers who

¹ Julian probably alludes to the influence on Augustus of Athenodorus the Stoic.

² A deity among the Thracians, who according to one tradition had been a slave of Pythagoras; cf. Herodotus 4. 94; Plato, *Charmides* 156 D; Julian 8. 244 A.

³ Cf. Plato, *Gorgias* 525 D, E; *Republic* 611 C; Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 6; Lucian, *Cataplus* 27.

⁴ *Odyssey* 16. 181; there is a play on the word *πρόπιθεν* which means also "in front."

⁵ i.e. Seleucus; cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 56, 70.

⁶ Suetonius, *Tiberius* 60.

⁷ Caligula.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Τάρταρον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔσχευεν ὁ Σειληνὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράσαι. τοῦ Κλαυδίου δὲ ἐπεισελθόντος, ὁ Σειληνὸς ἄρχεται τοὺς Ἀριστοφάνους Ἰππέας ἄδειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δήμου¹ κολακεύων δῆθεν τὸν Κλαύδιον. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν Κυρίνου ἀπιδὼν, Ἀδικεῖς, εἶπεν, ὦ Κυρίνε, τὸν ἀπόγονον ἄγων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον δίχα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ναρκίσσου καὶ Πάλλαντος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, εἶπε, πέμψον ἐπ' ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Μεσσαλίαν. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκείνων δίχα τουτὶ τῆς τρα- C γωδίας τὸ δορυφόρημα, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, καὶ ἄψυχον. ἐπείσερχεται λέγοντι τῷ Σειληνῷ Νέρων μετὰ τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῆς δάφνης. εἶτα ἀποβλέψας ἐκείνος πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, Οὗτος, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ σὲ παρασκευάζεται. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε αὐτόν, εἶπεν, ἀποστεφανώσω, ὅτι με μὴ πάντα μιμεῖται μηδὲ ἐν οἷς με μιμεῖται γίγνεται μου μιμητῆς δίκαιος. ἀποστεφανωθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωκυτὸς εὐθέως ἤρπασεν.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ καὶ παντοδαποὶ συνέτρεχον, D Βίνδικες, Γάλβαι, Ὅθωνες, Βιτέλλιοι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Τούτων, εἶπε, τῶν μονάρχων τὸ σμῆνος² πόθεν ἐξηυρήκατε, ὦ θεοί; τυφόμεθα γοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ· φείδεται γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ταυτὶ τὰ θηρία. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπιδὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Σάραπιν καὶ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν 311 δείξας, Πέμπε, εἶπε, τὸν σμικρίνην τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταχέως, ἵνα τὴν φλόγα ταύτην κατασβέσῃ· τῶν παιδῶν δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον

¹ Δήμου Cobet, δήμου Hertlein, MSS., Δημοσθένους Spanheim. ² τὸ σμῆνος Hertlein suggests, τὸν δῆμον MSS.

THE CAESARS

hurled him into Tartarus. So Silenus had no chance to say anything about him. But when Claudius came in Silenus began to sing some verses from the *Knights* of Aristophanes,¹ toadying Claudius, as it seemed, instead of Demos. Then he looked at Quirinus and said, "Quirinus, it is not kind of you to invite your descendant to a banquet without his freedmen Narcissus and Pallas.² Come," he went on, "send and fetch them, and please send too for his spouse Messalina, for without them this fellow is like a lay-figure in a tragedy, I might almost say lifeless."³ While Silenus was speaking Nero entered, lyre in hand and wearing a wreath of laurel. Whereupon Silenus turned to Apollo and said, "You see he models himself on you." "I will soon take off that wreath," replied Apollo, "for he does not imitate me in all things, and even when he does he does it badly." Then his wreath was taken off and Cocytus instantly swept him away.

After Nero many Emperors of all sorts came crowding in together, Vindex, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, so that Silenus exclaimed, "Where, ye gods, have ye found such a swarm of monarchs? We are being suffocated with their smoke; for brutes of this sort spare not even the temple of the gods."⁴ Then Zeus turned to his brother Serapis, and pointing to Vespasian said, "Send this niggard from Egypt forthwith to extinguish the flames. As for his sons, bid the

¹ *Knights* 1111 foll.

² Their riches were proverbial, cf. Juvenal 1. 109; 14. 32.

³ Tacitus, *Annals* 11. 12; Juvenal 10. 330 foll.

⁴ An allusion partly to the smoke of civil war, partly to the burning of the temple of Jupiter Capitoline under Vitellius; the temple was restored by Vespasian; Tacitus, *Annals* 4. 81.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μὲν παίζειν κέλευε μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς
 πανδήμου, τὸν νεώτερον δὲ τῷ Σικελικῷ θηρίῳ
 παραπλησίως κλοιῷ δῆσον. παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τού-
 τοις γέρων ὀφθῆναι καλός· λάμπει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε
 καὶ ἐν τῷ γῆρα τὸ κάλλος· ἐντυχεῖν πραότατος,
 χρηματίσαι δικαιοτάτος. ἠδέσθη τοῦτον ὁ Σει- B
 ληνὸς καὶ ἀπεσιώπησεν. εἶτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Ὑπὲρ
 δὲ τούτου, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν λέγεις; Ναὶ μὰ
 Δί', ἔφη, - μέμφομαί γε ὑμῖν τῆς ἀνισότητος.
 τῷ γὰρ φονικῷ θηρίῳ τρεῖς πέντε νεύμαντες
 ἐνιαυτοὺς ἓνα μόλις ἐδώκατε τούτῳ βασιλεῦσαι.
 Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέμφου, εἶπεν ὁ Ζεὺς· εἰσάξω γὰρ C
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς κάγαθους. εὐθέως οὖν ὁ
 Τραϊανὸς εἰσήρχετο φέρων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ
 τρόπαια, τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικόν. ἰδὼν
 δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, λανθάνειν τε ἅμα καὶ
 ἀκούεσθαι βουλόμενος, Ὡρα νῦν τῷ δεσπότῃ Διὶ
 σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ὁ Γανυμήδης αὐτῷ φρουρήσεται.

Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐπεισέρχεται βαθείαν ἔχων τὴν
 ὑπήνην ἀνὴρ σοβαρὸς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ D
 μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἷς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν
 πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα.
 τοῦτον δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Τί δὲ ὑμῖν οὗτος
 ὁ σοφιστὴς δοκεῖ; μὲν Ἀντίνοον τῇδε περι-
 σκοπεῖ; φρασάτω τις αὐτῷ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ
 μεῖράκιον ἐνθαδὶ καὶ παυσάτω τοῦ λήρου καὶ
 τῆς φλυαρίας αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὴρ εἰσέρχεται 31
 σώφρων, οὐ τὰ ἐς Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς τὴν
 πολιτείαν. ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνὸς ἔφη, Βαβαί
 τῆς σμικρολογίας· εἰς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν
 διαπριόντων τὸ κύμινον ὁ πρεσβύτης οὗτος.
 ἐπεισελθούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ξυνωρί-

THE CAESARS

eldest¹ sport with Aphrodite Pandemos and chain the younger² in the stocks like the Sicilian monster.”³ Next entered an old man,⁴ beautiful to behold; for even old age can be radiantly beautiful. Very mild were his manners, most just his dealings. In Silenus he inspired such awe that he fell silent. “What!” said Hermes, “have you nothing to say to us about this man?” “Yes, by Zeus,” he replied, “I blame you gods for your unfairness in allowing that blood-thirsty monster to rule for fifteen years, while you granted this man scarce one whole year.” “Nay,” said Zeus, “do not blame us. For I will bring in many virtuous princes to succeed him.” Accordingly Trajan entered forthwith, carrying on his shoulders the trophies of his wars with the Getae and the Parthians. Silenus, when he saw him, said in a whisper which he meant to be heard, “Now is the time for Zeus our master to look out, if he wants to keep Ganymede for himself.”

Next entered an austere-looking man⁵ with a long beard, an adept in all the arts, but especially music, one who was always gazing at the heavens and prying into hidden things. Silenus when he saw him said, “What think ye of this sophist? Can he be looking here for Antinous? One of you should tell him that the youth is not here, and make him cease from his madness and folly.” Thereupon entered a man⁶ of temperate character, I do not say in love affairs but in affairs of state. When Silenus caught sight of him he exclaimed, “Bah! Such fussing about trifles! This old man seems to me the sort of person who would split cumin seed.”⁷

¹ Titus.

² Domitian.

³ Phalaris of Agrigentum.

⁴ Nerva.

⁵ Hadrian.

⁶ Antoninus Pius.

⁷ A proverb for niggardliness; cf. Theocritus 10. 50.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δος, Βήρου καὶ Λουκίου, δεινῶς ὁ Σειληνὸς συνεστάλη. παίζειν γὰρ οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπισκώπτειν, μάλιστα τὸν Βήρον, καίτοι καὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πολυπραγμονῶν ἀμαρτήματα, τὴν μὲν ὅτι πλέον ἢ προσήκεν **B** ἐπένθησεν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ κοσμίαν οὖσαν, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν συναπολλυμένην περιεῖδεν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα σπουδαῖον κηδεστήν, ὃς τῶν τε κοινῶν ἂν προύστη κρεῖττον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βέλτιον ἂν ἐπεμελήθη ἢ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ. καίπερ οὖν ταῦτα πολυπραγμονῶν ἤδειτο τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς· τὸν γε μὴν υἱέα οὐδὲ τοῦ σκωφθῆναι νομίσας ἄξιον ἀφήκεν· **C** ἐπιπτε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς γῆν οὐ δυνάμενος ἴστασθαι¹ καὶ παρομαρτεῖν τοῖς ἥρωσιν.

Ἐπεισέρχεται Περτίναξ τῷ συμποσίῳ τὴν σφαγὴν ὀδυρόμενος. ἡ Δίκη δὲ αὐτὸν κατελέσασα, Ἄλλ' οὐ χαιρήσουσιν, εἶπεν, οἱ τούτων αἵτιοι· καὶ σὺ δέ, ὦ Περτίναξ, ἡδίκεις κοινωνῶν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς σκέμμασιν, ἦν ὁ Μάρκου παῖς ἐπεβουλεύθη. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ **D** Σεβήρος, ἀνὴρ πικρίας γέμων καὶ² κολαστικός. Ὑπὲρ τούτου δέ, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, οὐδὲν λέγω· φοβοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ λίαν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἀπαραίτητον. ὥς δὲ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια³ συννεισιέναι, πόρρωθεν αὐτὰ διεκώλυσεν ὁ Μίνως. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ σαφῶς τὸν μὲν νεώτερον ἀφήκε, τὸν

¹ ἴστασθαι Cobet, ἵστασθαι Hertlein, MSS.

² καὶ before κολαστικός Hertlein suggests.

³ παιδάρια Cobet, MSS., παιδαρίδια Hertlein, V., m.

THE CAESARS

Next entered the pair of brothers, Verus¹ and Lucius.² Silenus scowled horribly because he could not jeer or scoff at them, especially not at Verus; but he would not ignore his errors of judgment in the case of his son³ and his wife,⁴ in that he mourned the latter beyond what was becoming, especially considering that she was not even a virtuous woman; and he failed to see that his son was ruining the empire as well as himself, and that though Verus had an excellent son-in-law who would have administered the state better, and besides would have managed the youth better than he could manage himself. But though he refused to ignore these errors he revered the exalted virtue of Verus. His son however he considered not worth even ridicule and so let him pass. Indeed he fell to earth of his own accord because he could not keep on his feet or accompany the heroes.

Then Pertinax came in to the banquet still bewailing his violent end. But Justice took pity on him and said, "Nay, the authors of this deed shall not long exult. But Pertinax, you too were guilty, since at least so far as conjecture went you were privy to the plot that was aimed at the son of Marcus." Next came Severus, a man of excessively harsh temper and delighting to punish. "Of him," said Silenus, "I have nothing to say, for I am terrified by his forbidding and implacable looks." When his sons would have entered with him, Minos kept them at a distance. However, when he had clearly discerned their characters, he let the younger⁵ pass, but sent away the elder⁶ to atone

¹ Verus was the family name of Marcus Aurelius.

² Lucius Verus.

³ Commodus.

⁴ Faustina.

⁵ Geta.

⁶ Caracalla.

δὲ πρεσβύτερον τιμωρίαν ἔπεμψε τίσοντα. Μα- 313
κρίνος ἐνταῦθα φυγὰς μαιφόνος· εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Ἑμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω που τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλαύ-
νετο περιβόλων. ὃ γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος
ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν
ποτνιώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν
εἶπεν¹ ὦ μῶρε καὶ μέγα νήπιε, τηλικούτος ὢν
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἦρχες τῶν σεαυτοῦ, τὰ χρήματα δὲ
ἐδίδους τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπέισθης, ὅσῳ κρεῖττον B
ἀναλίσκειν ἢν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἢ θησαυρίζειν.
Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, πάντας αὐτούς, ὅσοι
μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τούτων, κολασθησομένους
παραδώσω. καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μεράκιον. ἐπὶ
τούτῳ παρήλθεν εἰσω Γαλλιῆνος μετὰ τοῦ πα-
τρός, ὁ μὲν τὰ δεσμὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔχων,
ὁ δὲ στολῇ τε καὶ κινήσει χρώμενος μαλακωτέρα C
ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς πρὸς μὲν
ἐκείνον,

Τίς οὗτος ὁ λευκολόφας,

Πρόπαρ ὃς ἡγεῖται στρατοῦ;

ἔφη, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Γαλλιῆνον,

Ὅς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντῃ τρυφᾷ ἤυτε κούρη·
τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπε τῆς ἐκείσε θοίνης ἐκβῆναι.

Τούτοις ἐπεισέρχεται Κλαύδιος, εἰς ὃν ἀπι- D
δόντες οἱ θεοὶ πάντες ἡγάσθησάν τε αὐτὸν τῆς
μεγαλοφυχίας καὶ ἐπένευσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ γένει τὴν
ἀρχήν, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίσαντες οὕτω φιλοπάτρι-
δος ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἐν ἡγε-
μονίᾳ. τούτοις ἐπεισέδραμεν Αὐρηλιανὸς ὥσπερ
ἀποδιδράσκων τοὺς εἵργοντας αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ

¹ εἶπεν Hertlein suggests, ἐπεῖπεν MSS,

THE CAESARS

for his crimes. Next Macrinus, assassin and fugitive, and after him the pretty boy from Emesa¹ were driven far away from the sacred enclosure. But Alexander the Syrian sat down somewhere in the lowest ranks and loudly lamented his fate.² Silenus made fun of him and exclaimed, "O fool and madman! Exalted as you were you could not govern your own family, but gave your revenues to your mother:³ nor could you be persuaded how much better it was to bestow them on your friends than to hoard them." "I however," said Justice, "will consign to torment all who were accessory to his death." And then the youth was left in peace. Next entered Gallienus and his father,⁴ the latter still dragging the chains of his captivity, the other with the dress and languishing gait of a woman. Seeing Valerian, Silenus cried, "Who is this with the white plume that leads the army's van?"⁵ Then he greeted Gallienus with, "He who is all decked with gold and dainty as a maiden."⁶ But Zeus ordered the pair to depart from the feast.

Next came Claudius,⁷ at whom all the gods gazed, and admiring his greatness of soul granted the empire to his descendants, since they thought it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should rule as long as possible. Then Aurelian came rushing in as though trying to escape from those who would detain him before the judgment seat of Minos.

¹ Heliogabalus ; cf. *Oration* 4. 150 D, note.

² Alexander Severus was assassinated in 235 A.D.

³ Mammaea.

⁴ Valerian died in captivity among the Persians.

⁵ Euripides, *Phoenissae* 120.

⁶ Slightly altered from *Iliad* 2. 872,

⁷ Cf. *Oration* 1, 6 D.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Μίνωι· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίσταντο δίκαι τῶν
 ἀδίκων φόνων, καὶ ἔφευγε τὰς γραφὰς κακῶς
 ἀπολογούμενος. Ἦλιος δὲ οὐμὸς δεσπότης αὐτῷ 314
 πρὸς τε τὰ ἄλλα βοηθῶν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ
 πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτὸ συνήρατο, φράσας ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς,
 Ἄλλ' ἀπέτισε τὴν δίκην, ἣ λέληθεν ἡ δοθείσα
 Δελφοῖς μαντεία

Αἶκε πάθῃ τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο;

Τούτῳ συνεισέρχεται Πρόβος, ὃς ἐβδομήκοντα
 πόλεις ἀναστήσας ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἑπτὰ B
 καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ σωφρόνως οἰκονομήσας, ἄδικα δὲ
 πεπονθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθέων, ἐτιμᾶτο τά τε ἄλλα
 καὶ τῷ τοὺς φονέας αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην ἐκτίσαι.
 σκώπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅμως ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπειρᾶτο,
 καίτοι πολλῶν αὐτῷ σιωπᾶν παρακελευομένων·
 ἀλλ', Ἐᾶτε, ἔφη, νῦν γοῦν δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐξῆς
 φρενωθῆναι. οὐκ οἶσθα, ὦ Πρόβε, ὅτι τὰ πικρὰ C
 φάρμακα μινγνύντες οἱ ἱατροὶ τῷ μελικράτῳ προσ-
 φέρουσι; σὺ δὲ αὐστηρὸς ἦσθα λίαν καὶ τραχὺς
 αἰεὶ εἶκων τε οὐδαμοῦ· πέπονθας οὖν ἄδικα μέν,
 εἰκότα δὲ ὅμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε
 βοῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε ἡμιόνων, ἥκιστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων,
 μή τι καὶ τῶν κεχαρισμένων αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦντα,
 ὥσπερ ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν οἱ ἱατροὶ μικρὰ
 ἐνδιδόασιν, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς μείζουσιν ἔχωσιν αὐτοὺς D
 πειθομένους. Τί τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ὦ παπ-
 πία; φιλόσοφος ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης; οὐ γάρ, ὦ παῖ,

THE CAESARS

For many charges of unjustifiable murders were brought against him, and he was in flight because he could ill defend himself against the indictments. But my lord Helios¹ who had assisted him on other occasions, now too came to his aid and declared before the gods, "He has paid the penalty, or have you forgotten the oracle uttered at Delphi, 'If his punishment match his crime justice has been done'?"²

With Aurelian entered Probus, who in less than seven years restored seventy cities and was in many ways a wise administrator. Since he had been unjustly treated by impious men the gods paid him honours, and moreover exacted the penalty from his assassins. For all that, Silenus tried to jest at his expense, though many of the gods urged him to be silent. In spite of them he called out, "Now let those that follow him learn wisdom from his example. Probus, do you not know that when physicians give bitter medicines they mix them with honey?"³ But you were always too austere and harsh and never displayed toleration. And so your fate, though unjust, was natural enough. For no one can govern horses or cattle or mules, still less men, unless he sometimes yields to them and gratifies their wishes; just as physicians humour their patients in trifles so that they may make them obey in things more essential." "What now, little father," exclaimed Dionysus, "have you turned up as our philosopher?"

¹ Cf. *Oration* 4. 155 B.

² An oracular verse ascribed to Rhadamanthus by Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics* 5. 5. 3; attributed to Hesiod, *Fragments* 150 Goettling; it became a proverb.

³ Plato, *Laws* 659 E; a rhetorical commonplace; Themistius 63 B.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἔφη, καὶ σὺ φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γέγονας; οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰκὼς ἐμοί, τὰ πρωτεῖα κατὰ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπηνέγκατο τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τὰδελεφῶ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀψευδής; ἔα τοίνυν ἡμᾶς μὴ πάντα γελοῖα λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖα.

*Ετι διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὃ τε 315
Κᾶρος ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν εἰσφρῆσαι βουλευθεὶς εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀπελήλατο παρὰ τῆς Δίκης, καὶ ὁ Διοκλητιανός, ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Μαξιμιανῶ τε τῷ δύο καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πάππον Κωνστάντιον, ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγεν. εἶχοντο δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χεῖρι, καὶ ἐβάδιζον οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης, ἀλλ' οἶα χορός τις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, τῶν μὲν ὥσπερ δορυφορούντων καὶ προθεῖν B
αὐτοῦ βουλομένων, τοῦ δὲ εἵργοντος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡξίου πλεονεκτεῖν. ὥς δὲ ξυνίει κάμνοντος ἑαυτοῦ, δούς αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, αὐτὸς εὖλυτος ἐβάδιζεν. ἠγάσθησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοῖς πρὸ πολλῶν πάνυ καθῆσθαι. δεινῶς δὲ ὄντα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν ἀκόλαστον ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτειν μὲν οὐκ ἡξίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκ εἰσεδέχετο C
συσσίτιον. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἦν παντοίαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀσελγής, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοπράγμων καὶ ἄπιστος καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα τῷ τετραχόρδῳ συνωδῶν. ἐξήλασεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἡ Δίκη ταχέως. εἶτα ἀπῆλθεν οὐκ οἶδα ὅποι γῆς· ἐπελαθόμην γὰρ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ παναρμονίῳ τετραχόρδῳ παραφύεται δεινὸν

THE CAESARS

"Why, my son," he replied, "did I not make a philosopher of you? Do you not know that Socrates also, who was so like me,¹ carried off the prize for philosophy from his contemporaries, at least if you believe that your brother² tells the truth? So you must allow me to be serious on occasion and not always jocose."

While they were talking, Carus and his sons tried to slip into the banquet, but Justice drove them away. Next Diocletian advanced in pomp, bringing with him the two Maximians and my grandfather Constantius.³ These latter held one another by the hand and did not walk alongside of Diocletian, but formed a sort of chorus round him. And when they wished to run before him as a bodyguard he prevented them, since he did not think himself entitled to more privileges than they. But when he realised that he was growing weary he gave over to them all the burdens that he carried on his shoulders, and thereafter walked with greater ease. The gods admired their unanimity and permitted them to sit far in front of many of their predecessors. Maximian was so grossly intemperate that Silenus wasted no jests on him, and he was not allowed to join the emperors at their feast. For not only did he indulge in vicious passions of all sorts, but proved meddlesome and disloyal and often introduced discord into that harmonious quartette. Justice therefore banished him without more ado. So he went I know not whither, for I forgot to interrogate Hermes on this point. However into that harmonious symphony of

¹ Cf. Plato, *Symposium* 215; cf. Julian, *Oration* 6. 187 A.

² A reference to the oracle of Apollo which declared that Socrates was the wisest man of his times.

³ Cf. *Oration* 1. 7 A, B.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

καὶ τραχὺ καὶ ταραχώδες σύστημα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν D
 δύο οὐδὲ τῶν προθύρων ἄψασθαι τῆς τῶν ἡρώων
 ἀγορᾶς ἢ Δίκη συνεχώρησε, Λικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν
 προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημ-
 μελοῦντα ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξήλασεν. ὁ Κων-
 σταντῖνος δὲ παρήλθεν εἰσω καὶ πολὺν ἐκαθέσθη
 χρόνον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδιά. Μαγνηντίῳ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἦν εἰσοδος, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐπεπράχει, 316
 καίτοι πολλὰ ἐδόκει πεπράχθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καλὰ· οἱ
 θεοὶ δὲ ὀρώντες, ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ἐκ καλῆς αὐτῷ
 πεποιήται διαθέσεως, εἶων αὐτὸν οἰμώζειν ἀπο-
 τρέχοντα.

Οὔσης δὲ τοιαύτης τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρα-
 σκευῆς, ἐπόθουν μὲν οὐδὲν οἱ θεοί, πάντα γὰρ
 ἔχουσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἡρώων ἐδόκει τῷ Ἑρμῇ
 διαπειρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῷ Διὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης
 ἦν. ἐδεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυρίνος ἤδη τινὰ μετάγειν
 ἐκείθεν παρ' ἑαυτόν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἶπεν, Οὐκ B
 ἀνέξομαι, ὦ Κυρίνε· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον παρεκάλεις; σοῦ
 τοίνυν, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, δέομαι, εἴ τινα τούτων
 ἔγνωκας ἄγειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἥκειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 κέλευε. τί γὰρ οὐχὶ κοινῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώ-
 μενοι τῷ βελτίονι τιθέμεθα; δίκαια λέγειν ὁ τῆς
 Ἀλκμήνης ἐδόκει τῷ Διὶ. καὶ ἐπεισελθόντος C
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἥρωσιν οὔτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε ἄλλος τις
 ὑπανίστατο· καταλαβὼν δὲ σχολάζουσιν καθέ-
 δραν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Σεβήρου παῖς ἐπεποίητο ἑαυτῷ,
 ἐκείνος γὰρ ἀπελήλατο διὰ τὴν ἀδελφοκτονίαν,

THE CAESARS

four there crept a terribly harsh and discordant strain. For this reason Justice would not suffer the two¹ so much as to approach the door of that assembly of heroes. As for Licinius, he came as far as the door, but as his misdeeds were many and monstrous Minos forthwith drove him away. Constantine however entered and sat some time, and then came his sons.² Magnentius³ was refused admission because he had never done anything really laudable, though much that he achieved had the appearance of merit. So the gods, who perceived that these achievements were not based on any virtuous principle, sent him packing, to his deep chagrin.

When the feast had been prepared as I have described, the gods lacked nothing, since all things are theirs. Then Hermes proposed to examine the heroes personally and Zeus was of the same mind. Quirinus thereupon begged that he might summon one of their number to his side. "Quirinus," said Heracles, "I will not have it. For why did you not invite to the feast my beloved Alexander also? Zeus, if you are minded to introduce into our presence any of these Emperors, send, I beg of you, for Alexander. For if we are to examine into the merits of men generally, why do we not throw open the competition to the better man?" Zeus considered that what the son of Alcmena said was only just. So Alexander joined the company of heroes, but neither Caesar nor anyone else yielded his place to him. However he found and took a vacant seat which the son⁴ of Severus had taken for himself—he had been

¹ i.e. the two Maximians, the colleagues of Diocletian.

² Constantine II, Constans and Constantius.

³ Cf. *Oration* 1. 31, 33 foll.

⁴ Caracalla.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐνεκάθισε. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὸν Κυρί-
νον, "Ορα, εἶπε, μή ποτε οὗτοι ἐνός εἰσιν¹ ἀντάξιοι
τουτοῦ τοῦ Γραικοῦ. Μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Κυρίνος,
οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι μὴ χείρονας. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν
οἱ ἐμοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν ἔγγονοι, ὥστε μόνον αὐτὸν D
ἐκ πάντων, ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἡγεμόνες ξένοι, ὀνο-
μάζουσι καὶ νομίζουσι μέγαν. οὐ μὴν ἔτι καὶ
τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς γεγονότων οἶονται μείζονα τοῦ-
τον, ἴσως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας τι παθόντες, ἴσως δὲ
καὶ οὕτως ἔχον· εἰσόμεθα δὲ αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἀποπειρώμενοι. ταῦτα μάλιστα λέγων ὁ
Κυρίνος ἡρυθρία, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀπογόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, μή που τὰ δευτερεῖα
λαβόντες οἴχωνται.

Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Ζεὺς ἤρετο τοὺς θεοὺς, πότερον 317
χρὴ πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καλεῖν ἢ, καθάπερ ἐν
τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι γίνεται, ὁ τοῦ πολλὰς ἀνελο-
μένου νίκας κρατήσας, ἐνὸς περιγεγόμενος, οὐδὲν
ἔλαττον δοκεῖ κακείνων γεγονέναι κρείσσω, οἱ
προσεπάλαισαν μὲν οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ, τοῦ κρατη-
θέντος δὲ ἡττοὺς ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ἡ
τοιαύτη σφόδρα ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν ἐξέτασις. ἐκή- B
ρυττεν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμῆς παρίεναι Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν
Ὀκταβιανὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, Τραϊανὸν δὲ ἐκ τρίτων,
ὥς πολεμικωτάτους. εἶτα γενομένης σιωπῆς ὁ
βασιλεὺς Κρόνος βλέψας εἰς τὸν Δία θαυμάζειν
ἔφη, πολεμικοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν
ἀγῶνα τουτοῦ καλουμένους, οὐδένα μέντοι φιλό-
σοφον. Ἐμοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἡττόν εἰσιν οἱ
τοιούτοι φίλοι. καλεῖτε οὖν εἴσω καὶ τὸν C

¹ ἐνός εἰσιν ἀντάξιοι Naber, ἐνὸς ὧσιν οὐκ ἀντάξιοι Hertlein, MSS. ; V omits οὐκ.

THE CAESARS

expelled for fratricide. Then Silenus began to rally Quirinus and said, "See now whether all these Romans can match this one Greek."¹ "By Zeus," retorted Quirinus, "I consider that many of them are as good as he! It is true that my descendants have admired him so much that they hold that he alone of all foreign generals is worthy to be styled 'the Great.' But it does not follow that they think him greater than their own heroes; which may be due to national prejudice, but again they may be right. However, that we shall very soon find out by examining these men." Even as he spoke Quirinus was blushing, and was evidently extremely anxious on behalf of his descendants and feared that they might come off with the second prize.

Then Zeus asked the gods whether it would be better to summon all the Emperors to enter the lists, or whether they should follow the custom of athletic contests, which is that he who defeats the winner of many victories, though he overcome only that one competitor is held thereby to have proved himself superior to all who have been previously defeated, and that too though they have not wrestled with the winner, but only shown themselves inferior to an antagonist who has been defeated. All the gods agreed that this was a very suitable sort of test. Hermes then summoned Caesar to appear before them, then Octavian, and thirdly Trajan, as being the greatest warriors. In the silence that followed, Kronos turned to Zeus and said that he was astonished to see that only martial Emperors were summoned to the competition, and not a single philosopher. "For my part," he added, "I like philosophers just as well.

¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws* 730 D; Julian, *Misopogon* 353 D.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάρκος κληθεὶς παρήλθε,
 σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τε ὄμματα
 καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένον, κάλλος
 δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ δεικνύων, ἐν ᾧ παρ-
 εἶχεν ἑαυτὸν ἄκομψον καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον· ἥ τε
 γὰρ ὑπήνη βαθεῖα παντάπασιν ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ
 ἱμάτια λιτὰ καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας
 τῶν τροφῶν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα διανυγέστατον καὶ D
 διαφανέστατον ὥσπερ αὐτὸ οἶμαι τὸ καθαρώτατον
 καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον φῶς· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος ἦν εἶσω
 τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων, ὁ Διόνυσος εἶπεν, ὦ
 βασιλεῦ Κρόνε καὶ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄρα ἄξιον ἐν
 θεοῖς ἀτελὲς εἶναί τι; τῶν δὲ οὐ φαμένων, Εἰσά-
 γωμεν οὖν τινα καὶ ἀπολαύσεως ἐραστὴν ἐνθαδί.
 καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἄλλ' οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶσω φοιτᾶν, εἶπεν,
 ἀνδρὶ μὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα ζηλοῦντι. Γιγνέσθω τοίνυν,
 εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων, ὁ Διόνυσος, αὐτοῖς ἡ
 κρίσις. ἄλλ', εἰ τοῦτο δοκεῖ ταύτῃ, καλῶμεν 318
 ἄνδρα οὐκ ἀπόλεμον μέν, ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ ἀπολαύσει
 χειροθέστερον. ἡκέτω οὖν ἄχρι τῶν προθύρων
 ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέδοκτο καὶ τοῦτο,
 τίνα χρὴ τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, γνώμη
 προυτέθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἡξίου λέγειν ἕκαστον
 ἐν μέρει περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, τίθεσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς
 τὴν ψῆφον. οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει ταῦτα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
 καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀληθείας γὰρ εἶναι, καὶ οὐ πιθανό- B
 τητος οὐδ' αἰμυλίας ἐν θεοῖς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἐξέτασιν.
 βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ
 ἅμα προάγειν ἐπὶ πλεόν αὐτοῖς τὴν συνουσίαν,
 Οὐδέν, εἶπε, κωλύει λέγειν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι,
 μικρὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιμετρήσαντας, εἴτα ὕστερον

THE CAESARS

So tell Marcus¹ to come in too." Accordingly Marcus was summoned and came in looking excessively dignified and showing the effect of his studies in the expression of his eyes and his lined brows. His aspect was unutterably beautiful from the very fact that he was careless of his appearance and unadorned by art; for he wore a very long beard, his dress was plain and sober, and from lack of nourishment his body was very shining and transparent, like light most pure and stainless. When he too had entered the sacred enclosure, Dionysus said, "King Kronos and Father Zeus, can any incompleteness exist among the gods?" And when they replied that it could not, "Then," said he, "let us bring in here some votary of pleasure as well." "Nay," answered Zeus, "it is not permitted that any man should enter here who does not model himself on us." "In that case," said Dionysus, "let them be tried at the entrance. Let us summon by your leave a man not unwarlike but a slave to pleasure and enjoyment. Let Constantine come as far as the door." When this had been agreed upon, opinions were offered as to the manner in which they were to compete. Hermes thought that everyone ought to speak for himself in turn, and then the gods should vote. But Apollo did not approve of this plan, because he said the gods ought to test and examine the truth and not plausible rhetoric and the devices of the orator. Zeus wished to please them both and at the same time to prolong the assembly, so he said, "There is no harm in letting them speak if we measure them a small allowance of water,² and then later on we can

¹ Marcus Aurelius.

² A reference to the water-clock, *clepsydra*.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀνερωτᾶν καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἐκάστου διανοίας. C
καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκώπτων, Ἄλλ' ὅπως μή, νομί-
σαντες αὐτὸ νέκταρ εἶναι, Τραϊανὸς τε καὶ Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἅπαν ἐκροφήσουσι¹ τὸ ὕδωρ, εἶτα ἀφελούνται²
τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν, Οὐ τοῦμοῦ ὕδατος,
εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πώματος ἐρασταὶ τὸ
ἄνδρε ἐγενέσθην. ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ τοιγαροῦν D
ἀμπέλων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν πηγῶν ἄξιόν ἐστί
σοι δεδιέναι. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς δηχθεὶς ἐσιώπα, καὶ
τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐκ τούτου τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν.
Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐκήρυττεν·

Ἄρχει μὲν ἀγῶν
τῶν καλλίστων
ἄθλων ταμίας,
καιρὸς δὲ καλεῖ
μηκέτι μέλλειν.
ἀλλὰ κλύοντες
τὰν ἀμετέραν
κήρυκα βοᾶν
οἱ πρὶν βασιλῆς,
ἔθνεα πολλὰ
δουλωσάμενοι
καὶ πολέμοισι
δαίον ἔγχος
θήξαντες, ὁμοῦ
γνώμης τε μέγαν
πινυτόφρονα νοῦν,
ἴτ', ἐς ἀντίπαλον
ἵστασθε κρίσιν,

319

B

¹ ἐκροφήσουσι Hertlein suggests, ἐκροφήσωσι MSS.

² ἀφελούνται Hertlein suggests, ἀφέλωνται MSS.

THE CAESARS

cross-examine them and test the disposition of each one." Whereupon Silenus said sardonically, "Take care, or Trajan and Alexander will think it is nectar and drink up all the water and leave none for the others." "It was not my water," retorted Poseidon, "but your vines that these two were fond of. So you had better tremble for your vines rather than for my springs." Silenus was greatly piqued and had no answer ready, but thereafter turned his attention to the disputants.

Then Hermes made this proclamation :

" The trial that begins
Awards to him who wins
The fairest prize to-day.
And lo, the hour is here
And summons you. Appear !
Ye may no more delay.
Come hear the herald's call
Ye princes one and all.
Many the tribes of men
Submissive to you then !
How keen in war your swords !
But now 'tis wisdom's turn ;
Now let your rivals learn
How keen can be your words.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οἷς τε φρόνησιν
 τέλος ὀλβίστης
 θέσθαι βιοτῆς,
 οἷς τ' ἀντιβίους
 κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρξαι
 καὶ χρηστὰ φίλους
 τέκμαρ βιότου
 νενόμιστο καλοῦ,
 οἷς θ' ἡδίστην
 ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχειν
 τέρματα μόχθων
 δαῖτάς τε γάμους τ',
 ὄμμασι τερπνά,
 μαλακάς τε φέρειν
 ἐσθῆτας ὁμοῦ
 λιθοκολλήτοις
 περὶ χεῖρας ἄκρας
 ψελίοισι φάνη
 μακαριστότατον.
 νίκης δὲ τέλος
 Ζηνὶ μελήσει.

C

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ κηρύττοντος ἐκληροῦντο· D
 καὶ πῶς συνέδραμε τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ κλῆρος
 φιλοπρωτία. τοῦτο ἐκείνον μὲν ἐποίησε γαῦρον
 καὶ σοβαρώτερον· ἐδέησε δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μικροῦ καὶ
 φεύγειν τὴν κρίσιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος· ἀλλὰ παρα-
 θαρρύνων αὐτὸν ὁ μέγας Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέσχε. δεύ-
 τερος δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ λέγειν ἔλαχεν Ἀλέξανδρος·
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξῆς οἱ κλῆροι τοῖς ἐκάστου χρόνοις 321
 συμπροῆλθον. ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδί· Ἑμοὶ
 μὲν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, γενέσθαι ἐν τηλικαύτῃ

THE CAESARS

Wisdom, thought some, is bliss
Most sure in life's short span ;
Others did hold no less
That power to ban or bless
Is happiness for man.
But some set Pleasure high,
Idleness, feasting, love,
All that delights the eye ;
Their raiment soft and fine,
Their hands with jewels shine,
Such bliss did they approve.
But whose the victory won
Shall Zeus decide alone." ¹

While Hermes had been making this proclamation the lots were being drawn, and it happened that the first lot favoured Caesar's passion for being first. This made him triumphant and prouder than before. But the effect on Alexander was that he almost withdrew from the competition, had not mighty Heracles encouraged him and prevented him from leaving. Alexander drew the lot to speak second, but the lots of those who came next coincided with the order in which they had lived. Caesar then began as follows: "It was my fortune, O Zeus and ye

¹ In this doggerel made up of tags of anapaestic verse, Julian reproduces in the first five and last two verses the proclamation made at the Olympic games. The first three verses occur in Lucian, *Demonax* 65.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

συνέβη πόλει μετὰ τοσούτους ἄνδρας, ὥστε τὴν
 μὲν ὅσων οὐ πώποτε ἄλλη πόλις ἐβασίλευσε
 βασιλεύειν, ταῖς δὲ ἀγαπητὸν τὸ καὶ τὰ δεύτερα
 κομίσασθαι. τίς γὰρ πόλις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐξακοσίοις B
 ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθε πέρατα τοῖς ὅπλοις; ποῖα δὲ ἔθνη
 τοσούτους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε καὶ πολεμικοὺς
 παρέσχετο καὶ νομοθετικούς; θεοὺς δὲ ἐτίμησαν
 οὕτω τίνες; ἐν δὴ τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ πόλει
 γενόμενος οὐ τοὺς κατ' ἐμαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς πώποτε παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις. καὶ τῶν
 ἐμῶν μὲν πολιτῶν εὖ οἶδα ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντιποιήσεται
 μοι τῶν πρωτείων· εἰ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτοσ' C
 τολμᾷ, τίνα τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 ἀξιοῖ παραβαλεῖν; ἴσως τὰ Περσικά, ὥσπερ οὐχ
 ἑορακῶς ἐγγηγερμένα μοι τοσαῦτα κατὰ Πομπηίου
 τρόπαια; καίτοι τίς δεινότερος στρατηγὸς γέγονε,
 Δαρείος ἢ Πομπήιος; ποτέρῳ δὲ ἀνδρειότερον
 ἠκολούθει στρατόπεδον; τὰ μὲν οὖν μαχιμώτατα
 τῶν Δαρείῳ πρότερον ὑπακουόντων ἐθνῶν ἐν τῇ D
 Καρῶν μοίρᾳ Πομπήιος εἶχεν ἐπόμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ
 τῆς Εὐρώπης, οἳ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλάκις πόλεμον
 ἐπάγουσαν ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τοὺς
 ἀνδρειοτάτους, Ἰταλούς, Ἰλλυριοὺς, Κελτοὺς. ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδὴ τῶν Κελτῶν ὑπεμνήσθην, ἄρα τοῖς Γετικοῖς
 ἔργοις Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀντιτάτ-
 τομεν καθαίρεσιν; οὗτος ἅπαξ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν
 Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δεύτερον τὸν Ῥήνον· Γερμανικὸν
 αὖ τοῦτο τὸ ἐμὸν ἔργον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀντέστη μὲν

THE CAESARS

other gods, to be born, following a number of great men, in a city so illustrious that she rules more subjects than any other city has ever ruled; and indeed other cities are well pleased to rank as second to her.¹ What other city, I ask, began with three thousand citizens and in less than six centuries carried her victorious arms to the ends of the earth? What other nations ever produced so many brave and warlike men or such lawgivers? What nation ever honoured the gods as they did? Observe then that, though I was born in a city so powerful and so illustrious, my achievements not only surpassed the men of my own day, but all the heroes who ever lived. As for my fellow-citizens I am confident that there is none who will challenge my superiority. But if Alexander here is so presumptuous, which of his deeds does he pretend to compare with mine? His Persian conquests, perhaps, as though he had never seen all those trophies that I gathered when I defeated Pompey! And pray, who was the more skilful general, Darius or Pompey? Which of them led the bravest troops? Pompey had in his army the most martial of the nations formerly subject to Darius,² but he reckoned them no better than Carians,³ for he led also those European forces which had often repulsed all Asia when she invaded Europe, aye and he had the bravest of them all, Italians, Illyrians, and Celts. And since I have mentioned the Celts, shall we compare the exploits of Alexander against the Getae with my conquest of Gaul? He crossed the Danube once, I crossed the Rhine twice. The German conquest again is all my doing. No one opposed Alexander, but I had to

¹ Cf. *Oration* 1. 8 c. ² Darius III. ³ Cf. *Oration* 2. 56 c.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐγὼ πρὸς Ἀριόβιστον ἡγωνισάμην. 321
 πρῶτος ἐτόλμησα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐκτὸς
 θαλάσσης. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἴσως τὸ ἔργον οὐ θαυ-
 μαστόν. καίτοι τὴν τόλμαν καὶ ταύτην ἄξιον
 θαυμάσαι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μείζον μου, τὸ ἀποβῆναι τῆς
 νεὼς πρῶτον· καὶ τοὺς Ἑλβετίους σιωπῶ καὶ τὸ
 τῶν Ἰβήρων ἔθνος. οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν Γαλατικῶν
 ἐπεμνήσθην, πλεῖν¹ ἢ τριακοσίας ὑπαγαγόμενος
 πόλεις, ἀνδρῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ διακοσίας
 μυριάδας. ὄντων δὲ τούτων μοι τοιούτων ἔργων,
 ἐκείνο μείζον ἦν καὶ τολμηρότερον. ἐχρῆν γάρ B
 με καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαγωνίζεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας
 καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀμάχων καὶ ἀνικῆτων Ῥωμαίων.
 εἴτε οὖν πλήθει τις κρίνει παρατάξεων, τρὶς
 τοσαυτάκις παρεταξάμην, ὡσάκις ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου κομπάζουσιν οἱ τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνο-
 ποιοῦντες, εἴτε πλήθει πόλεων αἰχμαλώτων, οὐ
 τῆς Ἀσίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ C
 πλεῖστα κατεστρεψάμην. Ἀλέξανδρος Αἴγυπτον
 ἐπῆλθε² θεωρῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ συμπόσια συγκροτῶν
 κατεπολέμησα. τὴν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κρατῆσαι πραό-
 τητα βούλεσθε ἐξετάσαι τὴν παρ' ἐκατέρῳ; ἐγὼ
 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέγων. ἔπαθον γοῦν ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐμέλησε τῇ Δίκῃ· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς
 πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν φίλων ἀπέσχετο. ἔτι οὖν D
 μοι περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ἀμφισβητεῖν οἶός τε ἔση;
 καὶ οὐκ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺ παραχωρήσεις μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκάσεις με λέγειν, ὅπως σὺ μὲν
 ἐχρήσω πικρῶς Θηβαίοις, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλβετίοις

¹ πλεῖν Cobet, πλεόν Hertlein, MSS.

² ἐπῆλθε Hertlein suggests, περιῆλθε Cobet, παρῆλθε MSS.

THE CAESARS

contend against Ariovistus. I was the first Roman who ventured to sail the outer sea.¹ Perhaps this achievement was not so wonderful, though it was a daring deed that may well command your admiration; but a more glorious action of mine was when I leapt ashore from my ship before all the others.² Of the Helvetians and Iberians I say nothing. And still I have said not a word about my campaigns in Gaul, when I conquered more than three hundred cities and no less than two million men! But great as were these achievements of mine, that which followed was still greater and more daring. For I had to contend against my fellow citizens themselves, and to subdue the invincible, the unconquerable Romans. Again, if we are judged by the number of our battles, I fought three times as many as Alexander, even reckoning by the boasts of those who embellish his exploits. If one counts the cities captured, I reduced the greatest number, not only in Asia but in Europe as well. Alexander only visited Egypt as a sight-seer, but I conquered her while I was arranging drinking-parties. Are you pleased to inquire which of us showed more clemency after victory? I forgave even my enemies, and for what I suffered in consequence at their hands Justice has taken vengeance. But Alexander did not even spare his friends, much less his enemies. And are you still capable of disputing the first prize with me? Then since you will not, like the others, yield place to me, you compel me to say that whereas I was humane towards the Helvetians you treated the Thebans

¹ The "inner" sea was the Mediterranean.

² Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4. 25, ascribes this to the standard-bearer of the tenth legion.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φιλανθρώπως; σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων κατέκαυσας τὰς πόλεις, ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν κεκαυμένας πόλεις ἀνέστησα. καίτοι οὐτι ταὐτὸν¹ ἦν μυρίων Γραικῶν κρατῆσαι καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπιφερομένας ὑποστήναι. πολλὰ εἰπεῖν ἔχων 322 ἔτι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦδε, τῷ μὴ σχολὴν ἀγειν ἥκιστα τὸ λέγειν ἐξεμελέτησα. διόπερ χρὴ συγγνώμην ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ ῥηθέντων τὴν ἴσιν καὶ δικαίαν ἐξέτασιν ποιουμένους ἀποδιδόναι μοι τὸ πρωτεῖον.

Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι βουλομένου, μόγις καὶ πρότερον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καρτερῶν οὐκέτι κατέσχευεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, Ἐγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ B θεοί, μέχρι τίνος ἀνέξομαι σιωπῇ τῆς θρασύτητος τῆς τούτου; πέρας γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὡς ὀράτε, οὔτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνων οὔτε τῶν εἰς ἐμέ βλασφημιῶν. ἐχρῆν δὲ ἴσως μάλιστα μὲν ἀμφοῖν φείδεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἶναί πως ἀμφοτέρα δοκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐπαχθῇ· πλεον δὲ τοῦ τὰμὰ διασύρειν ἄλλως τε καὶ μιμητὴν αὐτῶν γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι C τὰ ἀρχέτυπα κωμῶδεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων. ἐχρῆν δέ, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ὑπομνησθῆναί σε τῶν δακρύων ἐκείνων, ἃ τότε ἀφήκας, ἀκροώμενος τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ὅσα πεποίηται περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πράξεων. ἀλλ' ὁ Πομπήσιος ἐπήρέε σε μετὰ τοῦτο, κολακευθεὶς μὲν παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, γενόμενος δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ D ἀπὸ Λιβύης θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐ μέγα ἔργον,

¹ οὐτι ταὐτὸν Hertlein suggests, τί τοσοῦτον MSS.

THE CAESARS

cruelly. You burned their cities to the ground, but I restored the cities that had been burned by their own inhabitants. And indeed it was not at all the same thing to subdue ten thousand Greeks, and to withstand the onset of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Much more could I add both about myself and Alexander, but I have not had leisure to practise public speaking. Wherefore you ought to pardon me, but from what I have said and with regard to what I have not said, you ought, forming that decision which equity and justice require, to award me the first prize."

When Caesar had spoken to this effect he still wished to go on talking, but Alexander, who had with difficulty restrained himself hitherto, now lost patience, and with some agitation and combativeness: "But I," said he, "O Jupiter and ye other gods, how long must I endure in silence the insolence of this man? There is, as you see, no limit to his praise of himself or his abuse of me. It would have better become him perhaps to refrain from both, since both are alike insupportable, but especially from disparaging my conduct, the more since he imitated it. But he has arrived at such a pitch of impudence that he dares to ridicule the model of his own exploits. Nay, Caesar, you ought to have remembered those tears you shed on hearing of the monuments that had been consecrated to my glorious deeds.¹ But since then Pompey has inflated you with pride, Pompey who though he was the idol of his countrymen was in fact wholly insignificant. Take his African triumph: that was no great exploit, but the feeble-

¹ At Gades, on seeing a statue of Alexander; cf. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 7.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὀνομαστότατον ἐποίησεν ἡ τῶν τότε ὑπάτων
 μαλακία. τὸν δουλικὸν δὲ ἐκείνον πόλεμον,
 οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς
 χειρίστους τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἄλλοι μὲν κατειργάσαντο,
 Κράσσοι καὶ Λούκιοι, τοῦνομα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγρα-
 φὴν ἔσχε Πομπήιος. Ἀρμενίαν δὲ καὶ τὰ πρόσ-
 οικα ταύτης κατεπολέμησε Λούκουλλος, ἐθριάμ-
 βευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων Πομπήιος. εἰτ' ἐκολάκευσαν 323
 αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται καὶ Μέγαν ὠνόμασαν, ὄντα
 τίνος τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ μείζονα; τί γὰρ ἐκείνῳ
 τοσοῦτον ἐπράχθη, ἡλίκον Μαρίῳ ἢ Σκηπίῳσι
 τοῖς δύο ἢ τῷ παρὰ τὸν Κυρῖνον τουτονὶ Φουρίῳ,
 ὃς μικροῦ συμπεσοῦσαν τὴν τούτου πόλιν ἀνέστη-
 σεν; οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις ἔργοις, ὥσπερ
 ἐν πολιτικαῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ δαπανήμασιν ὑπ'
 ἄλλων καταβληθείσαις καὶ ἐπιτελεσθείσαις ἔτε- B
 ρος ἄρχων ἐπεγράφη μικρὰ κονιάσας τὸν τοίχον,
 οὕτω ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις ἐπεγράφησαν πράξειςιν·
 ἀρχιτέκτονες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ δημιουργοὶ γενόμενοι
 τῶν καλλίστων ἡξιώθησαν ὀνομάτων. οὐδὲν οὖν
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ κεκράτηκας Πομπηίου δακτύλῳ
 κνωμένου καὶ τᾶλλα ἀλώπεκος μᾶλλον ἢ λέοντος.

THE CAESARS

ness of the consuls in office made it seem glorious. Then the famous Servile War¹ was waged not against men but the vilest of slaves, and its successful issue was due to others, I mean Crassus and Lucius,² though Pompey gained the reputation and the credit for it. Again, Armenia and the neighbouring provinces were conquered by Lucullus,³ yet for these also Pompey triumphed. Then he became the idol of the citizens and they called him 'the Great.' Greater, I ask, than whom of his predecessors? What achievement of his can be compared with those of Marius⁴ or of the two Scipios or of Furius,⁵ who sits over there by Quirinus because he rebuilt his city when it was almost in ruins? Those men did not make their reputation at the expense of others, as happens with public buildings built at the public expense; I mean that one man lays the foundation, another finishes the work, while the last man who is in office though he has only whitewashed the walls has his name inscribed on the building.⁶ Not thus, I repeat, did those men gain credit for the deeds of others. They were themselves the creators and artificers of their schemes and deserved their illustrious titles. Well then, it is no wonder that you vanquished Pompey, who used to scratch his head with his finger-tip⁷ and in all respects was more of a

¹ Led by Spartacus 73-71 B.C.; Appian, *Civil Wars* I. 116-120.

² Lucius Gellius; Plutarch, *Crassus*.

³ Licinius Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates.

⁴ Caius Marius the rival of Sulla.

⁵ Furius Camillus repulsed the Gauls 390 B.C.; cf. *Oration* 1. 29 D.

⁶ Cf. *Letter to Themistius*, 267 B.

⁷ A proverb for effeminacy; cf. Plutarch, *Pompeius* 48; Juvenal 9. 133, *qui digito scalpunt uno caput*; Lucian, *The Rhetorician's Guide* 11.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ τύχη προύδωκεν, ἢ τὸν ἔμ-
προσθεν χρόνον αὐτῷ παρεισστήκει, ταχέως ἐκρά-
τησας μόνου. καὶ ὅτι δεινότητι μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ C
κρείττων ἐγένου, φανερόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνδείᾳ
γεγονῶς¹ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἔστι δὲ οὐ μικρόν,
ὥς οἶσθα, τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα στρατηγοῦ· καὶ μάχῃ
συμβαλὼν ἡττήθης. εἰ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπ' ἀφρο-
σύνης τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἢ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν
πολιτῶν ἄρχειν οὔτε, ἡνίκα ἔδει τρίβειν τὸν
πόλεμον, ὑπερετίθετο τὴν μάχην οὔτε τῇ νίκῃ²
νικῶν ἐπεξῆει, ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀμαρτήμασι
καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἐσφάλῃ στρατηγήμασι. D

Πέρσαι δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως παρε-
σκευασμένοι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀλκὴν ἐνέδοσαν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ τοῦ πράττειν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ
τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἄνδρα ἄριστον καὶ βασιλέα
προσῆκει μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπήτησα δίκην, καὶ τοὺς
Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους ἐπανειλόμην, οὐχὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα λυπεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κω-
λύοντάς με διαβαίνειν καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτεῖν τὸν
Πέρσῃ ἐπικόπτων. σὺ δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ 324
Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν
σεαυτοῦ παρασκευαζόμενος, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν χεῖρον
ἢ μιαιώτερον; ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ διασύρων τῶν
μυρίων ἐμνημόνευσας Γραικῶν, ὅτι μὲν καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἐντεῦθεν γεγόνατε καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς Ἰταλίας
ᾤκησαν οἱ Γραικοί, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὁμῶς οὐ παρα-
δέχομαι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον ἔθνος, Αἰτωλοὺς

¹ γεγονῶς Petavius, Naber, γέγονας Hertlein, MSS.

² τῇ νίκῃ before νικῶν Hertlein suggests; cf. *Oration* i.
59 D.

THE CAESARS

fox than a lion. When he was deserted by Fortune who had so long favoured him, you easily overcame him, thus unaided. And it is evident that it was not to any superior ability of yours that you owed your victory, since after running short of provisions¹—no small blunder for a general to make, as I need not tell you—you fought a battle and were beaten. And if from imprudence or lack of judgment or inability to control his countrymen Pompey neither postponed a battle when it was his interest to protract the war, nor followed up a victory when he had won,² it was due to his own errors that he failed, and not to your strategy.

The Persians, on the contrary, though on all occasions they were well and wisely equipped, had to submit to my valour. And since it becomes a virtuous man and a king to pride himself not merely on his exploits but also on the justice of those exploits, it was on behalf of the Greeks that I took vengeance on the Persians, and when I made war on the Greeks it was not because I wished to injure Greece, but only to chastise those who tried to prevent me from marching through and from calling the Persians to account. You, however, while you subdued the Germans and Gauls were preparing to fight against your fatherland. What could be worse or more infamous? And since you have alluded as though insultingly to 'ten thousand Greeks,' I am aware that you Romans are yourselves descended from the Greeks, and that the greater part of Italy was colonised by Greeks; however on that fact I do not insist. But at any rate did not you Romans think it very important to have

¹ At Dyrrhachium; Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*.

² An echo of Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 206 D.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

λέγω τοὺς παροικούντας ἡμῖν, οὐ φίλους μὲν B
 ἔχειν καὶ συμμάχους ἐποιήσασθε περὶ πολλοῦ,
 πολεμωθέντας δὲ ὑμῖν ὕστερον δι' ἄσδήποτε
 αἰτίας οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ὑπακούειν ὑμῖν ἠναγκάσατε;
 οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῆς
 'Ελλάδος, καὶ οὐδὲ πάσης, ἀλλ' ἔθνους μικροῦ,
 ἡνίκα ἤκμαζε τὸ 'Ελληνικόν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστι
 γιγνισκομένου, μικροῦ δέω φάναι, μόγις ἀρκέ-
 σαντες, τίνες ἂν ἐγένεσθε, εἰ πρὸς ἀκμάζοντας C
 καὶ ὁμονοούντας τοὺς 'Ελληνας πολεμεῖν ὑμᾶς
 ἐδέησεν; ἐπεὶ καὶ Πύρρον διαβάντος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
 ἴστε ὅπως ἐπτήξατε. εἰ δὲ τὸ Περσῶν κρατῆσαι
 μικρὸν νομίζεις καὶ τὸ τηλικούτον ἔργον διασύρεις,
 ὀλίγης πάνυ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν
 ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων βασιλευμένης χώρας, ἔτη πλέον
 ἢ τριακόσια πολεμοῦντες, λέγε μοι, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν
 οὐκ ἐκρατήσατε; βούλει σοι φράσω; τὰ Περσῶν D
 ὑμᾶς εἰρξε βέλη. φρασάτω δέ σοι περὶ αὐτῶν
 'Αντώνιος¹ ὁ παιδοτριβηθεὶς ἐπὶ στρατηγία παρὰ
 σοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς δέκα πρὸς
 τούτοις καὶ 'Ινδῶν γέγονα κύριος. εἴτ' ἐμοὶ
 τολμᾶς ἀμφισβητεῖν, ὃς ἐκ παιδαρίου στρατηγῶν
 ἔργα ἔπραξα τηλικαῦτα, ὥστε τὴν μνήμην, καίπερ
 οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων ὑμνηθέντων,
 ὅμως² συμπαραμένειν τῷ βίῳ, καθάπερ τῶν 325
 τοῦ Καλλινίκου, τοῦμοῦ βασιλέως, οὐ θεράπων
 ἐγὼ καὶ ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην, 'Αχιλλεὶ μὲν ἀμιλ-
 λώμενος τῷ προγόνῳ, 'Ηρακλέα δὲ θαυμάζων
 καὶ ἐπόμενος, ἅτε δὴ κατ' ἵχνος θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος.

¹ 'Αντώνιος Cobet rejects, since Julian prefers to substitute descriptive phrases for names.

² ὅμως Cobet, ὅμως δὲ Hertlein, MSS.

THE CAESARS

as friends and allies one insignificant tribe of those very Greeks, I mean the Aetolians, my neighbours? And later, when you had gone to war with them for whatever reason, did you not have great trouble in making them obey you? Well then, if in the old age, as one may say, of Greece, you were barely able to reduce not the whole nation but an insignificant state which was hardly heard of when Greece was in her prime, what would have happened to you if you had had to contend against the Greeks when they were in full vigour and united? You know how cowed you were when Pyrrhus crossed to invade you. And if you think the conquest of Persia such a trifle and disparage an achievement so glorious, tell me why, after a war of more than three hundred years, you Romans have never conquered a small province beyond the Tigris which is still governed by the Parthians? Shall I tell you why? It was the arrows of the Persians that checked you. Ask Antony to give you an account of them, since he was trained for war by you. I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them—though they have not been worthily recounted by historians—will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero,¹ my king, whose follower I was, on whom I modelled myself? Achilles my ancestor I strove to rival, but Heracles I ever admired and followed, so far as a mere man may follow in the footsteps of a god.

¹ Heracles.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

"Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐχρῆν, ὦ θεοί, πρὸς τοῦτον
 ἀπολογήσασθαι· καίτοι κρεῖττον ἦν ὑπεριδεῖν
 αὐτοῦ· εἴρηται. εἰ δέ τι πικρὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν B
 ἐπράχθη, οὔτι παντάπασιν εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώ-
 πους, ἀλλὰ ἡ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προσ-
 κρούσαντας ἡ τῷ καιρῷ μὴ καλῶς μηδὲ πρε-
 πόντως χρησαμένους, ἠκολούθησε γοῦν ἐπὶ μὲν
 τοῖς διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαμαρτηθεῖσιν ἡ μεταμέλεια,
 σώφρων πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἐξημαρτηκότων σώτειρα
 δαίμων, τοὺς δὲ ὥσπερ φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπὶ C
 τῷ πολλάκις ἀπεχθάνεσθαι καὶ προσκρούειν
 οὐδὲν ὄμνην ἄδικον ποιεῖν κολάζων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴρητο καὶ τούτῳ στρατιωτικώτερον
 ὁ λόγος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκταβιανὸν τὴν ὑδρίαν ἔφερεν
 ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θεράπων, ἐπιμετρῶν αὐτῷ
 τοῦ ὕδατος ἔλασσον διὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἄλλως τε
 καὶ μνησικακῶν αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὑπερη-
 φανίας. καὶ ὃς ἐπειδὴ συνῆκεν ὑπὸ ἀγχινοίας, D
 ἀφείς τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, Ἐγὼ
 δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τοῦ διασύρειν μὲν τὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα καὶ μικρὰ ποιεῖν ἀφέξομαι, περὶ
 δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τὸν πάντα ποιήσομαι λόγον. νέος
 πρῶστην τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ πόλεως ὥσπερ οὗτος ὁ
 γενναῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, κατώρθωσα δὲ Γερμανικοὺς
 πολέμους ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ οὗτοσί Καίσαρ. 326
 συμπλακεῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀγῶσιν Αἴγυπτον
 μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον κατεναυμάχησα, Βροῦτον
 δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους κατεπολέ-
 μησα, καὶ τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα Σέξτον πάρεργον

THE CAESARS

“Thus much, ye gods, I was bound to say in my own defence against this man; though indeed it would have been better to ignore him. And if some things I did seemed cruel, I never was so to the innocent, but only to those who had often and in many ways thwarted me and had made no proper or fitting use of their opportunities. And even my offences against these, which were due to the emergency of the time, were followed by Remorse, that very wise and divine preserver of men who have erred. As for those whose ambition it was to show their enmity continually and to thwart me, I considered that I was justified in chastising them.’

When Alexander in his turn had made his speech in martial fashion, Poseidon’s attendant carried the water-clock to Octavian, but gave him a smaller allowance of water, partly because time was precious, but still more because he bore him a grudge for the disrespect he had shown to the god.¹ Octavian with his usual sagacity understood this, so without stopping to say anything that did not concern himself, he began: “For my part, Zeus and ye other gods, I shall not stay to disparage and belittle the actions of others, but shall speak only of what concerns myself. Like the noble Alexander here I was but a youth when I was called to govern my country. Like Caesar yonder, my father,² I conducted successful campaigns against the Germans. When I became involved in civil dissensions I conquered Egypt in a sea-fight off Actium; I defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi: the defeat of Sextus, Pompey’s son, was a mere

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus* 16; during the campaign against Pompey when the fleet of Augustus was lost in a storm, he swore that he would win in spite of Neptune.

² Augustus was Julius Caesar’s nephew, and his son only by adoption.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐθέμην τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας. οὕτω δὲ παρέσχον
 ἑμαυτὸν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χειροθήη, ὥστε καὶ τῆς
 Ἀθηνοδώρου παρρησίας ἠνεσχόμην, οὐκ ἀγανακ-
 τῶν, ἀλλ' εὐφραϊνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα B
 καθάπερ παιδαγωγὸν ἢ πατέρα μᾶλλον αἰδού-
 μενος. Ἄρειον δὲ καὶ φίλον καὶ συμβιωτὴν
 ἐπιγράφομαι, καὶ ὅλως οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς
 τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀμαρτηθέν. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐμ-
 φυλίων στάσεων τὴν Ῥώμην ὁρῶν εἰς τὸν¹
 ἔσχατον ἐλαύνουσιν πολλάκις κίνδυνον οὕτω
 διεθέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτήν, ὥστε εἶναι, εἰ μὴ δι'
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδαμαντίνην. οὐ γὰρ C
 ταῖς ἀμέτροις ἐπιθυμίαις εἴκων ἐπικτᾶσθαι πάν-
 τως αὐτῇ διενόητην, ὅρια δὲ διττά, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ
 τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένα,² Ἰστρον καὶ Εὐ-
 φράτην ποταμοὺς ἐθέμην. εἰτα ὑποτάξας τὸ
 Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμετρούντων ὑμῶν
 τῆς βασιλείας μοι τὸν χρόνον, οὐ πόλεμον ἄλλον
 ἐξ ἄλλου περιεσκόπουν, ἀλλὰ εἰς νομοθεσίαν καὶ
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τὴν D
 σχολὴν διετιθέμην, οὐδενὸς νομίζων τῶν πρὸ ἑμαυ-
 τοῦ χεῖρον βεβουλευσθαι, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ χρὴ θαρ-
 ρήσαντα φάναι, κρεῖσσον τῶν πώποτε τηλικαύτας
 ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτροπευσάντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ταῖς
 στρατηγίαις ἐναπέθανον, ἐξὸν λοιπὸν ἡσυχάζειν³
 καὶ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, πολέμους ἐκ πολέμων
 ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ φιλοπράγμονες δίκας κατα-
 σκευάζοντες· οἱ δὲ καὶ πολεμούμενοι τῇ τρυφῇ 327
 προσείχον, οὐ μόνον τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα εὐκλείας τὴν

¹ τὸν Hertlein would add.

² ἀποδεδειγμένα Cobet, ἀποδεδομένα Hertlein, MSS.

³ ἡσυχάζειν Reiske adds.

THE CAESARS

incident in my campaign. I showed myself so gentle to the guidance of philosophy that I even put up with the plain speaking of Athenodorus,¹ and instead of resenting it I was delighted with it and revered the man as my preceptor, or rather as though he were my own father. Areius² I counted my friend and close companion, and in short I was never guilty of any offence against philosophy. But since I saw that more than once Rome had been brought to the verge of ruin by internal quarrels, I so administered her affairs as to make her strong as adamant for all time, unless indeed, O ye gods, you will otherwise. For I did not give way to boundless ambition and aim at enlarging her empire at all costs, but assigned for it two boundaries defined as it were by nature herself, the Danube and the Euphrates. Then after conquering the Scythians and Thracians I did not employ the long reign that you gods vouchsafed me in making projects for war after war, but devoted my leisure to legislation and to reforming the evils that war had caused. For in this I thought that I was no less well advised than my predecessors, or rather, if I may make bold to say so, I was better advised than any who have ever administered so great an empire. For some of these, when they might have remained quiet and not taken the field, kept making one war an excuse for the next, like quarrelsome people and their lawsuits; and so they perished in their campaigns. Others when they had a war on their hands gave themselves up to indulgence,

¹ A Stoic philosopher; cf. pseudo-Lucian, *Long Lives* 21. 23; Suetonius, *Augustus*; *Dio Chrysostom* 33. 48.

² *Letter* 51. 434 A; *Letter to Themistius* 265 C; Themistius 63 D.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

αἰσχροὺς τρυφὴν προτιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διανοούμενος οὐκ ἀξιῶ τῆς χείρονος ἑμαυτὸν μερίδος· ὃ, τι δ' ἂν ὑμῖν, ὦ θεοί, φαίνεται, τοῦτο εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἐμὲ δῆπουθεν στέργειν.

Δίδεται μετὰ τοῦτον τῷ Τραϊανῷ τοῦ λέγειν ἐξουσία. ὁ δέ, καίπερ δυνάμενος λέγειν, ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας· ἐπιτρέπειν γὰρ εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ Β
Σούρα γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· φθεγγόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ λέγων, ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτοῖς τό τε Γετικὸν καὶ τὸ Παρθικὸν τρόπαιον. ἥτις αὐτὸ τὸ γῆρας ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαν αὐτῷ τοῖς Παρθικοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπεξελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Αλλ', ὦ μάταιε, ἔφη, εἴκοσι βεβασίλευκας ἔτη, 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ οὐτοσὶ δώδεκα. τί οὖν ἀφείς αἰτιᾶσθαι τὴν σαυτοῦ τρυφὴν τὴν τοῦ χρόνου μέμφῃ στενότητα; παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκώμματος, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν C
ἔξω τοῦ δύνασθαι ῥητορεύειν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς φιλοποσίας ἀμβλύτερος ἑαυτοῦ πολλάκις ἦν, 'Εγὼ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβὼν ναρκῶσαν ὥσπερ καὶ διαλελυμένην ὑπὸ τε τῆς οἴκοι πολλὸν χρόνον ἐπικρατησάσης τυραννίδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Γετῶν ὕβρεως, μόνος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον D
ἐτόλμησα προσλαβεῖν ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ Γετῶν ἔθνος ἐξεῖλον, οἳ τῶν πώποτε μαχιμώτατοι γεγόνασιν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀνδρείας μόνον τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ τιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῖς Ζάμολξιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ μετοικίζεσθαι νομίζοντες ἐτοιμότερον αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι¹ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὑπομένουσιν. ἐπράχθη δέ μοι τὸ

¹ ἄλλοι Reiske adds.

THE CAESARS

and preferred such base indulgence not only to future glory but even to their personal safety. When I reflect on all this I do not think myself entitled to the lowest place. But whatever shall seem good to you, O ye gods, it surely becomes me to accept with a good grace."

Trajan was allowed to speak next. Though he had some talent for oratory he was so lazy that he had been in the habit of letting Sura write most of his speeches for him ; so he shouted rather than spoke, and meanwhile displayed to the gods his Getic and Parthian trophies, while he accused his old age of not having allowed him to extend his Parthian conquests. "You cannot take us in," said Silenus ; "you reigned twenty years and Alexander here only twelve. Why then do you not put it down to your own love of ease, instead of complaining of your short allowance of time ?" Stung by the taunt, since he was not deficient in eloquence, though intemperance often made him seem more stupid than he was, Trajan began again. "O Zeus and ye other gods, when I took over the empire it was in a sort of lethargy and much disordered by the tyranny that had long prevailed at home, and by the insolent conduct of the Getae. I alone ventured to attack the tribes beyond the Danube, and I subdued the Getae, the most warlike race that ever existed, which is due partly to their physical courage, partly to the doctrines that they have adopted from their admired Zamolxis.¹ For they believe that they do not die but only change their place of abode, and they meet death more readily than other men undertake a journey. Yet I accomplished that task in a matter

¹ Cf. 309 c, *Oration* 8, 244 A and note.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἔργον τοῦτο ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἴσως πού πέντε. πάντων
 δὲ ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἑμαντοῦ¹ γεγονότων αὐτοκρατόρων 328
 ὥφθην τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πραότατος καὶ οὔτε Καῖσαρ
 οὐτοσὶ περὶ τούτων ἀμφισβητήσειεν ἂν μοι οὔτ'
 ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἷς, εὐδηλὸν ἐστὶ πού. πρὸς Παρ-
 θυαίους δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐκ
 ᾤμην δεῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις· ἀδικοῦσι δὲ
 ἐπεξηλθον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας κωλυθεῖς, καίτοι
 διδόντων μοι τῶν νόμων τὸ μὴ στρατεῦεσθαι.
 τούτων δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ τιμᾶσθαι B
 πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων εἰμὶ δίκαιος, πρῶτος μὲν πρὸς τοὺς
 ὑπηκόους, φοβερὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δια-
 φερόντως γενόμενος, αἰδεσθεῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
 ἔκγονον² φιλοσοφίαν; τοιαῦτα ὁ Τραϊανὸς εἰπὼν
 ἐδόκει τῇ πραότητι πάντων κρατεῖν, καὶ δῆλοί
 πως ἦσαν οἱ θεοὶ μάλιστα ἡσθέντες ἐπὶ τούτῳ.

Τοῦ Μάρκου δὲ ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Σειληνὸς
 ἡρέμα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, Ἀκούσωμεν, ἔφη, τοῦ C
 Στωικοῦ τουτουί, τί ποτε ἄρα τῶν παραδόξων
 ἐκείνων ἐρεῖ καὶ τεραστίων δογμάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀπο-
 βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεούς, Ἀλλ'
 ἔμοιγε, εἶπεν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, λόγων οὐδὲν δεῖ καὶ
 ἀγῶνος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡγνοεῖτε τὰμά, προσήκον ἦν
 ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἴστε καὶ λέληθεν
 ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδέν, αὐτοὶ μοι τιμᾶτε τῆς D
 ἀξίας. ἔδοξε δὴ οὖν ὁ Μάρκος τά τε ἄλλα

¹ ἑμαντοῦ Hertlein suggests, ἐμοῦ MSS.

² ἔκγονον Wright, ἔγγονον Hertlein, MSS.

THE CAESARS

of five years or so. That of all the Emperors who came before me¹ I was regarded as the mildest in the treatment of my subjects, is, I imagine, obvious, and neither Caesar here nor any other will dispute it with me. Against the Parthians I thought I ought not to employ force until they had put themselves in the wrong, but when they did so I marched against them, undeterred by my age, though the laws would have allowed me to quit the service. Since then the facts are as I have said, do I not deserve to be honoured before all the rest, first because I was so mild to my subjects, secondly because more than others I inspired terror in my country's foes, thirdly because I revered your daughter divine Philosophy?"

When Trajan had finished this speech the gods decided that he excelled all the rest in clemency; and evidently this was a virtue peculiarly pleasing to them.

When Marcus Aurelius began to speak, Silenus whispered to Dionysus, "Let us hear which one of his paradoxes and wonderful doctrines this Stoic will produce." But Marcus turned to Zeus and the other gods and said, "It seems to me, O Zeus and ye other gods, that I have no need to make a speech or to compete. If you did not know all that concerns me it would indeed be fitting for me to inform you. But since you know it and nothing at all is hidden from you, do you of your own accord assign me such honour as I deserve."

Thus Marcus showed that admirable as he was in other respects he was wise also beyond the rest,

¹ For this idiom cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 4. 324.

"Adam the goodliest of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

θαυμάσιός τις εἶναι καὶ σοφὸς διαφερόντως ἅτε οἶμαι διαγινώσκων,

Λέγειν θ' ὅπου χρὴ καὶ σιγᾶν ὅπου καλόν.

Τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ μετὰ τοῦτον λέγειν ἐπέ-
 τρεπον. ὁ δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐθάρρει τὴν ἀγωνίαν.
 ὥς δὲ ἀπέβλεπεν εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα, μικρὰ
 παντάπασιν εἶδε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. δύο γὰρ τυράννους, 329
 εἷ γε χρὴ τάληθῇ φάναι, καθηρῇκει, τὸν μὲν
 ἀπόλεμον τε καὶ μαλακόν, τὸν δὲ ἄθλιόν τε καὶ
 διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῇ,¹ ἀμφοτέρω δὲ θεοῖς τε καὶ
 ἀνθρώποις ἐχθίστω. τά γε μὴν εἰς τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους ἦν γελοῖα αὐτῷ· φόρους γὰρ ὥσπερ
 ἐτετελέκει,² καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τρυφὴν ἀφεώρα· πόρρω
 δὲ εἰστήκει τῶν θεῶν αὕτη περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῆς
 Σελήνης· ἐρωτικῶς τε οὖν εἶχεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅλος
 πρὸς ἐκείνην βλέπων οὐδὲν ἔμελεν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς B
 νίκης.³ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχρῆν καὶ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τι, Ταύτη
 τούτων κρείττων, ἔφη, εἰμί, τοῦ Μακεδόνος μὲν,
 ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ Σκυ-
 θικὰ γένη καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσιανοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους ἡγωνισάμην, Καίσαρος δὲ καὶ Ὀκτα-
 βιανοῦ τῷ μῆ, καθάπερ οὗτοι, πρὸς καλοὺς
 καγαθοὺς πολίτας στασιάσαι, τοῖς μιαινωτάτοις
 δὲ καὶ πονηροτάτοις τῶν τυράννων ἐπεξελθεῖν.
 Τραϊανοῦ δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων ἀνδρα- C
 γαθήμασιν εἰκότως ἂν προτιμηθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἦν
 οὗτος προσεκτῆσατο χώραν ἀναλαβεῖν ἴσος ἂν
 οὐκ ἀπεικότως νομιζοίμην, εἰ μὴ καὶ μεῖζόν ἐστι

¹ ἀσθενῇ Sylburg adds.

² After ἐτετελέκει Cobet suspects that several words are lost.

³ νίκης Cobet, MSS, δίκης Hertlein, V, M.

THE CAESARS

because he knew "When it is time to speak and when to be silent."¹

Constantine was allowed to speak next. On first entering the lists he was confident enough. But when he reflected on the exploits of the others he saw that his own were wholly trivial. He had defeated two tyrants, but, to tell the truth, one of them² was untrained in war and effeminate, the other³ a poor creature and enfeebled by old age, while both were alike odious to gods and men. Moreover his campaigns against the barbarians covered him with ridicule. For he paid them tribute, so to speak, while he gave all his attention to Pleasure, who stood at a distance from the gods near the entrance to the moon. Of her indeed he was so enamoured that he had no eyes for anything else, and cared not at all for victory. However, as it was his turn and he had to say something, he began:

"In the following respects I am superior to these others; to the Macedonian in having fought against Romans, Germans and Scythians, instead of Asiatic barbarians; to Caesar and Octavian in that I did not, like them, lead a revolution against brave and good citizens, but attacked only the most cruel and wicked tyrants. As for Trajan, I should naturally rank higher on account of those same glorious exploits against the tyrants, while it would be only fair to regard me as his equal on the score of that territory which he added to the empire, and I recovered; if indeed it be not more glorious to regain

¹ Euripides, *fr.* 417 Nauck.

² Maxentius. ³ Licinius.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τὸ ἀνακτήσασθαι τοῦ κτήσασθαι. Μάρκος δὲ οὐτοσὶ σιωπῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταται. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, 'Αλλ' ἢ τοὺς 'Αδώνιδος κήπους ὡς ἔργα ἡμῖν, ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε, σεαυτοῦ προφέρεις; τί δέ, εἶπεν, εἰσὶν οὓς λέγεις 'Αδώνιδος κήπους; οὓς αἱ γυναῖκες, ἔφη, D τῇ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἀνδρὶ φυτεύουσιν ὀστρακίοις ἐπαμυσάμεναι γῆν λαχανίαν· χλοήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτίκα ἀπομαραίνεται. καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἠρυθρίασεν, ἀντικρὺς ἐπιγνούς τοιοῦτον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον.

'Ησυχίας δὲ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἐφύκεσαν περιμένειν, ὅτῳ θήσονται τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων οἱ θεοὶ ψῆφον· οἱ δ' ὥοντο δεῖν τὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τοῦμφανές τῶν ἀνδρῶν προάγειν καὶ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ¹ τῶν 330 πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς, ὧν ἡ Τύχη μετεποιεῖτο τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρειστήκει πλὴν 'Οκταβιανοῦ μόνου. τοῦτον δὲ εὐγνώμονα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Ἑρμῇ, καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον 'Αλεξάνδρου πυθέσθαι, τί B νομίσειε κάλλιστον καὶ πρὸς τί βλέπων ἐργάσαιτο καὶ πάθοι πάντα ὅσαπερ δεδράκοι τε καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Τὸ πάντα νικᾶν. εἶτα, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, οἶε σοι τοῦτο πεποιῆσθαι; καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ 'Αλέξανδρος. ὁ δὲ Σειληνὸς τωθαστικῶς μάλα γελάσας, 'Αλλὰ ἐκράτουν γέ σου πολλάκις αἱ ἡμέτεραι θυγατέρες, αἰνιττόμενος τὰς ἀμπέλους, τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον οἶα δὴ τινα μέθυσον C

¹ οὐ κρίνειν ἐκ Hertlein suggests, οὐκ ἐκ MSS.

THE CAESARS

than to gain. As for Marcus here, by saying nothing for himself he yields precedence to all of us." "But Constantine," said Silenus, "are you not offering us mere gardens of Adonis¹ as exploits?" "What do you mean," he asked, "by gardens of Adonis?" "I mean," said Silenus, "those that women plant in pots, in honour of the lover of Aphrodite, by scraping together a little earth for a garden bed. They bloom for a little space and fade forthwith." At this Constantine blushed, for he realised that this was exactly like his own performance.

Silence was then proclaimed, and the Emperors thought they had only to wait till the gods decided to whom they would vote the first prize. But the latter agreed that they must bring to light the motives that had governed each, and not judge them by their actions alone, since Fortune had the greatest share in these. That goddess herself was standing near and kept reproaching all of them, with the single exception of Octavian; he, she said, had always been grateful to her. Accordingly the gods decided to entrust this enquiry also to Hermes, and he was told to begin with Alexander and to ask him what he considered the finest of all things, and what had been his object in doing and suffering all that he had done and suffered. "To conquer the world," he replied. "Well," asked Hermes, "do you think you accomplished this?" "I do indeed," said Alexander. Whereupon Silenus with a malicious laugh exclaimed, "But you were often conquered yourself by my daughters!" by which he meant his vines, alluding to Alexander's love of wine and

¹ A proverb for whatever perishes quickly; cf. Theocritus 15. Frazer, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 194.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

καὶ φίλοινον σκώπτων. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄτε
 δὴ γέμων Περιπατητικῶν παρακουσμάτων, Οὐ τὰ
 ἄψυχα, ἔφη, νικᾶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ πρὸς
 ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ πᾶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πᾶν δὲ θηρίων
 γένος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ὥσπερ οἱ θαυμάζοντες
 εἰρωνικῶς μάλα, Ἰού, ἰού, ἔφη, τῶν διαλεκτικῶν D
 κιγκλίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ποτέρῳ σαυτὸν
 θήσεις γένει, τῶν ἀψύχων ἢ τῶν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ
 ζώντων; καὶ ὃς ὥσπερ ἀγανακτήσας, Εὐφήμει,
 ἔφη· ὑπὸ γὰρ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι δὴ καὶ θεὸς
 γενοίμην, μᾶλλον δ' εἶην, ἐπεπείσμην. Αὐτὸς οὖν,
 εἶπεν, ἡττήθης σεαυτοῦ πολλάκις. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κρατεῖν καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι
 ὁμωνύμως λέγεται· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς 331
 ἄλλους ὁ λόγος. Βαβαὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς, εἶπεν,
 ὅπως ἡμῶν τὰ σοφίσματα διελέγχεις. ἀλλ' ἡνίκα,
 εἶπεν, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐτρώθης καὶ ὁ Πευκέστης ἔκειτο
 παρὰ σέ, σὺ δὲ ἐξήγου ψυχορραγῶν τῆς πόλεως,
 ἄρα ἡττων ἦσθα τοῦ τρώσαντος, ἢ καὶ ἐκείνον
 ἐνίκας; Οὐκ ἐκείνον, ἔφη, μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν
 ἐξεπόρθησα τὴν πόλιν. Οὐ σύ γε, εἶπεν, ὦ
 μακάριε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἔκεισο κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν
 Ἔκτορα ὀλιγοδρανέων καὶ ψυχορραγῶν· οἱ δὲ B
 ἡγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐνίκων. Ἐγουμένων γ' ἡμῶν,
 εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Πῶς; οἷ γε
 400

THE CAESARS

intemperate habits. But Alexander was well stocked with Peripatetic subterfuges, and retorted, "Inanimate things cannot conquer; nor do we contend with such, but only with the whole race of men and beasts." "Ah," said Silenus, "behold the chicanery of logic! But tell me in which class you place yourself, the inanimate or the animate and living?" At this he seemed mortified and said, "Hush! Such was my greatness of soul that I was convinced that I should become, or rather that I was already, a god." "At any rate," said Silenus, "you were often defeated by yourself." "Nay," retorted Alexander, "to conquer oneself or be defeated by oneself amounts to the same thing. I was talking of my victories over other men." "No more of your logic!" cried Silenus, "how adroitly you detect my sophisms! But when you were wounded in India,¹ and Peucestes² lay near you and they carried you out of the town at your last gasp, were you defeated by him who wounded you, or did you conquer him?" "I conquered him, and what is more I sacked the town as well." "Not you indeed, you immortal," said Silenus, "for you were lying like Homer's Hector in a swoon and at your last gasp. It was your soldiers who fought and conquered." "Well but I led them," said Alexander. "How so? When you were being carried away almost dead?" And then Silenus

¹ At the storming of the capital of the Mallians, probably the modern city Multan, in 326 B.C., cf. Plutarch, *Alexander*; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 14.

² Peucestes was wounded but saved Alexander's life; Pliny 34. 8.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐφέρεσθε μικροῦ νεκροί; εἶτα ἤδε τῶν ἐξ Εὐριπίδου

Οἶμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὥς κακῶς νομίζεται,
"Οταν τρόπαιον πολεμίων στήσῃ στρατός.

καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος, Παῦσαι, εἶπεν, ὦ παππίδιον, τοιαῦτα λέγων, μή σε οὗτος ὅποια τὸν Κλεῖτον ἐργάσεται.¹ καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρυθριάσας τε ἅμα καὶ ὥσπερ συγχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύων τὰ ὄμματα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὧδε ἔληξεν ὁ λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο πάλιν τὸν Καίσαρα, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, τίς ἐγένετο σκοπὸς τοῦ βίου; Τὸ πρωτεύειν, ἔφη, τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μηδενὸς μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι² δεύτερον. Τοῦτο, εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἀσαφές ἐστι· πότερον γάρ, εἰπέ,³ κατὰ σοφίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δεινότητα ἢ πολεμικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν; Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἡδύ μοι τῶν πάντων ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι πρῶτῳ· τούτου δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπιτυχεῖν τὸ δύνασθαι μέγιστον παρὰ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πολίταις ἐζήλωσα. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης μέγα; πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Σειληνός. καὶ ὅς, Πάνυ γε, ἔφη· κύριος γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγενόμην. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, εἶπεν, ἐδυνήθης· ἀγαπηθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένου, καὶ ταῦτα πολλὴν μὲν ὑποκρινάμενος ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι καὶ σκηνῇ φιλανθρωπίαν, αἰσχρῶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πάντας κολακεύων. Εἶτα οὐκ ἀγαπηθῆναι δοκῶ, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ διώ- B

¹ τὸν Κλεῖτον ἔδρασεν ἐργάσεται MSS. ; Hertlein suggests omission of ἔδρασεν.

² μήτε εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι Hertlein suggests, εἶναι μήτε νομίζεσθαι MSS.

³ εἰπέ Hertlein suggests ; cf. 333 D, εἶπε MSS.

THE CAESARS

recited the passage in Euripides¹ beginning "Alas how unjust is the custom of the Greeks, when an army triumphs over the enemy—" But Dionysus interrupted him saying "Stop, little father, say no more, or he will treat you as he treated Cleitus." At that Alexander blushed, his eyes became suffused with tears and he said no more. Thus their conversation ended.

Next Hermes began to question Caesar, and said, "And you, Caesar, what was the end and aim of your life?" "To hold the first place in my own country," he replied, "and neither to be nor to be thought second to any man." "This," said Hermes, "is not quite clear. Tell me, was it in wisdom that you wished to be first, or in oratorical skill, or in military science, or the science of government?" "I should have liked well," said Caesar, "to be first of all men in all of these; but as I could not attain to that, I sought to become the most powerful of my fellow-citizens." "And did you become so very powerful?" asked Silenus. "Certainly," he replied, "since I made myself their master." "Yes that you were able to do; but you could not make yourself beloved by them, though you played the philanthropic rôle as though you were acting in a stage-play, and flattered them all shamefully." "What!" cried Caesar, "I not beloved by the people? When

¹ *Andromache* 693 foll. : the passage continues "Tis not those who did the work that gain the credit but the general wins all the glory." Cleitus was killed by Alexander at a banquet for quoting these verses.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ξαντος Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σε ἀπέκτειναν, ἔφη· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι ὑπάτους· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀκροασάμενοι μισθὸν ἐώρων τῆς ἀγανακτήσεως αὐτοῖς οὗτοι¹ τὸν τυχόντα προσεγγεγραμμένον.

Λήξαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν Ὁκτα- C
βιανὸν αὐθις ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐκίνει. Σὺ δέ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν, τί κάλλιστον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι; καὶ ὅς, Βασιλεύσαι, ἔφη, καλῶς. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ καλῶς, ὦ Σεβαστέ, φράσον, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε ἔστι καὶ τοῖς πονηροτάτοις λέγειν. ᾤετο γοῦν καὶ Διονύσιος καλῶς βασιλεύειν καὶ ὁ τούτου μιαιώτερος Ἀγα-
θοκλῆς. Ἄλλ' ἴστε, εἶπεν, ὦ θεοί, ὡς προπέμπων D
τὸν θυγατρίδου ἠϋξάμην ὑμῖν τόλμαν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν Καίσαρος, δεινότητα δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, τύχην δὲ τὴν ἐμήν. Πολλά, εἶπεν ὁ Σειληνός, καὶ θεῶν ὄντως σωτήρων ἔργα δεόμενα συνεφόρησεν οὗτος ὁ κοροπλάθος. Εἶτα διὰ τί τοῦτο, ἔφη, τὸ ὄνομά μοι γελοῖον οὕτως ἔθου; Ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔπλαττες ἡμῖν, εἶπεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς νύμφας, ὦ Σεβαστέ, θεοὺς, ὧν ἓνα καὶ πρῶτον τουτονὶ Καίσαρα; καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὁκταβιανὸς ὥσπερ δυσ- 333
ωπούμενος ἀπεσιώπησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς πρὸς τὸν Τραϊανὸν βλέψας, Σὺ δέ, εἶπε, τί διανοούμενος ἔπραττες ὅσαπερ ἔπραξας; Τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σωφρονέστερον,

¹ οὔτοι V, Cobet, οὔτι Hertlein.

THE CAESARS

they punished Brutus and Cassius!" "That was not for murdering you," replied Silenus, "since for that they elected them consuls!¹ No, it was because of the money you left them. When they had heard your will read they perceived what a fine reward was offered them in it for such resentment of your murder."

When this dialogue ended, Hermes next accosted Octavian. "Now for you," he said, "will you please tell us what *you* thought the finest thing in the world?" "To govern well," he replied. "You must say what you mean by 'well,' Augustus. Govern well! The wickedest tyrants claim to do that. Even Dionysius,² I suppose, thought that he governed well, and so did Agathocles³ who was a still greater criminal." "But you know, O ye gods," said Octavian, "that when I parted with my grandson⁴ I prayed you to give him the courage of Caesar, the cleverness of Pompey, and my own good fortune." "What a many things," cried Silenus, "that do need really saving gods have been jumbled together by this doll-maker!" "Why pray do you give me that ridiculous name?" asked the other. "Why," he replied, "just as they model nymphs did you not model gods,⁵ Augustus, and first and foremost Caesar here?" At this Octavian seemed abashed and said no more.

Then Hermes addressing Trajan said, "Now you tell us what was the principle that guided all your actions?" "My aims," he replied, "were the same

¹ This is not according to history. The Senate gave Brutus and Cassius proconsular power in their provinces.

² Tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.C.

³ Tyrant of Syracuse 317-289 B.C.

⁴ Caius Caesar.

⁵ Julian refers to the custom of deifying the Emperors.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

εἶπεν, ὠρέχθην. καὶ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἡττήθης μὲν οὖν,¹ εἶπε, καὶ σὺ τῶν ἀγεννεστέρων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ τὸ πλείστον ἥττων ἦν, σὺ δὲ αἰσχροῦς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπονειδίστου. Βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν, B εἶπεν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπεὶ σκώπτεις σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ποιεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν λέγειν. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἶχέ σοι χώραν τὰ σκώμματα· πρόσεχε δὲ νῦν, ὅπως ἀντιλήψῃ τοῦ Μάρκου. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναί μοί πως ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου τετυγμένος. ὁ Ἑρμῆς δὲ βλέψας εἰς τὸν Μάρκον, Σοὶ δέ, εἶπεν, ὦ Bῆρε, τί κάλλιστον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου τέλος εἶναι; καὶ ὃς ἡρέμα καὶ σωφρόνως, Τὸ μιμῆσθαι, C ἔφη, τοὺς θεοὺς. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν εὐθέως ἡ ἀπόκρισις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πάντος ἀξία. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἐβούλετο πολυπραγμονεῖν, πεπεισμένος ὅτι πάντα ὁ Μάρκος ἀκολούθως ἐρεῖ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐδόκει ταύτη· μόνος δὲ ὁ Σειληνός, Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέξομαι τούτου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ. τί δήποτε γὰρ ἦσθιες, εἰπέ,² καὶ ἔπινες οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἀμ- D βροσίας τε καὶ νέκταρος, ἄρτου δὲ καὶ οἴνου; Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἥπερ οὖν ᾧμην τοὺς θεοὺς μιμῆσθαι, ταύτη προσεφερόμην σιτία καὶ ποτά· τὸ σῶμα δὲ ἔτρεφον, ἴσως μὲν ψευδῶς, πειθόμενος δέ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα σώματα δεῖται τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων τροφῆς. πλὴν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτά γε ὑμᾶς εἶναι μιμητέους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπέλαβον. ὀλίγον ὁ Σειληνὸς διαπορήσας³ 334

¹ μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, οὖν MSS. καὶ before σὺ Cobet adds.

² εἰπέ Hertlein suggests, cf. 331 D, εἶπε MSS.

³ διαπορήσας Reiske suggests to complete the construction.

THE CAESARS

as Alexander's, but I acted with more prudence." "Nay," said Silenus, "you were the slave of more ignoble passions. Anger was nearly always his weak point, but yours was pleasure of the vilest and most infamous sort." "Plague take you!" exclaimed Dionysus, "You keep railing at them all and you don't let them say a word for themselves. However, in their case there was some ground for your sarcasms, but now consider well what you can find to criticise in Marcus. For in my opinion he is a man, to quote Simonides, 'four-square and made without a flaw.'"¹ Then Hermes addressed Marcus and said, "And you, Verus, what did you think the noblest ambition in life?" In a low voice he answered modestly, "To imitate the gods." This answer they at once agreed was highly noble and in fact the best possible. And even Hermes did not wish to cross-examine him further, since he was convinced that Marcus would answer every question equally well. The other gods were of the same mind; only Silenus cried "By Dionysus I shall not let this sophist off so easily. Why then did you eat bread and drink wine and not ambrosia and nectar like us?" "Nay," he replied, "it was not in the fashion of my meat and drink that I thought to imitate the gods. But I nourished my body because I believed, though perhaps falsely, that even your bodies require to be nourished by the fumes of sacrifice. Not that I supposed I ought to imitate you in that respect, but rather your minds." For the moment Silenus was at a loss as though he

¹ Simonides *fr.* 5 Bergk.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πύκτου δεξιοῦ πληγείς, Εἴρηται μὲν
 σοι τοῦτο, εἶπε, τυχὸν οὐκ ἀτόπως, ἐμοὶ δέ,
 ἔφη, φράσον, τί ποτε ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τὴν τῶν
 θεῶν μίμησιν; καὶ ὅς, Δεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων,
 εὖ ποιεῖν δὲ ὡς ὅ, τι μάλιστα πλείστους. Μῶν
 οὖν, εἶπεν, οὐδενὸς ἐδέου; καὶ ὁ Μάρκος, Ἐγὼ μὲν
 οὐδενός, ἴσως δὲ τὸ σωμάτιόν μου μικρῶν. δόξαν-
 τος οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς εἰρηκέναι τοῦ Μάρκου, B
 τὸ τέλος ἀπορούμενος ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπιφύεται τοῖς
 περὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ λόγον πεποιῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν
 ὅτι ταῖς ἡρώιναις ἐνέγραψε, τῷ δὲ ὅτι τὴν
 ἡγεμονίαν ἐπέτρεψε. Ἐμμησάμην, εἶπε, καὶ
 κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς θεούς· Ὀμήρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειθόμην
 λέγοντι περὶ τῆς γαμετῆς, ὅτι ἄρα, ὅστις ἀγαθὸς C
 καὶ ἐχέφρων, τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται· περὶ
 δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἀπόφασιν ἔχω·
 αἰτιώμενος γὰρ τὸν Ἄρεα, Πάλαι ἄν, εἶπεν,
 ἐβέβλησο τῷ κεραυνῷ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ παῖδά σε
 εἶναι ἡγάπων. ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲ ὥμην ἐγὼ
 τὸν παῖδα πονηρὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡ
 νεότης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη ῥοπὰς
 ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἡνέχθη, οὐχὶ πονηρῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
 ἐπέτρεψα, συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν λαβόντα πονηρὸν
 γενέσθαι. τά τε οὖν περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πεποιήται D
 μοι κατὰ ζῆλον Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὰ
 περὶ τὸν παῖδα κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Διός,
 ἄλλως τε καὶ οὐδὲν καινοτομήσαντι. παισί
 τε γὰρ νόμιμον ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς διαδοχάς, καὶ
 408

THE CAESARS

had been hit by a good boxer,¹ then he said "There is perhaps something in what you say; but now tell me what did you think was really meant by 'imitating the gods.'" "Having the fewest possible needs and doing good to the greatest possible number." "Do you mean to say," he asked, "that you had no needs at all?" "I," said Marcus, "had none, but my wretched body had a few, perhaps." Since in this also Marcus seemed to have answered wisely, Silenus was at a loss, but finally fastened on what he thought was foolish and unreasonable in the Emperor's behaviour to his son and his wife, I mean in enrolling the latter among the deified and entrusting the empire to the former. "But in that also," said the other, "I did but imitate the gods. I adopted the maxim of Homer when he says 'the good and prudent man loves and cherishes his own wife,'² while as to my son I can quote the excuse of Zeus himself when he is rebuking Ares: 'Long ago,' he says, 'I should have smitten thee with a thunderbolt, had I not loved thee because thou art my son.'³ Besides, I never thought my son would prove so wicked. Youth ever vacillates between the extremes of vice and virtue, and if in the end he inclined to vice, still he was not vicious when I entrusted the empire to him; it was only after receiving it that he became corrupted. Therefore my behaviour to my wife was modelled on that of the divine Achilles, and that to my son was in imitation of supreme Zeus. Moreover, in neither case did I introduce any novelty. It is the custom to hand down the succession to a man's sons, and all men desire to do so; as

¹ Plato, *Protagoras* 339 E ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀγαθοῦ πύκτου πληγείς.

² *Iliad* 9. 343.

³ A paraphrase of *Iliad* 5. 897.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τοῦτο ἅπαντες εὖχονται, τὴν τε γαμετὴν οὐκ 335
 ἐγὼ πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησα.
 ἴσως δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ
 ἔστιν εὐλογον, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γενόμενον τοὺς
 οἰκειοτάτους ἀποστερεῖν ἐγγὺς ἀδικίας. ἀλλ'
 ἔλαθον ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ μακρότερα ἀπολογούμενος
 πρὸς εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί· διόπερ μοι
 τῆς προπετείας ταυτησὶ συγγνώμονες γένοισθε.

Παυσαμένου δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, τὸν
 Κωνσταντίνου ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἤρετο, Σὺ δὲ τί καλὸν B
 ἐνόμισας; Πολλά, εἶπε, κτησάμενον πολλὰ χαρί-
 σασθαι, ταῖς τ' ἐπιθυμίαις ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
 ταῖς τῶν φίλων ὑπουργοῦντα. ἀνακαγχάσας
 οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς μέγα, Ἄλλ' ἢ τραπεζίτης εἶναι,
 ἔφη, θέλων ἐλελήθεις σεαυτὸν ὀψοπιοῦ καὶ
 κομμωτρίας βίον ζῶν;¹ ἠνίττετο δ' αὐτὰ πάλαι
 μὲν ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ἀτὰρ νῦν καὶ ἡ
 γνώμη σοῦ κατηγορεῖ. τούτου μὲν οὖν ὁ Σειληνὸς
 πικρότερόν πως καθήψατο.

Σιωπῆς δὲ γενομένης ἔφερον οἱ θεοὶ λάθρα C
 τὰς ψήφους. εἶτα ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ.
 κοινολογησάμενος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
 προσέταξε κηρῦξαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ. ὁ δὲ ἐκήρυττεν,
 Ἄνδρες οἱ παρελθόντες ἐπὶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,
 νόμοι παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσι καὶ κρίσεις τοιαῦται
 γίνονται, ὥστε καὶ τὸν νικῶντα χαίρειν καὶ τὸν
 ἡττώμενον μὴ μέμφεσθαι. πορεύεσθε οὖν, εἶπεν,
 ὅποι φίλον ἐκάστω, ὑπὸ θεοῖς ἡγεμόσι βιωσόμενοι D
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν· ἐλέσθω δ' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ τὸν
 προστάτην τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα. μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα

¹ ζῶν Cobet, ἄγων Reiske, ἔχων Hertlein, MSS.

THE CAESARS

for my wife I was not the first to decree divine honours to a wife, for I followed the example of many others. It is perhaps absurd to have introduced any such custom, but it would be almost an injustice to deprive one's nearest and dearest of what is now long-established. However, I forget myself when I make this lengthy explanation to you, O Zeus and ye other gods; for ye know all things. Forgive me this forwardness."

When Marcus had finished his speech, Hermes asked Constantine, "And what was the height of *your* ambition?" "To amass great wealth," he answered, "and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires and the desires of my friends." At this Silenus burst into a loud laugh, and said, "If it was a banker that you wanted to be, how did you so far forget yourself as to lead the life of a pastrycook and hairdresser?" "Your locks and your fair favour¹ betokened this all along, but what you say about your motives convicts you." Thus did Silenus sharply reprove Constantine.

Then silence was proclaimed and the gods cast a secret ballot. It turned out that Marcus had most of the votes. After conferring apart with his father,² Zeus bade Hermes make a proclamation as follows: "Know all ye mortals who have entered this contest, that according to our laws and decrees the victor is allowed to exult but the vanquished must not complain. Depart then wherever you please, and in future live every one of you under the guidance of the gods. Let every man choose his own guardian and guide."

¹ *Iliad* 3. 55.

² Kronos.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα,
 Ὀκταβιανὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἀμφοῖν
 δὲ ἀπρίξ εἶχετο τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου Μάρκος.
 πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα τὸν
 Καίσαρα κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἄρης ἥ τε
 Ἀφροδίτη παρ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαλεσάτην· Τραϊανὸς
 δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἔθει ὡς ἐκείνῳ συγκαθ-
 εδούμενος. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, οὐχ εὐρίσκων 336
 ἐν θεοῖς τοῦ βίου τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐγγύθεν τὴν
 Τρυφὴν κατιδὼν ἔδραμε πρὸς αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ ὑπολα-
 βούσα μαλακῶς καὶ περιβαλοῦσα τοῖς πῆχεσι
 πέπλοις τε αὐτὸν ποικίλοις ἀσκήσασα καὶ καλ-
 λωπίσασα πρὸς τὴν Ἀσωτίαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἵνα
 καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν εὐρὼν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ
 προαγορεύοντα πᾶσιν, “Ὅστις φθορεῖς, ὅστις
 μαιφόνος, ὅστις ἐναγῆς καὶ βδελυρός, ἴτω θαρρῶν· B
 ἀποφανῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τουτῶι τῷ ὕδατι λούσας
 αὐτίκα καθάρων, κἂν πάλιν ἔνοχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 γένηται, δώσω τὸ στήθος πλήξαντι καὶ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν πατάξαντι καθαρῶ γενέσθαι,” σφόδρα
 ἄσμενος ἐνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, συνεξαγαγὼν τῆς τῶν
 θεῶν ἀγορᾶς τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπέτριβον δ' αὐτόν
 τε κᾀκείνους οὐχ ἡττον τῆς ἀθεότητος οἱ πα-
 λαμναῖοι δαίμονες, αἰμάτων συγγενῶν τιννύμενοι
 δίκας, ἕως ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Κων-
 στάντιον ἔδωκεν ἀναπνεῦσαι.

THE CAESARS

After this announcement, Alexander hastened to Heracles, and Octavian to Apollo, but Marcus attached himself closely to Zeus and Kronos. Caesar wandered about for a long time and ran hither and thither, till mighty Ares and Aphrodite took pity on him and summoned him to them. Trajan hastened to Alexander and sat down near him. As for Constantine, he could not discover among the gods the model of his own career, but when he caught sight of Pleasure, who was not far off, he ran to her. She received him tenderly and embraced him, then after dressing him in raiment of many colours and otherwise making him beautiful, she led him away to Incontinence. There too he found Jesus, who had taken up his abode with her and cried aloud to all comers: "He that is a seducer, he that is a murderer, he that is sacrilegious and infamous, let him approach without fear! For with this water will I wash him and will straightway make him clean. And though he should be guilty of those same sins a second time, let him but smite his breast and beat his head and I will make him clean again." To him Constantine came gladly, when he had conducted his sons forth from the assembly of the gods. But the avenging deities none the less punished both him and them for their impiety, and exacted the penalty for the shedding of the blood of their kindred,¹ until Zeus granted them a respite for the sake of Claudius and Constantius.²

¹ Introduction to Volume I. p. vii.

² Constantius Chlorus.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Σοὶ δέ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς, δέδωκα τὸν C
πατέρα Μίθραν ἐπιγινῶναι· σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
ἐντολῶν ἔχου, πείσμα καὶ ὄρμον ἀσφαλῆ ζώντί
τε σεαυτῷ παρασκευάζων, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν ἐνθένδε
ἀπιέναι δέῃ, μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος ἡγεμόνα
θεὸν εὐμενῇ καθιστὰς σεαυτῷ.

THE CAESARS

“As for thee,” Hermes said to me, “I have granted thee the knowledge of thy father Mithras. Do thou keep his commandments, and thus secure for thyself a cable and sure anchorage throughout thy life, and when thou must depart from the world thou canst with good hopes adopt him as thy guardian god.”

MISOPOGON
OR, BEARD-HATER

VOL. II.

E E

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN came to Antioch on his way to Persia in the autumn of 361 and stayed there till March, 362. The city was rich and important commercially, but in Julian's eyes her glory depended on two things, the famous shrine of Apollo and the school of rhetoric; and both of these had been neglected by the citizens during the reign of Constantius. A Christian church had been built in Apollo's grove in the suburb of Daphne, and Libanius, Antioch's most distinguished rhetorician, was more highly honoured at Nicomedia.¹ Julian's behaviour at Antioch and his failure to ingratiate himself with the citizens illustrates one of the causes of the failure of his Pagan restoration. His mistake was that he did not attempt to make Paganism popular, whereas Christianity had always been democratic. He is always reminding the common people that the true knowledge of the gods is reserved for philosophers; and even the old conservative Pagans did not share his zeal for philosophy. Antioch moreover was a frivolous city. The Emperor Hadrian three centuries earlier had been much offended by the levity of her citizens, and the homilies of Saint

¹ cf. Libanius, *Oration* 29. 220, where he warns the people of Antioch that Caesarea had already robbed them of one sophist by the offer of a higher salary, and exhorts them not to neglect rhetoric, the cause of their greatness.

INTRODUCTION

Chrysostom exhibit the same picture as Julian's satire. His austere personality and mode of life repelled the Syrian populace and the corrupt officials of Antioch. They satirised him in anapaestic verses, and either stayed away from the temples that he restored or, when they did attend in response to his summons, showed by their untimely applause of the Emperor that they had not come to worship his gods. Julian's answer was this satire on himself which he addresses directly to the people of Antioch. But he could not resist scolding them, and the satire on his own habits is not consistently maintained. After he had left the city the citizens repented and sent a deputation to make their peace with him, but in spite of the intercession of Libanius, who had accompanied him to Antioch, he could not forgive the insults to himself or the irreverence that had been displayed to the gods.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΚΟΣ¹ Ἡ ΜΙΣΟΠΩΓΩΝ

Ἀνακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ πολλὰ ἐποιήθη μέλη
 χαρίεντα· τρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔλαχεν ἐκ μοιρῶν· Ἀλ-
 καίφ δ' οὐκέτι οὐδ' Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ τὴν
 μούσαν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς εἰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ ἡδονὰς
 τρέψαι· μοχθεῖν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἀναγκαζό-
 μενοι τῇ μουσικῇ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐχρῶντο, κουφότερα B
 ποιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ὅσα ὁ δαίμων ἐδίδου τῇ εἰς τοὺς
 ἀδικοῦντας λαιδορία. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπαγορεύει μὲν ὁ
 νόμος ἐπ' ὀνόματος αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους
 μὲν οὐδέν, εἶναι δ' ἐπιχειροῦντας δυσμενεῖς, ἀφαι-
 ρεῖται δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μουσικὴν ὁ νῦν ἐπι-
 κρατῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς παιδείας τρόπος.
 αἷσχιον γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ νῦν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύειν,
 ἢ πάλαι ποτὲ ἐδόκει τὸ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως. οὐ μὲν C
 ἀφέξομαι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐμοὶ δυνατῆς ἐκ μουσῶν
 ἐπικουρίας. ἐθεασάμην τοι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν

¹ "The Discourse at Antioch" is an alternative title in the MSS.

MISOPOGON

OR, BEARD-HATER

ANACREON the poet composed many delightful songs ; for a luxurious life was allotted to him by the Fates. But Alcaeus and Archilochus of Paros¹ the god did not permit to devote their muse to mirth and pleasure. For constrained as they were to endure toil, now of one sort, now of another, they used their poetry to relieve their toil, and by abusing those who wronged them they lightened the burdens imposed on them by Heaven. But as for me, the law forbids me to accuse by name those who, though I have done them no wrong, try to show their hostility to me ; and on the other hand the fashion of education that now prevails among the well-born deprives me of the use of the music that consists in song. For in these days men think it more degrading to study music than once in the past they thought it to be rich by dishonest means. Nevertheless I will not on that account renounce the aid that it is in my power to win from the Muses. Indeed I have observed that even the

¹ In the seventh century B.C. Alcaeus of Lesbos and Archilochus both suffered exile, and the latter fell in battle against Naxos. For the misfortunes of Alcaeus, cf. Horace, *Odes* 2. 13.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

Ῥῆνον βαρβάρους ἄγρια μέλη λέξει πεποιημένα
 παραπλησία τοῖς κρωγμοῖς τῶν τραχὺ βοώντων
 ὀρνίθων ἄδοντας καὶ εὐφραينوμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς
 μέλεσιν. εἶναι γὰρ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοῖς φαύλοις 331
 τὴν μουσικὴν λυπηροῖς μὲν τοῖς θεάτροις, σφίσι
 δ' αὐτοῖς ἡδίστοις. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ξυννοήσας
 εἶωθα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν λέγειν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰσμηνίας οὐκ
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης μὲν ἔξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὁμοίας, ὡς
 ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆτα ταῖς
 μούσαις ἄδω καὶ ἑμαυτῷ.

Τὸ δ' ἄσμα πεζῇ μὲν λέξει πεποιήται, λοιδορίας
 δ' ἔχει πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας, οὐκ εἰς ἄλλους μὰ
 Δία· πῶς γάρ; ἀπαγορεύοντος τοῦ νόμου· εἰς B
 δὲ τὸν ποιητὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ξυγγραφέα. τὸ γὰρ
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν γράφειν εἴτε ἐπαίνους εἴτε ψόγους
 εἴργει νόμος οὐδεὶς. ἐπαινεῖν μὲν δὲ καὶ σφόδρα
 ἐθέλων ἑμαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχω, ψέγειν δὲ μυρία, καὶ
 πρῶτον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου. τούτῳ
 γὰρ οἶμαι φύσει γεγονότι μὴ λίαν καλῷ μηδ'
 εὐπρεπεῖ μηδ' ὠραίῳ ὑπὸ δυστροπίας καὶ δυσ-
 κολίας αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τουτονὶ C
 πώγωνα, δίκας αὐτὸ πραττόμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ-
 δενὸς μὲν ἄλλου, τοῦ δὲ μὴ φύσει γενέσθαι καλόν.
 ταῦτά τοι διαθεόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν
 ὥσπερ ἐν λόχμῃ τῶν θηρίων. ἐσθίειν δὲ λάβρως
 ἢ πίνειν χανδὸν οὐ συγχωροῦμαι· δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι
 προσέχειν, μὴ λάθω συγκαταφαγὼν¹ τὰς τρίχας

¹ συγκαταφαγὼν Cobet, καὶ συγκαταφαγὼν Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

barbarians across the Rhine sing savage songs composed in language not unlike the croaking of harsh-voiced birds, and that they delight in such songs. For I think it is always the case that inferior musicians, though they annoy their audiences, give very great pleasure to themselves. And with this in mind I often say to myself, like Ismenias—for though my talents are not equal to his, I have as I persuade myself a similar independence of soul—"I sing for the Muses and myself."¹

However the song that I now sing has been composed in prose, and it contains much violent abuse, directed not, by Zeus, against others—how could it be, since the law forbids?—but against the poet and author himself. For there is no law to prevent one's writing either praise or criticism of oneself. Now as for praising myself, though I should be very glad to do so, I have no reason for that; but for criticising myself I have countless reasons, and first I will begin with my face. For though nature did not make this any too handsome or well-favoured or give it the bloom of youth, I myself out of sheer perversity and ill-temper have added to it this long beard of mine, to punish it, as it would seem, for this very crime of not being handsome by nature. For the same reason I put up with the lice that scamper about in it as though it were a thicket for wild beasts. As for eating greedily or drinking with my mouth wide open, it is not in my power; for I must take care, I suppose, or before I know it I shall eat up some of my own hairs along with my crumbs

¹ For Ismenias of Thebes cf. Plutarch, *Pericles*. The saying became a proverb; cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 78. 420; Themistius 366 B; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "I have lived *mihi et Musis* in the University."

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τοῖς ἄρτοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν D
 ἥκιστα ἀλγῶ. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔοικεν ὁ
 πώγων ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα λυπηρόν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων
 καθαρὰ λείους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἶμαι γλυκερώτερα
 χεῖλεσι χεῖλη προσμάττειν, ὅπερ ἤδη τις ἔφη τῶν
 ἐργασαμένων ξὺν τῷ Πανὶ καὶ τῇ Καλλιόπῃ εἰς
 τὸν Δάφνιν ποιήματα. ὑμεῖς δὲ φατε δεῖν καὶ
 σχοινία πλέκειν ἐνθένδε· καὶ ἔτοιμος παρέχειν,
 ἣν μόνον ἔλκειν δυνηθῆτε καὶ μὴ τὰς ἀτρίπτους
 ὑμῶν καὶ μαλακὰς χεῖρας ἢ τραχύτης αὐτῶν
 δεινὰ ἐργάσσηται. νομίσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς δυσχεραίνειν
 ἐμὲ τῷ σκώμματι. δίδωμι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὴν αἰτίαν 339
 ὥσπερ οἱ τράγοι τὸ γένειον ἔχων, ἐξὸν οἶμαι λεῖον
 αὐτὸ ποιεῖν καὶ ψιλόν, ὁποῖον οἱ καλοὶ τῶν παί-
 δων ἔχουσιν ἅπασαί τε αἱ γυναῖκες, αἷς φύσει
 πρόσσεστι τὸ ἐράσμιον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γήρα
 ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν νύεας καὶ τὰς θυγα-
 τέρας ὑπὸ ἀβρότητος βίου καὶ ἴσως ἀπαλότητος
 τρόπου λεῖον ἐπιμελῶς ἐργάζεσθε, τὸν ἄνδρα
 ὑποφαίνοντες καὶ παραδεικνύντες διὰ τοῦ μετώπου B
 καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀπέχρησε μόνον ἡ βαθύτης τοῦ
 γενείου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσσεστιν αὐχμός,
 καὶ ὀλιγάκις κείρομαι καὶ ὀνυχίζομαι, καὶ τοὺς
 δακτύλους ὑπὸ τοῦ καλάμου τὰ πολλὰ ἔχω
 μέλανας. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθέ τι καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων
 μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι τὸ στήθος δασὺ καὶ λάσιον ὥσπερ

MISOPOGON

of bread. In the matter of being kissed and kissing I suffer no inconvenience whatever. And yet for this as for other purposes a beard is evidently troublesome, since it does not allow one to press shaven "lips to other lips more sweetly"—because they are smooth, I suppose—as has been said already by one of those who with the aid of Pan and Calliope composed poems in honour of Daphnis.¹ But you say that I ought to twist ropes from it! Well I am willing to provide you with ropes if only you have the strength to pull them and their roughness does not do dreadful damage to your "unworn and tender hands."² And let no one suppose that I am offended by your satire. For I myself furnish you with an excuse for it by wearing my chin as goats do, when I might, I suppose, make it smooth and bare as handsome youths wear theirs, and all women, who are endowed by nature with loveliness. But you, since even in your old age you emulate your own sons and daughters by your soft and delicate way of living, or perhaps by your effeminate dispositions, carefully make your chins smooth, and your manhood you barely reveal and slightly indicate by your foreheads, not by your jaws as I do.

But as though the mere length of my beard were not enough, my head is dishevelled besides, and I seldom have my hair cut or my nails, while my fingers are nearly always black from using a pen. And if you would like to learn something that is usually a secret, my breast is shaggy, and covered

¹ Daphnis is the hero of bucolic poetry; Julian echoes Theocritus 12. 32 ὅς δέ κε προσμάξῃ γλυκερώτερα χεῖλεσι χεῖλη.

² *Odyssey* 22. 151; cf. Zonaras 13. 12. 213, Dindorf.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τῶν λεόντων, οἷπερ βασιλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων, οὐδὲ ἐποίησα λείον αὐτὸ πώποτε διὰ δυσκολίαν καὶ μικροπρέπειαν, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος C εἰργασάμην λείον οὐδὲ μαλακόν. εἰπὼν γ' ἂν ὑμῖν, εἴ τις ἦν μοι καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν ὥσπερ τῷ Κικέρωνι.¹ νυνὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ εἰ² συγγινώσκετε, φράσω ὑμῖν καὶ³ ἕτερον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σῶμα εἶναι τοιοῦτο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ δίαίτα παγχάλεπος ἐπιτηδεύεται. εἵργω τῶν θεάτρων ἐμαυτὸν ὑπ' ἀβελτηρίας, οὐδ' εἴσω τῆς αὐλῆς παραδέχομαι τὴν θυμέλην ἔξω τῆς νομηνίας τοῦ ἔτους ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, ὥσπερ τινὰ φόρον ἢ D δασμὸν εἰσφέρων καὶ ἀποδιδούς ἄγροικος ὀλίγα ἔχων οὐκ ἐπιεικεῖ δεσπότη. καὶ τότε δὲ εἰσελθὼν τοῖς ἀφοσιουμένοις ἔοικα. κέκτημαι δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς ἀκούων μέγας, ὃς καθάπερ ὕπαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρξει τῶν μίμων καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων· ὅπερ ὑμεῖς ὁρῶντες ὀλίγῳ πρότερον

ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε νῦν

ἥβης ἐκείνης νοῦ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.⁴

Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο βαρὺ καὶ δεῖγμα 340 ἐναργὲς μοχθηρίας τρόπου· προστίθημι δὲ ἐγὼ τι καινότερον αἰεί· μισῶ τὰς ἵπποδρομίας, ὥσπερ οἱ χρήματα ὠφληκότες τὰς ἀγοράς. ὀλιγάκις οὖν εἰς αὐτὰς φοιτῶ ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς τῶν θεῶν

¹ Κικέρωνι Naber, cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, Κίμωνι Hertlein, MSS.

² εἰ Reiske, & Hertlein, MSS.

³ ὑμῖν καὶ Reiske, μὲν Hertlein, MSS.

⁴ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε—φρενῶν Hertlein writes as prose; Brambs identified as a fragment of Cratinus.

MISOPOGON

with hair, like the breasts of lions who among wild beasts are monarchs like me, and I have never in my life made it smooth, so ill-conditioned and shabby am I, nor have I made any other part of my body smooth or soft. If I had a wart like Cicero,¹ I would tell you so; but as it happens I have none. And by your leave I will tell you something else. I am not content with having my body in this rough condition, but in addition the mode of life that I practise is very strict indeed. I banish myself from the theatres, such a dolt am I, and I do not admit the thymele² within my court except on the first day of the year, because I am too stupid to appreciate it; like some country fellow who from his small means has to pay a tax or render tribute to a harsh master. And even when I do enter the theatre I look like a man who is expiating a crime. Then again, though I am entitled a mighty Emperor, I employ no one to govern the mimes and chariot-drivers as my lieutenant or general throughout the inhabited world. And observing this recently, "You now recall that youth of his, his wit and wisdom."³

Perhaps you had this other grievance and clear proof of the worthlessness of my disposition—for I keep on adding some still more strange characteristic—I mean that I hate horse-races as men who owe money hate the market-place. Therefore I seldom attend them, only during the festivals of the

¹ cf. Plutarch, *Cicero*, who says that Cicero had a wart on his nose.

² *i.e.* the altar of Dionysus which was set up in the orchestra.

³ Cratinus, *Eunidae fr.* 1; cf. Synesius, *Epistle* 129; Julian refers to Constantius, whom the people of Antioch now compare with him.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

οὐδὲ διημερεύω, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ὃ τε ἀνεψιὸς
ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ ὁ θεῖος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ὁμοπάτριος.
ἔξ δὲ τοὺς πάντας θεώμενος δρόμους, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς
ὥς ἂν τις ἐρῶν τοῦ πράγματος ἢ ναὶ μὰ Δία μὴ B
μισῶν αὐτὸ μηδὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος, ἄσμενος ἀπαλ-
λάττομαι.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἔξω ταῦτα· καίτοι πόστον
εἴρηταί μοι μέρος τῶν ἐμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικημάτων;
τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἄγρυπνοι νύκτες ἐν στιβάδι, καὶ
τροφὴ παντὸς ἡττων κόρου πικρὸν ἦθος ποιεῖ
καὶ τρυφώσῃ πόλει πολέμιον. οὐ μὴν ὑμῶν
γ' ἔνεκα τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύεται παρ' ἐμοῦ· δεινὴ
δὲ τις ἐκ παιδαρίου με καὶ ἀνόητος ἀπάτη
καταλαβοῦσα τῇ γαστρὶ πολεμεῖν ἔπεισεν, οὐδὲ
ἐπιτρέπω πολλῶν ἐμπίμπλασθαι σιτίων αὐτῇ. C
ὀλιγιστάκις¹ οὖν ἐμοὶ τῶν πάντων ἐμέσαι συνέβη.
καὶ μέμνημαι αὐτὸ παθὼν ἐξ ὅτου καῖσαρ ἐγενό-
μην ἄπαξ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος, οὐ πλησμονῆς.
ἄξιον δὲ ὑπομνησθῆναι διηγήματος οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ
πάνυ χαρίεντος, ἐμοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα
οἰκείου.

Ἐτύγχανον ἐγὼ χειμάζων περὶ τὴν φίλην D
Λουκετίαν· ὀνομάζουσι δ' οὕτως οἱ Κελτοὶ τῶν
Παρισίων τὴν πολίχνην· ἔστι δ' οὐ μεγάλη νῆσος
ἐγκειμένη τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν
τείχος περιλαμβάνει,² ξύλιναι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν
ἀμφοτέρωθεν εἰσάγουσι γέφυραι, καὶ ὀλιγάκις
ὁ ποταμὸς ἐλαττοῦται καὶ μείζων γίνεται, τὰ
πολλὰ δ' ἔστιν ὁποῖος ὥρα θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος,

¹ ὀλιγιστάκις Hertlein suggests, ὀλιγάκις MSS.

² περιλαμβάνει Cobet, καταλαμβάνει Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

gods; and I do not stay the whole day as my cousin¹ used to do, and my uncle² and my brother and my father's son.³ Six races are all that I stay to see, and not even those with the air of one who loves the sport, or even, by Zeus, with the air of one who does not hate and loathe it, and I am glad to get away.

But all these things are externals; and indeed what a small fraction of my offences against you have I described! But to turn to my private life within the court. Sleepless nights on a pallet and a diet that is anything rather than surfeiting make my temper harsh and unfriendly to a luxurious city like yours. However it is not in order to set an example to you that I adopt these habits. But in my childhood a strange and senseless delusion came over me and persuaded me to war against my belly, so that I do not allow it to fill itself with a great quantity of food. Thus it has happened to me most rarely of all men to vomit my food. And though I remember having this experience once, after I became Caesar, it was by accident and was not due to over-eating. It may be worth while to tell the story which is not in itself very graceful, but for that very reason is especially suited to me.

I happened to be in winter quarters at my beloved Lutetia—for that is how the Celts call the capital of the Parisians. It is a small island lying in the river; a wall entirely surrounds it, and wooden bridges lead to it on both sides. The river seldom rises and falls, but usually is the same depth in the winter as

¹ Constantius.

² Count Julian who had been Governor of Antioch. cf. *Letter* 13.

³ Gallus his half-brother.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὕδωρ ἡδιστον καὶ καθαρώτατον ὄραν καὶ πίνειν
 ἐθέλουντι παρέχων. ἅτε γὰρ νῆσον οἰκούντας
 ὑδρεύεσθαι μάλιστα ἐνθένδε χρή. γίνεται δὲ 341
 καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐκεῖ πρῶτος εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς θέρμης
 τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ· στάδια γὰρ ἀπέχει ὅν ἐννακοσίων
 οὐ πλείω, καὶ διαδίδεται τυχὸν λεπτή τις αὔρα
 τοῦ ὕδατος, εἶναι δὲ δοκεῖ θερμότερον τὸ θαλάττιον
 τοῦ γλυκέος· εἴτε οὖν ἐκ ταύτης εἴτε ἐκ τινος
 ἄλλης αἰτίας ἀφανοῦς ἐμοί, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστι
 τοιοῦτον, ἁλεινότερον ἔχουσιν οἱ τὸ χωρίον
 οἰκούντες τὸν χειμῶνα, καὶ φύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἄμπελος ἀγαθή, καὶ συκᾶς ἤδη εἰσιν οἱ ¹ ἐμμηχανή-
 σαντο, σκεπάζοντες αὐτὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥσπερ B
 ἱματίοις τῇ καλᾷ τῷ πυροῦ καὶ τοιούτοις
 τισίν, ὅσα εἴωθεν εἶργειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος
 ἐπιγιγνομένην τοῖς δένδροις βλάβην. ἐγένετο δὲ
 οὖν ὁ χειμῶν τοῦ εἰωθότος σφοδρότερος, καὶ
 παρέφερεν ὁ ποταμὸς ὥσπερ μαρμάρου πλάκας·
 ἴστε δήπου τὸν Φρύγιον λίθον τὸν λευκόν· τούτῳ
 ἐφ' αὐτῇ μάλιστα τὰ κρύσταλλα, ² μεγάλα καὶ
 ἐπάλληλα φερόμενα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνεχῇ ποιεῖν C
 ἤδη τὸν πόρον ἔμελλε καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα γεφυροῦν.
 ὥς οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἀγριώτερος ἦν τοῦ συνηθούς,
 ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δωμάτιον οὐδαμῶς, οὐπερ ἐκά-
 θευδον, ὅνπερ εἰώθει τρόπον ὑπογαίαις ³ καμίνους
 τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι,
 καὶ ταῦτα ἔχον εὐτρεπῶς πρὸς τὸ παραδέξασθαι
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀλέαν· συνέβη δ' οἶμαι καὶ

¹ εἰσιν οἱ Cobet, τινές εἰσιν οἱ Hertlein, MSS.

² τὸν—κρύσταλλα Hertlein suggests, φ' ἐφ' αὐτῇ μάλιστα τοῦ λευκοῦ τούτου τὰ κρύσταλλα, MSS.

³ ὑπογαίαις Naber, cf. Pliny *Ep.* 2. 17; ὑπὸ ταῖς Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

in the summer season, and it provides water which is very clear to the eye and very pleasant for one who wishes to drink. For since the inhabitants live on an island they have to draw their water chiefly from the river. The winter too is rather mild there, perhaps from the warmth of the ocean, which is not more than nine hundred stades distant, and it may be that a slight breeze from the water is wafted so far; for sea water seems to be warmer than fresh. Whether from this or from some other cause obscure to me, the fact is as I say, that those who live in that place have a warmer winter. And a good kind of vine grows thereabouts, and some persons have even managed to make fig-trees grow by covering them in winter with a sort of garment of wheat straw and with things of that sort, such as are used to protect trees from the harm that is done them by the cold wind. As I was saying then, the winter was more severe than usual, and the river kept bringing down blocks like marble. You know, I suppose, the white stone that comes from Phrygia; the blocks of ice were very like it, of great size, and drifted down one after another; in fact it seemed likely that they would make an unbroken path and bridge the stream. The winter then was more inclement than usual, but the room where I slept was not warmed in the way that most houses are heated, I mean by furnaces underground; and that too though it was conveniently arranged for letting in heat from such a fire. But it so happened I suppose, because I was awkward then as now, and

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τότε διὰ σκαιότητα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἐμαυτὸν
 πρῶτον, ὡς εἰκός, ἀπανθρωπίαν· ἐβουλόμην γὰρ
 ἐθίζειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι τὸν ἀέρα ταύτης
 ἀνενδεῶς ἔχοντα τῆς βοηθείας. ὡς δὲ ὁ χειμὼν
 ἐπεκράτει καὶ αἰεὶ μείζων ἐπεγίνετο, θερμῆναι D
 μὲν οὐδ' ὥς ἐπέτρεψα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τὸ οἶκημα,
 δεδιὼς κινῆσαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ὑγρότητα,
 κομίσαι δ' ἔνδον ἐκέλευσα πῦρ κεκαυμένον καὶ
 ἄνθρακας λαμπροὺς ἀποθέσθαι παντελῶς μετρίους.
 οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες οὐ πολλοὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀπὸ
 τῶν τοίχων ἀτμοὺς ἐκίνησαν, ὑφ' ὧν κατέδαρθον.
 ἐμπιμπλαμένης δέ μοι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδέησα μὲν
 ἀποπνιγῆναι, κομισθεὶς δ' ἔξω, τῶν ἱατρῶν 342
 παραινούντων ἀπορρίψαι τὴν ἐντεθεῖσαν ἄρτι
 τροφήν, οὔτι μὰ Δία πολλὴν οὔσαν, ἐξέβαλον,
 καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτίκα ῥάων, ὥστε μοι γενέσθαι
 κουφοτέρα τὴν νύκτα καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας πράτ-
 τειν ὅ,τιπερ ἐθέλοιμι.

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὸν
 τοῦ Μενάνδρου Δύσκολον αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πόνους
 προσετίθην. ἀλλ' ἡ Κελτῶν μὲν ταῦτα ῥᾶον
 ἔφερεν ἀγροικία, πόλις δ' εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαρία
 καὶ πολυάνθρωπος εἰκότως ἄχθεται, ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ B
 μὲν ὀρχησταί, πολλοὶ δ' αὐληταί, μῖμοι δὲ
 πλείους τῶν πολιτῶν, αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχόν-
 των. ἐρυθριάν γὰρ πρέπει τοῖς ἀνάνδροις, ἐπεὶ
 τοῖς γε ἀνδρείοις, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔωθεν κωμάζειν,
 νύκτωρ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ὅτι τῶν νόμων ὑπεροράτε μὴ

MISOPOGON

displayed inhumanity first of all, as was natural, towards myself. For I wished to accustom myself to bear the cold air without needing this aid. And though the winter weather prevailed and continually increased in severity, even so I did not allow my servants to heat the house, because I was afraid of drawing out the dampness in the walls; but I ordered them to carry in fire that had burned down and to place in the room a very moderate number of hot coals. But the coals, though there were not very many of them, brought out from the walls quantities of steam and this made me fall asleep. And since my head was filled with the fumes I was almost choked. Then I was carried outside, and since the doctors advised me to throw up the food I had just swallowed,— and it was little enough, by Zeus—, I vomited it and at once became easier, so that I had a more comfortable night, and next day could do whatever I pleased.

After this fashion then, even when I was among the Celts, like the ill-tempered man in Menander,¹ “I myself kept heaping troubles on my own head.” But whereas the boorish Celts used easily to put up with these ways of mine, they are naturally resented by a prosperous and gay and crowded city in which there are numerous dancers and flute players and more mimes than ordinary citizens, and no respect at all for those who govern. For the blush of modesty befits the unmanly, but manly fellows like you it befits to begin your revels at dawn, to spend your nights in pleasure, and to show not only by

¹ cf. *Oration* 3. 113 C, note. Cobet thinks that the verse in Menander, *Duskolos* was αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαντῶ προστίθημι τοὺς πόνοους.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι.
καὶ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι φοβεροὶ διὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας·
ὥστε ὅστις ἄρχοντα ὕβρισεν οὗτος ἐκ περιουσίας
τοὺς νόμους κατεπάτησεν· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις C
εὐφραινόμενοι δῆλον ποιεῖτε πολλαχοῦ μὲν, οὐχ
ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις,
ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν κρότων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βοῆς ὁ δῆμος,
οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῷ γινώριμώτεροι μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ
ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας
ἐορτὰς ἐδαπάνησαν ἢ Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀπὸ
τῆς πρὸς Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα συνουσίας.
καλοὶ δὲ πάντες καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ λεῖοι καὶ
ἀγένεοι, νέοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ζηλωταὶ D
τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῶν Φαιάκων,

Εἴματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐνὰς
ἀντὶ τῆς ὀσίας ἀποδεχόμενοι.

“Τὴν δὴ σὴν ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ
σκαιότητα τούτοις ἀρμόσειν ὑπέλαβες; οὕτως
ἀνόητόν ἐστὶ σοι καὶ φαῦλον, ὃ πάντων ἀν-
θρώπων ἀμαθέστατε καὶ φιλαπεχθημονέστατε,
τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγεννεστάτων σῶφρον
τουτὶ ψυχάριον, ὃ δὴ σὺ κοσμεῖν καὶ καλλωπίζειν
σωφροσύνη χρῆναι νομίζεις; οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ὅτι πρῶ-
τον μὲν ἢ σωφροσύνη ὅ,τι ποτ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἴσμεν, 343
ὄνομα δ' αὐτῆς ἀκούοντες μόνον ἔργον οὐχ ὀρώμεν.
εἰ δ' ὅποῖον σὺ νῦν ἐπιτηδεύεις ἐστίν, ἐπίστασθαι
μὲν ὅτι θεοῖς χρὴ δουλεύειν καὶ νόμοις, ἐκ τῶν

MISOPOGON

your words but by your deeds also that you despise the laws. For indeed it is only by means of those in authority that the laws inspire fear in men; so that he who insults one who is in authority, over and above this tramples on the laws. And that you take pleasure in this sort of behaviour you show clearly on many occasions, but especially in the market-places and theatres; the mass of the people by their clapping and shouting, while those in office show it by the fact that, on account of the sums they have spent on such entertainments, they are more widely known and more talked about by all men than Solon the Athenian ever was on account of his interview with Croesus the king of the Lydians.¹ And all of you are handsome and tall and smooth-skinned and beardless; for young and old alike you are emulous of the happiness of the Phaeacians, and rather than righteousness you prefer "changes of raiment and warm baths and beds."²

"What then?" you answer, "did you really suppose that your boorish manners and savage ways and clumsiness would harmonise with these things? O most ignorant and most quarrelsome of men, is it so senseless then and so stupid, that puny soul of yours which men of poor spirit call temperate, and which you forsooth think it your duty to adorn and deck out with temperance? You are wrong; for in the first place we do not know what temperance is and we hear its name only, while the real thing we cannot see. But if it is the sort of thing that you now practise, if it consists in knowing that men must be enslaved to the gods and the laws, in behaving

¹ For Solon's visit to Croesus at Sardis cf. Herodotus 1. 29.

² *Odyssey* 8. 249.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἴσων δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν
τούτοις ὑπεροχὴν φέρειν πρᾶότερον, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
καὶ προνοεῖν, ὅπως οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλου-
τούντων ἡκιστα ἀδικήσονται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου
πράγματα ἔχειν, ὅποια εἰκὸς ἐστί σοι γενέσθαι B
πολλάκις, ἀπεχθείας, ὀργάς, λοιδορίας· εἶτα καὶ B
ταῦτα φέρειν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν μηδ'
ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θυμῷ, παιδαγωγεῖν δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς
ἐνδέχεται, καὶ σωφρονίζειν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτό τις
ἔργον θεῖτο σωφροσύνης, ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης ἡδονῆς
οὐ λῖαν ἀπρεπούς οὐδ' ἐπονειδίστου δοκούσης ἐν
τῷ φανερῷ, πεπεισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ σω-
φρονεῖν καὶ λάθρα τὸν δημοσίᾳ καὶ φανερῶς C
ἀκόλαστον εἶναι θέλοντα καὶ τερπόμενον τοῖς
θεάτροις· εἰ δὴ οὖν ὄντως ἡ σωφροσύνη τοιοῦτόν
ἐστίν, ἀπόλωλας μὲν αὐτός, ἀπολλύεις δὲ ἡμᾶς
οὐκ ἀνεχομένους ἀκούειν πρῶτον ὄνομα δουλείας
οὔτε πρὸς θεοὺς οὔτε πρὸς νόμους· ἡδὺν γὰρ ἐν
πᾶσι τὸ ἐλεύθερον.

“Ἡ δὲ εἰρωνεία πόση; δεσπότης εἶναι οὐ φῆς
οὐδὲ ἀνέχῃ τοῦτο ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς,
ὥστε ἤδη ἔπεισας τοὺς πλείστους ἐθάδας πάλαι D
γενομένους ἀφελεῖν ὡς ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦτο
τὸ ὄνομα, δουλεύειν δ' ἡμᾶς ἀναγκάζεις ἄρχουσι
καὶ νόμοις. καίτοι πόσῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ὀνομάζεσθαι
μὲν σε δεσπότην, ἔργῳ δὲ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐλευ-
θέρους, ὧ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρᾶτατε, πικρότατε

MISOPOGON

with fairness to those of equal rank and bearing with mildness any superiority among them ; in studying and taking thought that the poor may suffer no injustice whatever at the hands of the rich ; and, to attain this, in putting up with all the annoyances that you will naturally often meet with, hatred, anger, and abuse ; and then in bearing these also with firmness and not resenting them or giving way to your anger, but in training yourself as far as possible to practise temperance ; and if again this also one defines as the effect of temperance that one abstains from every pleasure even though it be not excessively unbecoming or considered blameworthy when openly pursued, because you are convinced that it is impossible for a man to be temperate in his private life and in secret, if in public and openly he is willing to be licentious and delights in the theatres ; if, in short, temperance is really this sort of thing, then you yourself have ruined yourself and moreover you are ruining us, who cannot bear in the first place even to hear the name of slavery, whether it be slavery to the gods or the laws. For sweet is liberty in all things !

“ But what an affectation of humility is yours ! You say that you are not our master and you will not let yourself be so called, nay more, you resent the idea, so that you have actually persuaded the majority of men who have long grown accustomed to it, to get rid of this word ‘ Government ’ as though it were something invidious ; and yet you compel us to be enslaved to magistrates and laws. But how much better it would be for you to accept the name of master, but in actual fact to allow us to be free, you who are so very mild about the names we use and so

δὲ τὰ ἔργα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀποκναίεις βιαζό- 344
 μενος μὲν τοὺς πλουσίους ἐν δικαστηρίοις μετριά-
 ζειν, τοὺς πένητας δὲ εἵργεις συκοφαντεῖν. ἀφείς
 δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς μίμους καὶ τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς
 ἀπολώλεκας ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν
 ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχει παρὰ σοῦ πλὴν τῆς βαρύτητος,
 ἧς ἀνεχόμενοι μῆνα ἔβδομον τουτουὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ-
 χεσθαι πάντως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ τοσούτου κακοῦ
 τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τάφους καλινδουμένοις γραδίοις
 ξυνεχωρήσαμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
 εὐτραπελίας ἐξειργασάμεθα βάλλοντές σε τοῖς B
 σκώμμασιν ὥσπερ τοξεύμασι. σὺ δέ, ὦ γενναῖε,
 πῶς ἀνέξῃ τὰ Περσῶν βέλη, τὰ ἡμέτερα τρέσας
 σκώμματα; ”

Ἴδού, βούλομαι πάλιν ἀπ’ ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἐμαντῶ
 λοιδορήσασθαι. “ Φοιτᾶς εἰς τὰ ἱερά, δύσκολε καὶ
 δύστροπε καὶ πάντα μοχθηρέ. συρρεῖ διὰ σέ τὰ
 πλήθη πρὸς τὰ τεμένη καὶ μέντοι καὶ οἱ πλείους
 τῶν ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἀποδέχονται σε σὺν βοῇ μετὰ
 κρότων λαμπρῶς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
 θεάτροις. τί οὖν οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς οὐδ’ ἐπαινεῖς, ἀλλ’ C
 ἐπιχειρεῖς εἶναι σοφώτερος τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ Πυ-
 θίου, καὶ δημηγορεῖς ἐν τῷ πλήθει, καὶ καθάπτῃ
 τῶν βοώντων πικρῶς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο λέγων, ὥς
 Ὑμεῖς τῶν θεῶν ἔνεκεν ὀλιγάκις εἰς τὰ τεμένη
 συνέρχεσθε, συνδραμόντες δὲ δι’ ἐμὲ πολλῆς
 ἀκοσμίας ἀναπίμπλατε τὰ ἱερά. πρέπει δ’ ἀν- D
 δράσι σῶφροσι κεκοσμημένως εὖχεσθαι σιγῇ

MISOPOGON

very strict about the things we do! Then again you harass us by forcing the rich to behave with moderation in the lawcourts, though you keep the poor from making money by informing.¹ And by ignoring the stage and mimes and dancers you have ruined our city, so that we get no good out of you except your harshness; and this we have had to put up with these seven months, so that we have left it to the old crones who grovel among the tombs to pray that we may be entirely rid of so great a curse, but we ourselves have accomplished it by our own ingenious insolence, by shooting our satires at you like arrows. How, noble sir, will you face the darts of Persians, when you take flight at our ridicule?"

Come, I am ready to make a fresh start in abusing myself. "You, sir, go regularly to the temples, ill-tempered, perverse and wholly worthless as you are! It is your doing that the masses stream into the sacred precincts, yes and most of the magistrates as well, and they give you a splendid welcome, greeting you with shouts and clapping in the precincts as though they were in the theatres. Then why do you not treat them kindly and praise them? Instead of that you try to be wiser in such matters than the Pythian god,² and you make harangues to the crowd and with harsh words rebuke those who shout. These are the very words you use to them: 'You hardly ever assemble at the shrines to do honour to the gods, but to do me honour you rush here in crowds and fill the temples with much disorder. Yet it becomes prudent men to pray in orderly

¹ i.e. bringing false accusations, which was the trade of the sycophant or blackmailer.

² Apollo who was worshipped at Daphne near Antioch.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένοις τὰ ἀγαθά. τοῦτον
οὐκ ἠκροᾶσθε τὸν νόμον Ὀμήρου

Σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων—,

οὐδ' ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπέσχε τὴν Εὐρύκλειαν ἐκπε-
πληγμένην ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ κατορθώματος,

Ἐν θυμῷ, γρηῦ, χαῖρε καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυζε;

τὰς δὲ δὴ Τρῳάδας οὔτι πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἢ τινα
τῶν τούτου θυγατέρων ἢ υἱέων, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸν
τὸν Ἑκτορα· καίτοι τούτῳ φησὶν ὥς θεῷ τοὺς 345
Τρῳᾶς εὐχέσθαι· εὐχομένας δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἐν τῇ
ποιήσῃ οὔτε γυναικάς οὔτε ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ τῇ
Ἀθηνᾷ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι, φησί, χεῖρας ἀνέσχον,
βαρβαρικὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ γυναιξὶ πρέπον,
οὐ μὴν ἀνόσιον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τὸ παρ'
ὑμῶν ποιούμενον. ἐπαινεῖτε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς B
ἀνθρώπους ἡμᾶς κολακεύετε. κάλλιστον δ' ἔστιν
οἶμαι μηδ' ἐκείνους κολακεύειν, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν
σωφρόνως.”

Ἰδού, πάλιν ἐγὼ τὰ συνήθη τεχνιτεύω λεξείδια
καὶ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ συγχωρῶ φθέγγεσθαι ὥς ἔτυχεν
ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους
σκαιότητος καὶ ἐμαυτὸν συκοφαντῶ. ταῦτά τις
καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἂν λέγοι πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ τὰ πρὸς
τοὺς ἄρχοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς C
θεοὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι θέλοντας, ὅπως τις εὖνους

MISOPOGON

fashion, and to ask blessings from the gods in silence. Have you never heard Homer's maxim, "In silence, to yourselves"¹—, or how Odysseus checked Eurycleia when she was stricken with amazement by the greatness of his success, "Rejoice, old woman, in thy heart, and restrain thyself, and utter no loud cry"?² And again, Homer did not show us the Trojan women praying to Priam or to any one of his daughters or sons, nay not even to Hector himself (though he does indeed say that the men of Troy were wont to pray to Hector as to a god); but in his poems he did not show us either women or men in the act of prayer to him, but he says that to Athene all the women lifted up their hands with a loud cry,³ which was in itself a barbaric thing to do and suitable only for women, but at any rate it displayed no impiety to the gods as does your conduct. For you applaud men instead of the gods, or rather instead of the gods you flatter me who am a mere man. But it would be best, I think, not to flatter even the gods but to worship them with temperate hearts.' "

See there I am again, busy with my usual phrase-making! I do not even allow myself to speak out at random fearlessly and freely, but with my usual awkwardness I am laying information against myself. It is thus and in words like these that one ought to address men who want to be free not only with respect to those who govern them but to the gods also, in order that one may be considered well-disposed towards them, "like an

¹ *Iliad* 7. 195

τόφρ' ὑμεῖς εἶχεσθε Διὶ Κρονίωνι, ἄνακτι
σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων, ἵνα μὴ Τρῶές γε πύθωνται.

² *Odyssey* 22. 411.

³ *Iliad* 6. 301.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ πατήρ ἡπίος νομισθείη, φύσει
 πονηρὸς ὢν ὥσπερ ἐγώ. ἀνέχου τοίνυν αὐτῶν
 μισούντων καὶ λοιδορούντων λάθρα ἢ καὶ φα-
 νερώς, ἐπειδὴ κολακεύειν ἐνόμισας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
 ἱεροῖς ὀρμῇ μιᾷ¹ σε ἐπαινοῦντας. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι
 διανοήθης ὅπως ἀρμόσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τοῖς
 ἐπιτηδεύμασιν οὔτε τοῖς ἰβίοις οὔτε τοῖς ἡθεσιν.
 εἶεν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο τίς ἀνέξεταιί σου; καθεύδεις
 ὡς ἐπίπαν νύκτωρ μόνος οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὃ σου D
 τὸν ἄγριον καὶ ἀνήμερον μαλάξει θυμόν· ἀποκέ-
 κλεισται δὲ πάσῃ πανταχοῦ πάροδος γλυκυθυμία·
 καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ζῶν
 βίον εὐφραίνει καὶ πεποίησαι τὰς κοινὰς κατάρας
 ἡδονήν. εἶτα ἀγανακτεῖς, εἴ του τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἀκούεις; ἐξὸν εἰδέναι χάριν τοῖς ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμ-
 μελέστερόν σε νουθετοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις
 ἀποψιλῶσαι μὲν τὰς παρειάς, καλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
 σαυτοῦ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον δεικνύειν πάντα τῷ
 δήμῳ τῷ φιλογέλῳτι τῷδε θεάματα, μίμους, 346
 ὀρχηστάς, ἡκιστα αἰσχυνομένας γυναῖκας, παι-
 δάρια περὶ κάλλους ἀμιλλώμενα ταῖς γυναιξίν,
 ἀνδρας ἀπεψιλωμένους οὔτι τὰς γνώθους μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα, λειότεροι τῶν γυναικῶν
 ὅπως φαίνονται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἑορτάς, πανη-
 γύρεις, οὔτι μὰ Δία τὰς ἱεράς, ἐν αἷς χρή σωφρο-
 νεῖν· ἅλῃς μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ὥσπερ τῆς

¹ ὀρμῇ μιᾷ Naber, ὁρώμενόν Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

indulgent father,"¹ even though one is by nature an ill-conditioned person like myself: "Bear with them then, when they hate and abuse you in secret or even openly, since you thought that those who applauded you with one accord in the temples were only flattering you. For surely you did not suppose that you would be in harmony with the pursuits or the lives or the temperaments of these men. I grant that. But who will bear with this other habit of yours? You always sleep alone at night, and there is no way of softening your savage and uncivilised temper—since all avenues are closed to anything that might sweeten your disposition,—and the worst of all these evils is that you delight in living that sort of life and have laid pleasure under a general ban. Then can you feel aggrieved if you hear yourself spoken of in such terms? No, you ought to feel grateful to those who out of kindness of heart admonish you wittily in anapaestic verse to shave your cheeks smooth, and then, beginning with yourself, first to show to this laughter-loving people all sorts of fine spectacles, mimes, dancers, shameless women, boys who in their beauty emulate women, and men who have not only their jaws shaved smooth but their whole bodies too, so that those who meet them may think them smoother than women; yes and feasts too and general festivals, not, by Zeus, the sacred ones at which one is bound to behave with sobriety. No, we have had enough of those, like the oak tree in the proverb;² we are completely

¹ *Odyssey* 5. 12.

² The phrase *δρῦς καὶ πέτρα*, literally, "the oak tree and the rock" became a proverb for something hackneyed; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 35, ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δρυσ, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κόρος αὐτῶν. ἔθυσεν ὁ καῖσαρ B
 ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἄπαξ, εἶτα ἐν τῷ τῆς Τύχης, εἰς
 τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος τρὶς ἐφεξῆς ἐβάδισεν· ἐπιλέ-
 λησμαι γὰρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Δάφνης ὁσάκις εἰσῆλθον
 τέμενος, προδοθὲν μὲν ὀλιγοῖα τῶν φυλάκων,
 ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνδρῶν τόλμαις ἀφανισθέν. ἡ
 Σύρων ἥκει νουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὐθις εἰς
 Φιλίου Διὸς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ
 καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπι- C
 σχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς
 εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς
 ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος,
 ἐξὸν ἄπαξ ἡ δις ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ
 τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐκείνας, ὅποσαι κοιναὶ μὲν εἰσι
 παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ὧν ἕξεστι μετέχειν οὐ τοῖς
 ἐπισταμένοις μόνον θεοῦς,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὧν ²
 ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις πλήρης; ἡδονὴ δὲ πολλή καὶ
 χάριτες, ὅποίας ἂν τις εὐφραίνοιτο διηνεκῶς
 καρπούμενος, ὁρῶν ὀρχουμένους ἄνδρας καὶ παι- D
 δάρια καὶ γυναῖκα πολλά.

Ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα λογίσωμαι, μακαρίζω μὲν
 ὑμᾶς τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἄχθομαι.

¹ μόνον θεοῦς Hertlein suggests, θεοῦς MSS.

² τοῖς ὧν Naber, ὧν Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

surfeited with them. The Emperor sacrificed once in the temple of Zeus, then in the temple of Fortune; he visited the temple of Demeter three times in succession." (I have in fact forgotten how many times I entered the shrine of Daphne, which had been first abandoned owing to the carelessness of its guardians, and then destroyed by the audacious acts of godless men.¹) "The Syrian New Year arrived, and again the Emperor went to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One. Then came the general festival, and the Emperor went to the shrine of Fortune. Then, after refraining on the forbidden day,² again he goes to the temple of Zeus the Friendly One, and offers up prayers according to the custom of our ancestors. Now who could put up with an Emperor who goes to the temples so often, when it is in his power to disturb the gods only once or twice, and to celebrate the general festivals which are for all the people in common, those in which not only men whose profession it is to have knowledge of the gods can take part, but also the people who have crowded into the city? For pleasure is here in abundance, and delights whose fruits one could enjoy continuously; for instance the sight of men and pretty boys dancing, and any number of charming women."

When I take all this into account, I do indeed congratulate you on your good fortune, though I do

¹ The Christians invaded the shrine of Apollo at Daphne and the priests of Apollo abandoned it to them. Julian destroyed the Christian Church there and restored the worship of Apollo.

² Literally the "day not to be mentioned," i.e. "unholy day," *nefandus dies*, on which business was suspended.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φίλα γάρ ἐστί μοι κατά τινα θεὸν ἴσως ταῦτα.
 διόπερ οὐδ' ἀγανακτῶ, εὖ ἴστε, τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν
 μου τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει. προστίθημι δ'
 αὐτὸς ὅσα δυνατόν ἐστί μοι τοῖς εἰς ἑμαυτὸν
 σκώμμασι μειζόνως ἐπικαταχέων ἑμαυτοῦ ταυτασὶ
 τὰς λοιδορίας, ὃς ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐ συνήκα, 347
 ποταπὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἦθος,
 καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν
 πείθω, βιβλία ἀνελίσξας οὐδενὸς ἀριθμὸν ἐλάττω.
 λέγεται τοί ποτε τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως
 βασιλέα, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐπὲρ ἐπώνυμος ἦδε ἡ πόλις
 συνφκίσθη· πεπόλισται ¹ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου,
 τοῦνομα δὲ ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ Σελεύκου παιδός· ὃν δὴ
 φασιν δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀβρότητας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐρῶντα B
 αἰεὶ καὶ ἐρώμενον τέλος ἄδικον ἔρωτα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 μητρὸς ἐρασθῆναι· κρύπτειν δ' ἐθέλοντα τὸ
 πάθος οὐ δύνασθαι, τὸ σῶμα δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ
 μικρὸν τηκόμενον ἀφανῶς οἴχεσθαι, καὶ ὑπορρεῖν
 τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔλαττον εἶναι τοῦ
 συνήθους. ἐφ' οἷμαι τὰ ² κατ' αὐτὸν αἰνίγ-
 ματι, σαφὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσης αἰτίαν τῆς νόσου,
 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' αὐτῆς, ἥτις ποτέ ἐστι, φαινομένης, C
 ἐναργοῦς δ' οὔσης τῆς περὶ τὸ μεράκιον ἀσθε-
 νείας. ἐνθάδε μέγας ἄθλος ἱατρῷ προυτέθη τῷ
 Σαμῖν τὴν νόσον, ἥτις ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐξευρεῖν. ὁ
 δὲ ὑπονοήσας ἐκ τῶν Ὀμήρου, τίνες ποτέ εἰσιν

¹ πεπόλισται Cobet, Hertlein approves, πεποίηται MSS.

² τὰ Hertlein suggests, τὸ MSS.

MISOPOGON

not reproach myself. For perhaps it is some god who has made me prefer my own ways. Be assured then that I have no grievance against those who quarrel with my way of life and my choice. But I myself add, as far as I can, to the sarcasms against myself and with a more liberal hand I pour down on my own head these abusive charges. For it was due to my own folly that I did not understand what has been the temper of this city from the beginning; and that too though I am convinced that I have turned over quite as many books as any man of my own age. You know of course the tale that is told about the king who gave his name to this city—or rather whose name the city received when it was colonised, for it was founded by Seleucus, though it takes its name from the son¹ of Seleucus—; they say² then that out of excessive softness and luxury the latter was constantly falling in love and being loved, and finally he conceived a dishonourable passion for his own step-mother. And though he wished to conceal his condition he could not, and little by little his body began to waste away and to become transparent, and his powers to wane, and his breathing was feebler than usual. But what could be the matter with him was, I think, a sort of riddle, since his malady had no visible cause, or rather it did not even appear what was its nature, though the youth's weakness was manifest. Then the physician of Samos³ was set a difficult problem, namely to discover what was the nature of the malady. Now he, suspecting from the words of Homer⁴ what is

¹ i.e. Antiochus.

² cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*.

³ i.e. Erasistratus.

⁴ The phrase occurs in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 66, but not in Homer.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

αἱ γυιοβόροι μελεδῶναι, καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις οὐκ ἀσθένεια σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀρρωστία ψυχῆς αἰτία γίγνεται τηκεδόνος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας καὶ συνηθείας οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον, ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο τοιαύτην ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ νοσήματος θήραν. καθίζει πλησίον τῆς κλίνης ἀφορῶν D εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ μειρακίου, παριέναι κελεύσας καλούς τε καὶ καλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀρξαμένους. ἡ δ' ὥς ἦλθεν, ἐπισκεψομένη δῆθεν αὐτόν, αὐτίκα ἐδίδου τὰ συνθήματα τοῦ πάθους ὁ νεανίας, ἀσθμα τῶν θλιβομένων ἠφίει, ἐπέχειν γὰρ αὐτὸ κινούμενον καίπερ σφόδρα ἐθέλων οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν, καὶ ταραχὴ ἦν τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρύθημα. ταῦτα ὁρῶν 348 ὁ ἱατρὸς προσάγει τῷ στέρνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἐπὶ δα δεινῶς ἡ καρδιά καὶ ἔξω ἴετο. τοιαῦτα ἅττα ἔπασχεν ἐκείνης παρούσης· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπιόντων ἄλλων, ἀτρέμας εἶχε καὶ ἦν ὅμοιος τοῖς οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. συνιδὼν δὲ τὸ πάθος ὁ Ἑρασίστρατος φράζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ δς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλόπαις εἶναι παραχωρεῖν ἔφη τῷ παιδὶ τῆς γαμετῆς. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν ἡρνήσατο· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἦν πρότερον διδομένην αὐτῷ χάριν εὐγενῶς ἡρνήθη, μάλα κραταιῶς μετεδίωξεν.

Ἄντιόχῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιήθη. τοῖς δ' ἀπ' B ἐκείνου γενομένοις οὐ νέμεσις ζηλοῦν τὸν οἰκιστὴν

MISOPOGON

the nature of "cares that devour the limbs," and that in many cases it is not a bodily weakness but an infirmity of soul that causes a wasting of the body; and seeing moreover that the youth was very susceptible to love because of his time of life and his habits, he took the following way of tracking down the disease. He sat near the youth's couch and watched his face, after ordering handsome youths and women to walk past him, beginning with the queen¹ herself. Now when she entered, apparently to see how he was, the young man at once began to show the symptoms of his malady. He breathed like one who is being choked; for though he was very anxious to control his agitated breathing, he could not, but it became disordered, and a deep blush spread over his face. The physician on seeing this laid his hand to his breast, and found that his heart was beating terribly fast and was trying to burst forth from his breast. Such were his symptoms while she was present; but when she had gone away and others came in he remained calm and was like a man in a normal state of health. Then Erasistratus saw what ailed him and told the king, and he out of love for his son said that he would give up his wife to him. Now the youth for the moment refused; but when his father died not long after, he sought with the greatest vehemence the favour which he had so honourably refused when it was first offered to him.²

Now since this was the conduct of Antiochus, I have no right to be angry with his descendants when

¹ Stratonice.

² In Plutarch's version Antiochus married Stratonice during his father's lifetime.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἡ τὸν ἐπώνυμον.¹ ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς εἰκὸς
 ἐστὶ διαδίδοσθαι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰς ποιότητας,
 ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἐπίπαν ὅμοια τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς
 ἐξ ὧν ἐβλάστησε φύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων εἶναι εἰκὸς παραπλήσια τὰ ἦθη τῶν
 ἀπογόνων τοῖς προγόνους. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς
 ἔγνω Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων φιλοτιμοτάτους καὶ C
 φιλανθρωποτάτους· καίτοι τοῦτό γε ἐπιεικῶς ἐν
 πᾶσιν εἶδον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἔχω δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 εἰπεῖν, ὥς καὶ φιλόθεοι μάλιστα πάντων εἰσὶ
 καὶ δεξιοὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, καθόλου μὲν
 Ἑλληνες πάντες, αὐτῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων πλεόν
 τοῦτο ἔχω μαρτυρεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι
 διασώζουσιν εἰκόνα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν
 ἀρετῆς, εἰκὸς δήπουθεν τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν καὶ
 Σύροις καὶ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Θραξὶ
 καὶ Παίοσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσῳ κειμένοις Θρακῶν
 καὶ Παιόνων ἐπ' αὐταῖς Ἰστρου ταῖς ἡόσι D
 Μυσοῖς, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστί μοι πᾶν
 ἄγροικον, αὐστηρόν, ἀδέξιον, ἀναφρόδιτον, ἐμ-
 μένον τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἀμετακινήτως· ἃ δὴ πάντα
 ἐστὶ δαίγματα δεινῆς ἀγροικίας.

Αἰτοῦμαι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον συγ-
 γνώμην, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν νέμω τὰ πάτρια
 ζηλοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἐν ὀνειδίει προφέρομαι τὸ

Ψεύσταί τ' ὀρχησταί τε χοροῖτυπήσιν ἄριστοι, 349
 τούναντίον δὲ ἀντ' ἐγκωμίων ὑμῖν προσεῖναι

¹ ἐπώνυμον Hertlein suggests, ὁμώνυμον MSS.

MISOPOGON

they emulate their founder or him who gave his name to the city. For just as in the case of plants it is natural that their qualities should be transmitted for a long time, or rather that, in general, the succeeding generation should resemble its ancestors; so too in the case of human beings it is natural that the morals of descendants should resemble those of their ancestors. I myself, for instance, have found that the Athenians are the most ambitious for honour and the most humane of all the Greeks. And indeed I have observed that these qualities exist in an admirable degree among all the Greeks, and I can say for them that more than all other nations they love the gods, and are hospitable to strangers; I mean all the Greeks generally, but among them the Athenians above all, as I can bear witness. And if they still preserve in their characters the image of their ancient virtue, surely it is natural that the same thing should be true of the Syrians also, and the Arabs and Celts and Thracians and Paeonians, and those who dwell between the Thracians and Paeonians, I mean the Mysians on the very banks of the Danube, from whom my own family is derived, a stock wholly boorish, austere, awkward, without charm and abiding immovably by its decisions; all of which qualities are proofs of terrible boorishness.

I therefore ask for forgiveness, in the first place for myself, and in my turn I grant it to you also since you emulate the manners of your forefathers, nor do I bring it against you as a reproach when I say that you are "Liars and dancers, well skilled to dance in a chorus";¹ on the contrary it is in the

¹ *Iliad* 24. 261.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

φημι πατρίων ζῆλον ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ καὶ
Ὅμηρος ἐπαινῶν τὸν Αὐτόλυκόν φησι περιεῖναι
πάντων

Κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε.

καὶ ἔμαντοῦ τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν
καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως μαλάττεσθαι B
μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἑξαπατῶσι τὰ
ἔμαντοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βοαῖς εἶκειν καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργῳ ὀνειδῆ. πότερα μὲν οὖν ἐστι
κουφότερα, θεοῖς ἴσως δῆλον, ἐπείπερ ἀνθρώπων
οὐδεὶς οἶός τε ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφορῶν
βραβεῦσαι· πεισόμεθα γὰρ οὐδαμῶς αὐτῷ διὰ
φιλαυτίαν, θαυμάζειν γὰρ εἰκὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἑκα-
στον, ἀτιμάζειν δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ὁ δὲ
τῷ τὰ ἐναντία ζηλοῦντι νέμων συγγνώμην εἶναι
μοι δοκεῖ πρᾶτότατος.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐννοήσας εὐρίσκω καὶ ἕτερα δεινὰ C
ἔμαντὸν εἰργασμένον. πόλει γὰρ προσιῶν ἐλευ-
θέρα, τὸν αὐχμὸν τῶν τριχῶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένη,
ὥσπερ οἱ κουρέων ἀποροῦντες ἄκαρτος καὶ βαθυ-
γένειος εἰσέδραμον· ἐνόμισας ἂν Σμικρίνην ὀρᾶν
ἢ Θρασυλέοντα, δύσκολον πρεσβύτην ἢ στρατιώ-
την ἀνόητον, ἐξὸν φανῆναι τῷ καλλωπισμῷ παῖδα
ῥαῖον καὶ γενέσθαι μειράκιον, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν,
τὸν τρόπον γε καὶ τὴν ἀβρότητα τοῦ προσώπου. D
“Οὐκ οἶσθα ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπαινέτης

MISOPOGON

place of a panegyric that I ascribe to you emulation of the practice of your forefathers. For Homer too is praising Autolycus when he says that he surpassed all men "in stealing and perjury."¹ And as for my own awkwardness and ignorance and ill-temper; and my inability to be influenced, or to mind my own business when people beg me to do so or try to deceive me and that I cannot yield to their clamour—even such reproaches I gladly accept. But whether your ways or mine are more supportable is perhaps clear to the gods, for among men there is no one capable of arbitrating in our disagreement. For such is our self-love that we shall never believe him, since everyone of us naturally admires his own ways and despises those of other men. In fact he who grants indulgence to one whose aims are the opposite of his own is, in my opinion, the most considerate of men.

But now I come to ponder the matter I find that I have committed yet other terrible sins. For though I was coming to a free city which cannot tolerate unkempt hair, I entered it unshaven and with a long beard, like men who are at a loss for a barber. One would have thought it was some Smicrines² he saw, or some Thrasyleon, some ill-tempered old man or crazy soldier, when by beautifying myself I might have appeared as a blooming boy and transformed myself into a youth, if not in years, at any rate in manners and effeminacy of features. "You do not know," you answer, "how to mix with people, and

¹ *Odyssey* 19. 396.

² Smicrines is a typical name in New Comedy for an avaricious old man; Thrasyleon is said to have been used by Menander as the name of a boasting soldier, "miles gloriosus."

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

εἰ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μιμῇ τὸν ἀφομοιούμενον
 ταῖς πέτραις πολὺπουν, ἀλλ' ἡ λεγομένη Μυκό-
 νιος ἀγροικία τε καὶ ἀμαθία καὶ ἀβελτηρία
 πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτηδεύεται παρὰ σοῦ. λέληθέ
 σε ὅτι¹ πολλοῦ δεῖ ταῦτα εἶναι Κελτοὶ καὶ
 Θρᾶκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοί; οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅποσα μὲν
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ καπηλεία; σὺ δὲ ἀπεχθάνῃ 350
 τοῖς καπήλοις οὐ ξυγχωρῶν ὅποσου βούλονται
 πωλεῖν αὐτοὺς² τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τοῖς
 ἐπιδημοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους τὴν γῆν
 αἰτιῶνται. σὺ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖ
 σαυτῷ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζων. οἱ δὲ ἐν
 τέλει τῆς πόλεως ἀμφοῖν μετέχοντες ταῖν ζη-
 μίαιν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πρότερον ἔχαιρον διχόθεν
 καρπούμενοι τὰς ὠφελείας, καὶ ὥς κεκτημένοι B
 καὶ ὥς καπηλεύοντες, τὰ νῦν εἰκότως λυποῦνται
 δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἀφηρεμένοι τὰς ἐπικερδείας. ὁ
 δὲ τῶν Σύρων δῆμος οὐκ ἔχων μεθύειν οὐδὲ
 κορδακίζειν ἄχθεται. σὺ δὲ σίτον ἄφθονον παρέ-
 χων οἷε τρέφειν αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς. ἐκείνο δέ σου
 χαρίεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅπως ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πετραῖος
 ἔσται σκοπεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶν μεμφομένου
 τινός, ὥς οὔτε ἰχθυδίων οὔτε ὀρνίθων πολλῶν

¹ σε ὅτι—δεῖ Cobet, σε—δεῖν Hertlein, MSS.

² αὐτοὺς Reiske, αὐτοῖς Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

you cannot approve of the maxim of Theognis,¹ for you do not imitate the polypus which takes on the colours of the rocks. Nay rather you behave to all men with the proverbial Myconian² boorishness and ignorance and stupidity. Are you not aware that we here are far from being Celts or Thracians or Illyrians? Do you not see what a number of shops there are in this city? But you are hated by the shopkeepers because you do not allow them to sell provisions to the common people and those who are visiting the city at a price as high as they please. The shopkeepers blame the landowners for the high prices; but you make these men also your enemies, by compelling them to do what is just. Again, those who hold office in the city are subject to both penalties; I mean that just as, before you came, they obviously used to enjoy profits from both sources, both as landowners and as shopkeepers, so naturally they are now aggrieved on both accounts, since they have been robbed of their profits from both sources. Then the whole body of Syrian citizens are discontented because they cannot get drunk and dance the cordax.³ You, however, think that you are feeding them well enough if you provide them with plenty of corn. Another charming thing about you is that you do not even take care that the city shall have shell-fish. Nay more, when someone complained the other day that neither shell-fish nor much poultry could be found in the market, you laughed very maliciously and said that a

¹ Theognis 215 foll. advises men to imitate the adaptability of the polypus.

² Mykonos was an island in the Cyclades whose inhabitants were proverbial for poverty and greed.

³ The cordax was a lascivious dance.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

εὐρισκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τωθαστικὸν μάλα ἐγέ- C
 λασας, ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου τῇ σώφρονι
 πόλει δεῖν φάμενος, κρεῶν δ' ἤδη τῇ τρυφώσῃ·
 τὸ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνιθίων λόγον ποιεῖσθαι
 πέρα τρυφῆς εἶναι καὶ ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἰθάκῃ
 μνηστῆρσι μετὴν ἀσελγείας. ὅτῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐν
 ἡδονῇ κρέα ὕεια καὶ προβύτεια σιτεῖσθαι, τῶν
 ὀσπρίων ἀπτόμενος εὖ πράξει. ταῦτα ἐνόμισας
 Θραξὶ νομοθετεῖν τοῖς σεαυτοῦ πολίταις ἢ τοῖς D
 ἀναισθήτοις Γαλάταις, οἳ σε ἐπαιδοτρίβησαν
 καθ' ἡμῶν “πρίνινον, σφενδάμνινον,” οὐκέτι
 μέντοι καὶ “Μαραθωνομάχον,” ἀλλ' Ἀχαρνέα
 μὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ἀηδὴ δ' ἄνδρα παντάπασι καὶ
 ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν. οὐ κρεῖττον ἦν ὁδωδέναι μύρων
 τὴν ἀγορὰν βαδίζοντός σου καὶ παῖδας ἡγείσθαι
 καλούς, εἰς οὓς ἀποβλέψουσιν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ
 χοροὺς γυναικῶν, ὅποιοι παρ' ἡμῖν ἴστανται καθ'
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν; ”

Ἐμὲ δὲ ὑγρὸν βλέπειν ῥιπτοῦντα πανταχοῦ 351
 τὰ ὄμματα, ὅπως ὑμῖν καλός, οὔτι τὴν ψυχὴν,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον ὀφθείην, ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχω-
 ρεῖ. ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς κρίνετε, ψυχῆς ἀληθινὸν
 κάλλος ὑγρότης βίου. ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδί-
 δασκεν εἰς γῆν βλέπειν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα·
 θέατρον δ' οὐκ εἶδον πρὶν μᾶλλον κομῆσαι τῆς

MISOPOGON

well-conducted city needs bread, wine and olive oil, but meat only when it is growing luxurious.¹ For you said that even to speak of fish and poultry is the extreme of luxury and of profligacy such as was beyond the reach of even the suitors in Ithaca; and that anyone who did not enjoy eating pork and mutton² would fare very well if he took to vegetables.³ You must have thought that you were laying down these rules for Thracians, your own fellow-citizens, or for the uncultured people of Gaul who—so much the worse for us!—trained you to be ‘a heart of maple, a heart of oak,’ though not indeed ‘one who fought at Marathon’⁴ also, but rather to be half of you an Acharnian and altogether an unpleasant person and an ungracious fellow. Would it not be better that the market place should be fragrant with myrrh when you walk there and that you should be followed by a troop of handsome boys at whom the citizens could stare, and by choruses of women like those that exhibit themselves every day in our city?”

No, my temperament does not allow me to look wanton, casting my eyes in all directions in order that in your sight I may appear beautiful, not indeed in soul but in face. For, in your judgment, true beauty of soul consists in a wanton life. I, however, was taught by my tutor to look on the ground when I was on my way to school; and as for a theatre, I never saw one until I had more hair on my chin

¹ Plato, *Republic* 372 E.

² The suitors of Penelope lived on pork and mutton.

³ Literally “pulse.”

⁴ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 180 uses these words to describe the older, more robust generation of Athenians.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

κεφαλῆς τὸ γένειον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἰδίᾳ
 μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν οὐδέποτε, τρίτον δὲ ἡ τέ-
 ταρτον, εὖ ἴστε, Πατρόκλῳ ἐπίηρα φέρων ἄρχων B
 ἐπέταττεν οἰκείος ὢν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖος· ἐτύγχα-
 νον δὲ ἰδιώτης ἔτι· σύγγνωτε οὖν ἐμοί· δίδωμι
 γὰρ ὃν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ δικαιότερον μισήσετε τὸν φιλαπ-
 εχθήμονα παιδαγωγόν, ὃς με καὶ τότε ἐλύπει
 μίαν ὁδὸν ἰέναι διδάσκων καὶ νῦν αἰτίος ἐστί μοι
 τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπεχθείας, ἐνεργασάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ C
 καὶ ὥσπερ ἐντυπώσας ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐβου-
 λόμην τότε, ὁ δὲ ὡς δὴ τι χαρίεν ποιῶν μάλα
 προθύμως ἐνετίθει, καλῶν οἶμαι σεμνότητες τὴν
 ἀγροικίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην τὴν ἀναισθησίαν, ἀν-
 δρείαν δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μηδ'
 εὐδαίμονα ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι. ἔφη δέ μοι πολλάκις,
 εὖ ἴστε, ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ μούσας, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἔτι
 παιδαρίῳ κομιδῇ, Μή σε παραπειθέτω τὸ πλῆθος
 τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θέατρα φερόμενον ὀρεχθῆναί D
 ποτε ταυτησὶ τῆς θέας. ἵπποδρομίας ἐπιθυμεῖς;
 ἔστι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δεξιότατα πεποιημένη· λαβὼν
 ἐπέξιθι τὸ βιβλίον. τοὺς παντομίμους ἀκούεις
 ὀρχηστάς; ἕα χαίρειν αὐτούς· ἀνδρικώτερον παρὰ
 τοῖς Φαίαξιν ὀρχεῖται τὰ μεираκια· σὺ δ' ἔχεις
 κιθαρωδὸν τὸν Φῆμιον καὶ ὠδὸν τὸν Δημόδοκον.

MISOPOGON

than on my head,¹ and even at that age it was never on my own account and by my own wish, but three or four times, you must know, the governor who was my kinsman and near relative, "doing a favour to Patroclus," ordered me to attend; it was while I was still a private individual.² Therefore forgive me. For I hand over to you instead of myself one whom you will more justly detest, I mean that curmudgeon my tutor who even then used to harass me by teaching me to walk in one straight path³ and now he is responsible for my quarrel with you. It was he who wrought in my soul and as it were carved therein what I did not then desire, though he was very zealous in implanting it, as though he were producing some charming characteristic; and boorishness he called dignity, lack of taste he called sobriety, and not yielding to one's desires or achieving happiness by that means he called manliness. I assure you, by Zeus and the Muses, that while I was still a mere boy my tutor would often say to me: "Never let the crowd of your playmates who flock to the theatres lead you into the mistake of craving for such spectacles as these. Have you a passion for horse races? There is one in Homer,⁴ very cleverly described. Take the book and study it. Do you hear them talking about dancers in pantomime? Leave them alone! Among the Phaeacians the youths dance in more manly fashion. And for citharode⁵ you have Phemius; for singer Demodocus. Moreover

¹ Xenophon, *Symposium* 4. 28.

² i.e. before he had been appointed Caesar. ³ cf. 352 c.

⁴ The chariot race in *Iliad* 23.

⁵ The citharode played and sang to the lyre: Phemius was at the court of Odysseus in Ithaca; Demodocus in Phaeacia.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἔστι καὶ φυτὰ παρ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ τερπνότερα
ἀκούσαι τῶν ὀρωμένων·

Δήλῳ δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμὸν
Φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα. 352

καὶ ἡ δενδρήεσσα τῆς Καλυψοῦς νῆσος καὶ τὰ
τῆς Κίρκης σπήλαια καὶ ὁ Ἀλκίνου κήπος· εὖ
ἴσθι, τούτων οὐδὲν ὄψει τερπνότερον.

Ἄρα ποθεῖτε καὶ τοῦνομα ὑμῖν φράσω τοῦ
παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ ὅστις ὦν γένος ταῦτα ἔλεγε;
βάρβαρος νῆ θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, Σκύθης μὲν τὸ γένος,
ὁμώνυμος δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ξέρξην ἀναπείσαντος ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πολυθρύλητον
τοῦτο δὴ πρὸ μηνῶν μὲν εἴκοσι προσκυνούμενον B
ὄνομα, νυνὶ δὲ προφερόμενον ἀντ' ἀδικήματος καὶ
ὀνειδούς, εὐνοῦχος ἦν, ὑπὸ τῷ μῶ τεθραμμένος
πάππῳ, τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐμὴν ὅπως ἀγάγοι διὰ
τῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ποιημάτων. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἐκείνη πρῶτον ἐμὲ καὶ μόνον τεκοῦσα μῆσιν
ὑστερον ὀλίγοις ἐτελεύτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμήτορος
παρθένου πολλῶν συμφορῶν ἐκκλαπείσα κόρη C
καὶ νέα, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἑβδομον αὐτῷ παρεδόθη.
οὗτος ἐξ ἐκείνου ταῦτα ἀνέπεισεν ἄγων ἐς διδα-
σκάλου μίαν ὁδόν· ἄλλην δ' οὐτ' αὐτὸς εἰδέναι

MISOPOGON

there are in Homer many plants more delightful to hear of than those that we can see: 'Even so did I once see the young shoot of a date palm springing up near the altar of Apollo on Delos.'¹ And consider the wooded island of Calypso and the caves of Circe and the garden of Alcinous; be assured that you will never see anything more delightful than these."

And now do you want me to tell you also my tutor's name and the nationality of the man who used to say these things? He was a barbarian, by the gods and goddesses; by birth he was a Scythian, and he had the same name² as the man who persuaded Xerxes to invade Greece. Moreover he was a eunuch, a word which, twenty months ago,³ was constantly heard and revered, though it is now applied as an insult and a term of abuse. He had been brought up under the patronage of my grandfather, in order that he might instruct my mother⁴ in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. And since she, after giving birth to me her first and only child, died a few months later, snatched away while she was still a young girl by the motherless maiden⁵ from so many misfortunes that were to come, I was handed over to him after my seventh year. From that time he won me over to these views of his, and led me to school by one straight path; and since

¹ Odysseus thus refers to Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6. 162.

² i.e. Mardonius; it was a Sophistic mannerism to use such a periphrasis instead of giving the name directly; see vol. i. *Introduction*, p. xi.

³ Constantius was under the influence of the powerful eunuchs of his court; they had been expelled by Julian, but Mardonius was an exception to his class.

⁴ Basilina.

⁵ Athene.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

θέλων οὐτ' ἐμοὶ βαδίζειν ξυγχωρῶν ἐποίησεν
ἀπεχθάνεσθαί με πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ,
σπεισώμεθα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν
ἀπέχθειαν λύσαντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἠπίστατο πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ἀφιζόμενον οὐτ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστα φοιτᾶν
μέλλοιμι, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων προσεδόκα, καὶ τοσαύτην D
ἀρχήν, ὅσην ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, πολλὰ ὁμοῦ βιασά-
μενοι, πείσθητέ μοι, καὶ τὸν διδόντα καὶ τὸν
δεχόμενον. ἐφ' ὧν γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδέτερος ἐθέλειν
οὔτε ὁ διδούς τὴν τιμὴν ἢ χάριν ἢ ὅ,τι φίλον ὑμῖν
αὐτὸ ὀνομάζειν δοῦναι, καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων, ὥς ἴσασιν
οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀληθῶς ἠρνεῖτο. καὶ δὴ τοῦτο μὲν
ὅπῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον ἔχει τε καὶ ἔξει. τυχὸν δὲ ὁ
παιδαγωγὸς εἰ προύγνω τοῦτο, πολλὴν ἂν ἐποιή- 353
σατο προμήθειαν, ὅπως ὅ,τι μάλιστα ὑμῖν φανείην
κεχαρισμένος.

Εἰτα οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποθέσθαι νῦν καὶ μεταμαθεῖν
εἴ τι πρότερον ἡμῖν ἄγροικον ἦθος ἐνετράφη;
Ἔθος, φασί, δευτέρῃ φύσις· φύσει μάχεσθαι δ'
ἔργον, ἐτῶν τριάκοντα μελέτην ἀφεῖναι παγχάλε-
πον ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐγγενομένην τῆς
χαλεπότητος· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἤδη πλείω τούτων ἐστίν.
Εἶεν· ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροᾶσθαι B
περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ
τοῦτό σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰ ἄρξεις
ἠπίστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων, ὃν καὶ ὑμεῖς
462

MISOPOGON

neither he himself desired to know any other nor allowed me to travel by any other path, it is he who has caused me to be hated by all of you. However, if you agree, let us make a truce with him, you and I, and make an end of our quarrel. For he neither knew that I should visit you nor did he anticipate that, even supposing I was likely to come here, it would be as a ruler, and that too over so great an empire as the gods bestowed on me; though they did not do so, believe me, without using great compulsion both towards him who offered and him who accepted it. For neither of us had the air of being willing; since he who offered that honour or favour or whatever you may please to call it, was unwilling to bestow it, while he who received it was sincere in steadily refusing it. This matter, however, is and shall be as the gods will. But perhaps if my tutor had foreseen this he would have exercised much forethought to the end that I might, as far as possible, seem agreeable in your eyes.

What then, you will ask, is it not possible even now for me to lay aside my character, and to repent of the boorish temper that was bred in me in earlier days? Habit, as the saying goes, is second nature. But to fight with nature is hard; and to shake off the training of thirty years is very difficult, especially when it was carried on with such painful effort, and I am already more than thirty years old. "Well and good," you answer, "but what is the matter with you that you try to hear and decide cases about contracts? For surely your tutor did not teach you this also, since he did not even know whether you would govern." Yes, it was that terrible old man who convinced me that I ought to do so;

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὥς ὄντα μάλιστα αἰτιώτατον τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευ-
μάτων ὀρθῶς ποιῶντες ξυλλοιδορεῖτέ μοι, καὶ
τοῦτον δ', εὖ ἴστε, ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐξηπατημένον.
ὀνόματα ἤκει πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολλάκις κωμωδούμενα,
Πλάτων καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ
Θεόφραστος. ἐκείνοις ὁ γέρων οὗτος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' C
ἀφροσύνης, ἔπειτα ἐμὲ νέον εὐρών, ἐραστὴν λόγων,
ἀνέπεισεν, ὥς, εἰ τὰ πάντα ἐκείνων ζηλωτὴς γε-
νοίμην, ἀμείνων ἔσομαι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
ἴσως οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ εἶναί μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν
ἄμιλλαν· ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ πάντως. ἐγὼ δέ· οὐ γὰρ
εἶχον ὅ,τι ποιῶ· πεισθεὶς οὐκέτι δύναμαι μεταθέ-
σθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐθέλων πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίζω D
μὲν ἐμαυτῷ, διότι μὴ ποιῶ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν¹ ἀπάντων
ἀδικημάτων· ὕπεισι δέ με ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ὅσα
ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διεξῆλθε ξένος, “ Τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ
μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν
ἀδικεῖν πλέον ἢ διπλασίας τιμῆς ἄξιος ἐκείνου·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑνός, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἐτέρων,
μηνύων τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀδικίαν. ὁ
δὲ καὶ συγκολάζων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὁ 354
μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος, οὗτος ἀναγορευέ-
σθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῆς. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτον
ἔπαινον καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης χρὴ λέγειν καὶ
περὶ φρονήσεως καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὑγαθὰ τις κέκτη-

¹ πᾶσιν ἄδειαν Cobet, πᾶσι πᾶσαν ἄδειαν Hertlein, MSS.

MISOPOGON

and you also do well to help me to abuse him, since he is of all men most responsible for my way of life; though he too, you must know, had in his turn been misled by others. Theirs are names that you have often met when they are ridiculed in Comedy—I mean Plato and Socrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus. This old man in his folly was first convinced by them, and then he got hold of me, since I was young and loved literature, and convinced me that if I would emulate those famous men in all things I should become better, not perhaps than other men—for it was not with them that I had to compete—but certainly better than my former self. Accordingly, since I had no choice in the matter, I obeyed him, and now I am no longer able to change my character, though indeed I often wish I could, and I blame myself for not granting to all men impunity for all wrong-doing. But then the words of the Athenian stranger in Plato occur to my mind: “Though he who does no wrong himself is worthy of honour, he who does not allow the wicked to do wrong is worthy of more than twice as much honour. For whereas the former is responsible for one man only, the latter is responsible for many others besides himself, when he reports to the magistrates the wrong-doing of the rest. And he who as far as he can helps the magistrates to punish wrong-doers, himself being the great and powerful man in the city, let him I say be proclaimed as winner of the prize for virtue. And we ought to utter the same eulogy with regard to temperance also, and wisdom and all the other good qualities that such a man possesses, and which are such that he is able

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ται, δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι.”

Ταῦτα ἐδίδασκέ με νομίζων ἰδιώτην ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρὸυγνώ ταύτην ἐκ Διός μοι τὴν Β τύχην ἐσομένην, εἰς ἣν νῦν ὁ θεὸς φέρων κατέστησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενος ἄρχων ἰδιώτου φαυλότερος εἶναι λέληθα ἐμαυτόν, οὐδὲν δέον, ὑμῖν τῆς ἀγροικίας μεταδιδούς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ. καί με ἕτερος τῶν Πλάτωνος νόμων ὑπομνησθέντα ἐμαυτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅς φησι δεῖν αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἵνα τὰ πλήθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς C ἀποβλέποντα κοσμήται. μόνῳ οὖν μοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιτηδεύοντι νῦν τοῦτο πρὸς θάτερα περιέστη καὶ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐν ὀνείδει. ἐπτα γάρ ἐσμεν οἷδε παρ' ὑμῖν ξένοι νεήλυδες, εἰς δὲ καὶ πολίτης ὑμέτερος, Ἑρμῇ φίλος καὶ ἐμοί, λόγων ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐστι πρὸς τινα συμβόλαιον, οὐδ' ἄλλην ὁδὸν βαδίζομεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά, καὶ ὀλιγάκις, οὐ πάντες, εἰς τὰ D θέατρα, πεποιημένοι τὸ δυσκλεέστατον τῶν ἔργων

MISOPOGON

not only to have them himself but also to impart them to other men.”¹

These things he taught me when he thought that I should be a private citizen. For he certainly did not foresee that there would be assigned to me by Zeus this lot in life to which the god has now brought me and has set me therein. But I, because I was ashamed to be less virtuous as a ruler than I had been as a private citizen, have unconsciously given you the benefit of my own boorishness, though there was no necessity. And another of Plato's laws has made me take thought for myself and so become hateful in your eyes: I mean the law which says that those who govern, and also the older men, ought to train themselves in respect for others and in self-control, in order that the masses may look to them and so order their own lives aright. Now since I alone, or rather in company with a few others, am now pursuing this course, it has had a very different result and has naturally become a reproach against me. For we here are only seven persons, strangers and newcomers in your city,—though indeed one of our number is a fellow-citizen of yours, a man dear to Hermes and to me, an excellent craftsman of discourses.² And we have business dealings with no man, nor do we go by any road that does not lead to the temples of the gods; and seldom, and then not all of us, do we go to the theatres, since we have adopted the most inglorious line of conduct and the most

¹ Plato, *Laws* 730 D.

² Julian refers to Libanius the famous rhetorician; with him were also Maximus of Ephesus, Priscus, Himerius and Oreibasius the physician.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

καὶ ἐπονειδιστότατον¹ τοῦ βίου τέλος· ἐπιτρέψουσί μοι πάντως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφοὶ φάναι τι τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπιπολαζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω πῶς ἂν αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐνδειξαίμην· ἐπὶ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτοὺς ἐτάξαμεν, οὕτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸ προσκρούειν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι, δέον ἀρέσκειν καὶ θωπεύειν. ὁ δεῖνα ἐβιάσατο τὸν δεῖνα. Τί τοῦτο, ὦ μῶρε, πρὸς σέ; κοινωνεῖν ἔξδον μετ' εὐνοίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ἀφείς τὸ κέρδος ἔχθραν ἐπαναιρῇ, καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὀρθῶς οἶε 355 ποιεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ. λογίσασθαι ἐχρῆν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων οὐδεὶς αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, ὁ δ' ἀδικῶν εἴτα εἰργόμενος, ἀφείς μέμφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τρέπει τὸ ἄχθος.

Ἐξὸν οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐλογιστίας ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν, ἐπιτρέψαι δ' ἐκάστῳ πράττειν ὅ, τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ B δυνατὸς ᾗ· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἡθὸς οἶμαι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἐλεύθερον λίαν· σὺ δὲ οὐ ξυνεὶς ἄρχεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀξιοῖς; οὐδ' ἀπέβλεψας ὄση καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὄνων ἐστὶν ἐλευθερία παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν καμήλων; ἄγουσί τοι καὶ ταύτας οἱ μισθωτοὶ διὰ τῶν στοῶν ὥσπερ τὰς νύμφας· οἱ γὰρ ὑπαίθριοι στενωποὶ καὶ αἱ πλατεῖαι τῶν ὁδῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δήπου πεποίηνται, τῷ χρῇ-

¹ ἐπονειδιστότατον Hertlein suggests, ἐπονείδιστον MSS.

MISOPOGON

unpopular aim and end of life. The wise men of Greece will surely allow me to repeat some of the sayings current among you; for I have no better way of illustrating what I mean. We have stationed ourselves in the middle of the road, so highly do we prize the opportunity to collide with you and to be disliked, when we ought rather to try to please and flatter you. "So-and-so has oppressed So-and-so." "Fool! What business is it of yours? When it was in your power to win his good-will by becoming the partner in his wrongdoing, you first let the profit go, and incur hatred besides; and when you do, this you think that you are doing right and are wise about your own affairs. You ought to have taken into account that, when men are wronged, not one of them ever blames the magistrates but only the man who has wronged him; but the man who seeks to do wrong and is prevented from it, far from blaming his proposed victim, turns his grievance against the magistrates.

"Then when it was in your power by the aid of this careful reasoning to refrain from compelling us to do what is just; when you might have allowed every man to do whatever he pleases and has the power to do,—for the temper of the city is surely like that, excessively independent—do you then, I say, fail to understand this and assert that the citizens ought to be wisely governed? Have you not even observed what great independence exists among the citizens, even down to the very asses and camels? The men who hire them out lead even these animals through the porticoes as though they were brides. For the unroofed alleys and the broad highways were certainly not made for the use of pack-asses,

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

σθαι αὐταῖς τοὺς κανθηλίους, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖναι μὲν αὐτὴ δὴ τοῦτο κόσμου τινὸς ἕνεκα πρόκεινται καὶ πολυτελείας, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας οἱ ὄντοι C
βούλονται ταῖς στοαῖς, εἵργει δ' αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδενός, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφέληται· οὕτως ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρα. σὺ δὲ ἀξιοῖς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νεανίσκους ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν καὶ μάλιστα μὲν φρονεῖν ὃ, τι σοι φίλον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φθέγγεσθαι ὅσων ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσης.¹ οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας εἰώθασιν κωμάζειν, αἰεὶ μὲν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς πλέον.

Ἐδωκάν ποτε τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων Ῥωμαίοις Ταραντίνοι δίκας, ὅτι μεθύοντες ἐν τοῖς D
Διουνυσίοις ὕβρισαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρεσβειάν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε τῶν Ταραντίνων τὰ πάντα εὐδαιμονέστεροι, ἀντὶ μὲν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ὅλον εὐπαθοῦντες ἐνιαυτόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ξένων πρέσβεων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξυβρίζοντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τούτων εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ γενείου τρίχας καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νομίσμασι χαράγματα. εὐ γε, ὦ πολῖται 356
φρονες, οἳ τε παίζοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν παιζόντων ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύοντες. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὴν παρέχει τὸ λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν τοιούτων σκωμμάτων εὐφραίνει. ταύτης ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς ὁμονοίας συνήδομαι, καὶ εὐ γε ποιεῖτε μία δὴ πόλις ὄντες τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥς ἐκεῖνο· γε οὐδαμοῦ σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ ζηλωτὸν εἵργειν καὶ κολάζειν τῶν νέων τὸ ἀκόλαστον. B
παραιρεῖσθαι γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀποθραύειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τὸ κεφάλαιον, εἴ τις ἀφέλοιτο τοῦ λέγειν

¹ ἀκούσης Hertlein suggests, ἀκούσαι MSS.

MISOPOGON

but they are provided merely for show and as an extravagance; but in their independence the asses prefer to use the porticoes, and no one keeps them out of any one of these, for fear he should be robbing them of their independence; so independent is our city! And yet you think that even the charming youths in the city ought to keep quiet and, if possible, think whatever you like, but at any rate utter only what is agreeable for you to hear! But it is their independence that makes them hold revels; and this they always do handsomely, but during the festivals they revel more than usual."

Once upon a time the citizens of Tarentum paid to the Romans the penalty for this sort of jesting, seeing that, when drunk at the festival of Dionysus, they insulted the Roman ambassadors.¹ But you are in all respects more fortunate than the citizens of Tarentum, for you give yourselves up to pleasure throughout the whole year, instead of for a few days; and instead of foreign ambassadors you insult your own Sovereign, yes even the very hairs on his chin and the devices engraved on his coins.² Well done, O wise citizens, both ye who make such jests and ye who welcome and find profit in the jesters! For it is evident that uttering them gives pleasure to the former, while the latter rejoice to hear jests of this sort. I share your pleasure in this unanimity, and you do well to be a city of one mind in such matters, since it is not at all dignified or an enviable task to restrain and chastise the licentiousness of the young. For if one were to rob human beings of the power to

¹ In 272 B.C. the Romans took Tarentum.

² The people of Antioch ridiculed the Pagan symbols, such as the figures of Helios, the sun-god, which Julian had engraved on his coinage.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

καὶ πράττειν ὅ,τι βούλονται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
 ὀρθῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τοῦτο εἰδότες, ὅτι δεῖ τὰ πάντα
 ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, πρῶτον ἐπετρέψατε ταῖς γυναιξὶν
 ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὑμῖν ὥσι λίαν ἐλεύθεραι καὶ
 ἀκόλαστοι, εἴτα ἐκείναις ξυνεχωρήσατε ἀνάγειν τὰ
 παῖδια, μὴ ποτε ὑμῖν ἀρχῆς πειρώμενα τραχυτέρας C
 ἔπειτα ἀποφανθῇ δοῦλα, καὶ γενόμενα μειράκια
 πρῶτον αἰδεῖσθαι διδαχθῇ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους,
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς οὕτω κακῆς συνηθείας εὐλαβέστερα
 γένηται πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἰς
 ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδράποδα τελέσαντες καὶ γενό-
 μενοι σῶφρονες καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ κόσμιοι λάθωσι
 διαφθαρέντες παντάπασιν. τί οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες; ἐπὶ
 τὰ σφέτερα σεβάσματα ἄγουσιν αὐτὰ δι' ἡδονῆς,
 ὃ δὴ μακαριώτατον εἶναι φαίνεται καὶ πολυτίμη- D
 τον οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις.
 ἔνθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει μάλα ὑμῖν εὐδαίμοσιν εἶναι
 πᾶσαν ἀρνούμενοις δουλείαν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τοὺς
 θεοὺς ἀρξαμένοις¹ πρῶτον, εἴτα τοὺς νόμους καὶ
 τρίτον τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἡμᾶς. ἄτοποί τε ἂν
 εἶημεν ἡμεῖς, εἰ τῶν θεῶν περιορώντων οὕτως
 ἐλευθέραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐπεξιόντων ἀγανα-
 κτοίημεν καὶ χαλεπαίνοιμεν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι 357
 ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐκοινώνησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας
 παρὰ τῇ πόλει.

Τὸ Χῖ, φασίν, οὐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ
 Κάππα. τί μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας
 τὸ αἰνιγμα ξυνεῖναι χαλεπὸν, τυχόντες δ' ἡμεῖς

¹ ἀρξαμένοις before πρῶτον Hertlein suggests, Klimek ἀπο-
 στασι τῆς for ἀπὸ τῆς.

MISOPOGON

do and say what they please, that would be to take away and curtail the first principle of independence. Therefore, since you knew that men ought to be independent in all respects, you acted quite rightly, in the first place when you permitted the women to govern themselves, so that you might profit by their being independent and licentious to excess ; secondly, when you entrusted to them the bringing up of the children, for fear that if they had to experience any harsher authority they might later turn out to be slaves ; and as they grew up to be boys might be taught first of all to respect their elders, and then under the influence of this bad habit might show too much reverence for the magistrates, and finally might have to be classed not as men but as slaves ; and becoming temperate and well-behaved and orderly might be, before they knew it, altogether corrupted. Then what effect have the women on the children ? They induce them to reverence the same things as they do by means of pleasure, which is, it seems, the most blessed thing and the most highly honoured, not only by men but by beasts also. It is for this reason, I think, that you are so very happy, because you refuse every form of slavery ; first you begin by refusing slavery to the gods, secondly to the laws, and thirdly to me who am the guardian of the laws. And I should indeed be eccentric if, when the gods suffer the city to be so independent and do not chastise her, I should be resentful and angry. For be assured that the gods have shared with me in the disrespect that has been shown to me in your city.

“The *Chi*,” say the citizens, “never harmed the city in any way, nor did the *Kappa*.” Now the meaning of this riddle which your wisdom has

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἐξηγητῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἐδιδάχθημεν
 ἀρχὰς ὀνομάτων εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, δηλοῦν δ'
 ἐθέλειν τὸ μὲν Χριστόν, τὸ δὲ Κωνστάντιον.
 ἀνέχεσθε οὖν μου λέγοντος μετὰ παρρησίας. Β
 ἐν μόνον ὑμᾶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἠδίκησεν, ὅτι
 με καίσαρα ποιήσας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν· ὥς τά γε
 ἄλλα ὑμῖν μόνοις ἐκ πάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν
 δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Κωνσταντίων πειραθῆναι, μᾶλλον
 δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων τῆς πλεονεξίας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ
 ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς ἐγένετο καὶ φίλος. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ πρὸ τῆς φιλίας εἴλετο τὴν ἔχθραν, εἶτα ἡμῖν
 οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγῶνα λίαν ἐβρά-
 βευσαν φιλανθρωπῶς, ἐγενόμην αὐτῷ πιστότερος C
 φίλος ἢ προσεδόκησεν ἔξειν με πρὶν ἐχθρὸν
 γενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἶσθέ με τοῖς ἐκείνου λυπεῖν
 ἐγκωμίοις, ὃς ἄχθομαι τοῖς λαιδορουμένοις αὐτῷ;
 Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ
 τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Δαφναίου καὶ τῆς Καλλιόπης,
 ἢ τὸ σόφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπεγύμνωσεν. Ἐμισηνοὶ
 Χριστὸν ἐπόθουν οἱ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες τοῖς τάφοις
 τῶν Γαλιλαίων; ἐλύπησα δ' ἐγὼ τίνας Ἐμισηνῶν
 πώποτε; ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγου δέω D
 φάναι πάντας, τὴν βουλήν, τοὺς εὐπόρους, τὸν
 δῆμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἄχθεταί μοι τῷ πλείστω
 μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεότητα προελόμενος,

MISOPOGON

invented is hard to understand, but I obtained interpreters from your city and I was informed that these are the first letters of names, and that the former is intended to represent Christ, the latter Constantius. Bear with me then, if I speak frankly. In one thing Constantius did harm you, in that when he had appointed me as Caesar he did not put me to death. Now for the rest may the gods grant to you alone out of all the many citizens of Rome to have experience of the avarice of many a Constantius, or I should say rather, of the avarice of his friends. For the man was my cousin and dear to me ; but after he had chosen enmity with me instead of friendship, and then the gods with the utmost benevolence arbitrated our contention with one another, I proved myself a more loyal friend to him than he had expected to find me before I became his enemy. Then why do you think that you are annoying me by your praises of him, when I am really angry with those who slander him? But as for Christ you love him, you say, and adopt him as the guardian of your city instead of Zeus and the god of Daphne and Calliope¹ who revealed your clever invention? Did those citizens of Emesa long for Christ who set fire to the tombs of the Galilaeans?² But what citizens of Emesa have I ever annoyed? I have however annoyed many of you, I may almost say all, the Senate, the wealthy citizens, the common people. The latter indeed, since they have chosen atheism, hate me for the most part, or rather all of them hate me because they see that I adhere to the ordinances

¹ There was a statue of Calliope in the market-place at Antioch.

² The people of Emesa burned the Christian churches and spared only one, which they converted into a temple of Dionysus.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὁρᾷ τῆς ἀγιστείας θεσμοῖς
 προσκείμενον, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ κωλυόμενοι πολλοῦ
 πάντα πωλεῖν ἀργυρίου, πάντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ὀρχηστῶν καὶ τῶν θεάτρων, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀποστερῶ τούτων, ἀλλ' ὅτι μέλει μοι τῶν τοιού- 358
 των ἦττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλμασι βατράχων.
 εἶτα οὐκ εἰκότως ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορῶ τοσαύτας
 ἀπεχθείας λαβὰς παρασχόντος;

Ἄλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Κάτων, ὅπως μὲν ἔχων
 πώγωνος οὐκ οἶδα, παρ' ὄντινούν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ
 σωφροσύνη καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον
 ἀνδρεία μέγα φρονούντων ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι,
 προσιῶν τῇδε τῇ πολυανθρώπῳ καὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ
 πλουσίᾳ πόλει τοὺς ἐφήβους ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ προ- B
 αστείῳ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐσταλμένους ὥς ἐπὶ
 τινα δορυφορίαν ἐνόμισεν αὐτοῦ χάριν ὑμῶν τοὺς
 προγόνους τὴν παρασκευὴν πᾶσαν πεποιῆσθαι
 καὶ θᾶσσον ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου προῆγεν ἅμα
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προλαβόντας τῶν φίλων δυσχε-
 ραίνων ὥς μηνυτὰς γενομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Κάτων
 προσάγει, καὶ ἀναπείσαντας ἐκδραμεῖν. ὄντος
 δ' ἐν τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ διαπορούντος ἡρέμα
 καὶ ἐρυθριῶντος, ὁ γυμνασίάρχος προσδραμών,
 ὦ ξένε, ἔφη, ποῦ Δημήτριος; ἦν δ' οὗτος C
 ἀπελεύθερος Πομπηίου, κεκτημένος οὐσίαν πολ-
 λὴν πάννυ· μέτρον δ' αὐτῆς εἰ ποθεῖτε μαθεῖν·
 οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς

MISOPOGON

of the sacred rites which our forefathers observed ; the powerful citizens hate me because they are prevented from selling everything at a high price ; but all of you hate me on account of the dancers and the theatres. Not because I deprive others of these pleasures, but because I care less for things of that sort than for frogs croaking in a pond.¹ Then is it not natural for me to accuse myself, when I have furnished so many handles for your hatred ?

Cato the Roman,² however,—how he wore his beard I do not know,³ but he deserves to be praised in comparison with anyone of those who pride themselves on their temperance and nobility of soul and on their courage above all,—he, I say, once visited this populous and luxurious and wealthy city ; and when he saw the youths in the suburb drawn up in full array, and with them the magistrates, as though for some military display, he thought your ancestors had made all those preparations in his honour. So he quickly dismounted from his horse and came forward, though at the same time he was vexed with those of his friends who had preceded him for having informed the citizens that Cato was approaching, and so induced them to hasten forth. And while he was in this position, and was slightly embarrassed and blushing, the master of the gymnasium ran to meet him and called out “ Stranger, where is Demetrius ? ” Now this Demetrius was a freedman of Pompey, who had acquired a very large fortune ; and if you want to know the amount of it,—for I suppose that in all

¹ A proverb to express complete indifference.

² The anecdote which follows is told by Plutarch in his *Cato the Younger* and also in his *Pompeius*.

³ Julian must have known that in Cato's day the Romans never wore beards.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ταύτην μάλιστα ὀρμησθαι τὴν ἀκοήν· ἐγὼ τὸν εἰπόντα φράσω. Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ Βιθυνῷ πεποιή-
ται συγγράμματα τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς δρεπόμενος ἐκ βίβλων πολλῶν¹ εἰργάσατο λόγους ἡδίστους D
νέῳ φιληκόῳ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ γήρας ἐπανάγειν αὐθις εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων φιλη-
κοῖαν τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους· ὅθεν οἶμαι συμβαίνει νέους καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐξ ἴσης εἶναι φιλομύθους·
εἶεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάτων ὅπως ἀπήντησε τῷ γυμνα-
σιάρχῳ βούλεσθε φράσω; μή με λαιδορεῖν ὑπο-
λάβητε τὴν πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ἐμός.
εἴ τις ἀφίκται περιφερομένη καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀκοή 359
Χαιρωνέως ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου γένους, ὃ δὴ λέγεται παρὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων φιλόσοφον· οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐφικόμην μὲν, ἠϋξάμην δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας κοινωνῆσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν. ταῦτα οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἔφρασεν, ὡς ὁ Κάτων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὐδέν, βοήσας δὲ μόνον οἷά τις ἔμπληκτος καὶ ἀνόητος ἄνθρωπος, ὦ τῆς κακοδαίμονος πόλεως, ἀπιὼν ὥχετο.

Μὴ δὴ θαυμάσητε, τοῦτο εἰ καὶ ἐγὼ νυνὶ πάσχω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀνὴρ ἀγριώτερος ἐκείνου καὶ B
θρασύτερος τοσοῦτῳ καὶ αὐθαδέστερος, ὅσον οἱ Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖσε τεχθεὶς ἐγγυὺς ἦλθε γήρως ἅμα τοῖς πολίταις τρεφόμενος· ἐμοὶ δὲ Κελτοὶ καὶ Γερμανοὶ καὶ δρυμὸς Ἑρκύνιος ἔμελεν ἄρτι πρῶτον εἰς ἄνδρας τελοῦντι, καὶ διέτριψα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, ὥσπερ τις κυνηγέτης

¹ ἐκ βίβλων πολλῶν Hertlein suggests, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν MSS.

MISOPOGON

that I am now telling you are most anxious to hear this,—I will tell you who has related the story. Damophilus of Bithynia has written compositions of this sort, and in them, by culling anecdotes from many books, he has produced tales that give the greatest delight to anyone who loves to listen to gossip, whether he be young or old. For old age usually revives in the elderly that love of gossip which is natural to the young; and this is, I think, the reason why both the old and the young are equally fond of stories. Well then, to return to Cato. Do you want me to tell you how he greeted the master of the gymnasium? Do not imagine that I am slandering your city; for the story is not my own.¹ If any rumour has come round, even to your ears, of the man of Chaeronea,² who belongs to that worthless class of men who are called by impostors philosophers,—I myself never attained to that class though in my ignorance I claimed to be a member of it and to have part in it,—well he, as I was saying, related that Cato answered not a word, but only cried aloud like a man stricken with madness and out of his senses, “Alas for this ill-fated city!” and took himself off.

Therefore do not be surprised if I now feel towards you as I do, for I am more uncivilised than he, and more fierce and headstrong in proportion as the Celts are more so than the Romans. He was born in Rome and was nurtured among Roman citizens till he was on the threshold of old age. But as for me, I had to do with Celts and Germans and the Hercynian forest³ from the moment that I was reckoned a grown man, and I have by now spent a long time

¹ cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 299 c, note. ² Plutarch.

³ cf. Caesar, *Gallie War*, 6. 24.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀγρίοις ὁμιλῶν καὶ συμπλεκόμενος θηρίοις, ἤθεσιν C
 ἐντυγχάνων οὔτε θωπεύειν οὔτε κολακεύειν εἰδό-
 σιν, ἀπλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρως ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου πᾶσι
 προσφέρεσθαι. γέγονεν οὖν μοι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ
 παίδων τροφὴν ἥ τε ἐν μεираκίοις ὁδὸς διὰ τῶν
 Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων οὐδαμῶς
 ἐπιτηδεύων δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν οἰομένοις ὑπὸ
 τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις¹ εἶναι, ἥ τε ἐν ἀνδράσιν
 αὐτουργία παρὰ τοῖς μαχιμωτάτοις καὶ θυμικω-
 τάτοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου τὴν γαμηλίαν Ἀφροδίτην
 καὶ τὸν μεθυδότην Διόνυσον γάμου τε ἔνεκα
 καὶ παιδοποιίας οἴνου τε ὁπόσης ἐκάστω δυνα-
 τὸν πόσεως ἴσασι μόνον. ἀσέλγεια δ' οὐκ ἔστιν D
 ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐδὲ ὕβρις, οὐδὲ ἔλκει τις εἴσω
 τῆς σκηνῆς τὸν κόρδακα.

Λέγεται τοι μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὡς ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε
 τις Καππαδόκης φυγὰς, ἐν τῇ παρ' ὑμῖν τραφεὶς
 πόλει παρὰ τῷ χρυσοχόῳ· γνωρίζετε δήπουθεν
 ὃν λέγω· μαθὼν ὅπου καὶ ἔμαθεν, ὡς οὐ δέον
 ὁμιλεῖν γυναιξί, μεираκίοις δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐκ
 οἶδα ὁπόσα ἐνθάδε δράσας καὶ παθῶν, ἐπειδὴ 360
 παρὰ τὸν ἐκείσε βασιλέα πρῶην ἀφίκετο, μνήμη
 τῶν τῇδε πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπα-
 γαγεῖν, ἄλλα δὲ τὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἀγαθὰ τοιαῦτα,
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τέλος ὡς ἐνεδέησεν ἔτι κοτυλιστοῦ·

¹ ἐπιτηδεύων—οἰομένοις—εὐδαιμονεστάτοις Hertlein suggests,
 ἐπιτηδεύειν δήμοις ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτῳ
 MSS.

MISOPOGON

there, like some huntsman who associates with and is entangled among wild beasts. There I met with temperaments that know not how to pay court or flatter, but only how to behave simply and frankly to all men alike. Then after my nurture in childhood, my path as a boy took me through the discourses of Plato and Aristotle, which are not at all suited for the reading of communities who think that on account of their luxury they are the happiest of men. Then I had to work hard myself among the most warlike and high-spirited of all nations, where men have knowledge of Aphrodite, goddess of Wedlock, only for the purpose of marrying and having children, and know Dionysus the Drink-Giver, only for the sake of just so much wine as each can drink at a draught. And in their theatres no licentiousness or insolence exists, nor does any man dance the cordax on their stage.

A story is told of them that not long ago a certain Cappadocian was exiled from here to that place, a man who had been brought up in your city in the house of the goldsmith—you know of course whom I mean,—and had learned, as he naturally did learn there, that one ought not to have intercourse with women but to pay attentions to youths. And when, after doing and suffering here I know not what, he went to the court of the king in that country, he took with him to remind him of your habits here a number of dancers and other such delights from this city; and then finally since he still needed a cotylist¹—you know the word and the thing too—he

¹ We do not know what sort of performance was given by a cotylist; he was evidently a mime and may have played with cups; *κοτύλη* = a pint-cup.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τοῦτο δ' ὑμεῖς ἴστε πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ τοῦτον ἐνθένδε ἐκάλει πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι τῆς σεμνῆς παρ' ὑμῖν διαίτης. οἱ Κελτοὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν κοτυλιστὴν ἠγνόησαν, ἐδέξατο γὰρ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα τὰ βασιλεία, τοὺς ὀρχηστὰς δὲ ἐπιτραπέντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι¹ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν τέχνην εἶσαν οἴόμενοι τοῖς νυμφολήπτοις αὐτοὺς εἰσκέναι. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ καταγελαστότατον τὸ θέατρον· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγοι πολλῶν κατεγέλων, ἐγὼ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνθάδε γελοῖος ὑμῖν ἅπασι τὰ πάντα φαίνομαι.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ πράγματι. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἶην ἄδικος εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι στέργοιμι, διαφερόντως ἀσπασάμενος ἐκεῖνα. Κελτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω με δι' ὁμοιότητα τρόπων ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἐτόλμησαν οὐχ ὅπλα μόνον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκαν πολλά, καὶ παραιτούμενον ὀλίγου καὶ ἐβιάσαντο λαβεῖν, καὶ πρὸς πάντα ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουσαν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφέρετο πολὺ τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα, καὶ ἐβόων πάντες ἀνδρεῖον, συνετόν, δίκαιον, οὐ πολέμῳ μόνον ὁμιλῆσαι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰρήνῃ D χρήσασθαι δεξιόν, εὐπρόσιτον, πρᾶον· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀντιδεδώκατε νῦν ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι παρ' ἐμὲ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου πράγματα ἀνατέτραπται· σύνοιδα δὲ οὐδὲν ἀνατρέπων ἐμαυτῷ οὔτε ἐκῶν οὔτε ἄκων· εἶτα, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ πώγωνός μου χρή πλέκειν σχοινία, καὶ ὅτι πολεμῷ τῷ Χί, πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰσεισι τοῦ Κάππα. καὶ ὑμῖν γε αὐτὸ οἱ

¹ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι Hertlein would add.

MISOPOGON

invited him also from here, because of his longing and love for the austere mode of life that prevails with you. Now the Celts never made the acquaintance of the cotylist, since he was at once admitted into the palace; but when the dancers began to display their art in the theatre, the Celts left them alone because they thought that they were like men stricken with nympholepsy. And the theatre seemed to the men in that country highly ridiculous, just as it does to me; but whereas the Celts were a few ridiculing many, I here along with a few others seem absurd in every way to all of you.

This is a fact which I do not resent. And indeed it would be unjust of me not to make the best of the present state of things, after having so greatly enjoyed the life among the Celts. For they loved me so much, on account of the similarity of our dispositions, that not only did they venture to take up arms on my behalf, but they gave me large sums of money besides; and when I would have declined it, they almost forced me to take it, and in all things readily obeyed me. And what was most wonderful of all, a great report of me travelled thence to your city, and all men proclaimed loudly that I was brave, wise and just, not only terrible to encounter in war, but also skilful in turning peace to account, easy of access and mild-tempered. But now you have sent them tidings from here in return, that in the first place the affairs of the whole world have been turned upside down by me—though indeed I am not conscious of turning anything upside down, either voluntarily or involuntarily; secondly, that I ought to twist ropes from my beard, and that I war against the *Chi* and that you begin to regret the *Kappa*.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

πολιούχοι τῇσδε τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ διπλοῦν δοῖεν,
 ὅτι πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ τὰς ἀστυγείτονας ἐσυκοφαν- 361
 τήσατε πόλεις ἱερὰς καὶ ὁμοδούλους ἐμοί, ὥς δὴ
 παρ' αὐτῶν εἶη τὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ξυντεθέντα, ὃν εὖ οἶδ'
 ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐκεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἰέας,
 οἱ τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν αὐτίκα τεμένη,
 τοὺς τάφους δὲ τῶν ἀθέων ἀνέτρεψαν πάντας,
 ἀπὸ τοῦ συνθήματος, ὃ δὴ δέδοται παρ' ἐμοῦ
 πρῶην, οὕτως ἐπαρθέντες τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετέωροι
 γενόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥς καὶ πλέον ἐπεξελθεῖν
 τοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς πλημμελοῦσιν ἢ βουλομένῳ B
 μοι ᾔν.

Τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα· πολλοὶ μὲν ἐγειρομένους ἄρτι
 τοὺς βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψαν, οὓς ἢ πραότης ἡμῶν
 ἐδίδαξε μόλις ἡσυχάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεπεμφάμεθα
 τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς Δάφνης, οἱ μὲν ἀφοσιούμενοι τὰ
 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀντέδωκαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
 λειψάνων ἡγανακτηκόσι τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ τέμενος C
 τοῦ Δαφναίου θεοῦ, οἱ δὲ εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτε μὴ τὸ
 πῦρ ἐνεῖσαν¹ ἐκεῖνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσι τῶν ξένων
 φρικῶδες, ὑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν παρασχόν,

¹ ἐνεῖσαν Hertlein suggests, ἔδειξαν MSS.

MISOPOGON

Now may the guardian gods of this city grant you a double allowance of the *Kappa*!¹ For besides this you falsely accused the neighbouring cities, which are holy and the slaves of the gods, like myself, of having produced the satires which were composed against me; though I know well that those cities love me more than their own sons, for they at once restored the shrines of the gods and overturned all the tombs² of the godless, on the signal that was given by me the other day; and so excited were they in mind and so exalted in spirit that they even attacked those who were offending against the gods with more violence than I could have wished.

But now consider your own behaviour. Many of you overturned the altars of the gods which had only just been erected, and with difficulty did my indulgent treatment teach you to keep quiet. And when I sent away the body from Daphne,³ some of you, in expiation of your conduct towards the gods, handed over the shrine of the god of Daphne to those who were aggrieved about the relics of the body, and the rest of you, whether by accident or on purpose, hurled against the shrine that fire which made the strangers who were visiting your city shudder, but gave pleasure to the mass of

¹ i.e. may they have two such rulers as Constantius.

² i.e. the sepulchres over which the Christian churches were built; cf. 357 C, note.

³ Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had been buried in the grove of Daphne, and the priests of Apollo retired from it. When the church over his tomb was demolished by Julian he removed the body of St. Babylas to Antioch, and that night (October 22. 362 A.D.) the people of Antioch burned the temple of Apollo which Julian had restored. Cf. Johannes Chrysostomos, *De S. Babyla et contra Julianum*; and Libanius, *Monody on the Temple of Apollo at Daphne*.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθὲν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελούμενον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολελοιπέναι τὸν νεὼν ὃ θεός, ἐπεσήμηνε γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μοι πρῶτον τὸ ἄγαλμα, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα καλῶ τὸν μέγαν ἥλιον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὑπομνήσαι βούλομαι καὶ ἄλλης ἀπεχθείας ἐμῆς, ἔπειτα, ὅπερ εἶωθα ποιεῖν D ἐπιεικῶς, ὀνειδίσαι ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ κατηγορήσαι καὶ μέμψασθαι.

Δεκάτῳ γάρ που μηνὶ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀριθμουμένῳ. Λῶον οἶμαι τοῦτον ὑμεῖς προσαγορεύετε τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πάτριός ἐστιν ἑορτή, καὶ ἔδει σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Δάφνην ἀπαντᾶν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου Διὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔδραμον, οἴομενος ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὑμῶν ἀπολαύσειν. εἶτα ἀνέπλαττον παρ' ἐμαυτῷ πομπήν, ὥσπερ ὀνειράτα ὀρών, ἱερεῖα καὶ 362 σπονδὰς καὶ χοροὺς τῷ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάματα καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐκεῖ περὶ τὸ τέμενος θεοπρεπέστατα μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς κατεσκευασμένους, λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῆτι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ κεκοσμημένους. ὥς δὲ εἴσω παρήλθον τοῦ τεμένους, οὔτε θυμιάματα κατέλαβον οὔτε πόπανον οὔτε ἱερεῖον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐθαύμασα καὶ ὄμην ἕξω τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, περιμένειν δ' ὑμᾶς, ἐμὲ δὲ τιμῶντας ὡς ἀρχιερέα, B τὸ σύνθημα παρ' ἐμοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρόμην, τί μέλλει θύειν ἢ πόλις ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσα τῷ θεῷ, ὃ

MISOPOGON

your citizens and was ignored and is still ignored by your Senate. Now, in my opinion, even before that fire the god had forsaken the temple, for when I first entered it his holy image gave me a sign thereof. I call mighty Helios to bear me witness of this before all unbelievers. And now I wish to remind you of yet another reason for your hatred of me, and then to abuse myself—a thing which I usually do fairly well—and both to accuse and blame myself with regard to that hatred.

In the tenth month, according to your reckoning, —Loos I think you call it—there is a festival founded by your forefathers in honour of this god, and it was your duty to be zealous in visiting Daphne. Accordingly I hastened thither from the temple of Zeus Kasios,¹ thinking that at Daphne, if anywhere, I should enjoy the sight of your wealth and public spirit. And I imagined in my own mind the sort of procession it would be, like a man seeing visions in a dream, beasts for sacrifice, libations, choruses in honour of the god, incense, and the youths of your city there surrounding the shrine, their souls adorned with all holiness and themselves attired in white and splendid raiment. But when I entered the shrine I found there no incense, not so much as a cake, not a single beast for sacrifice. For the moment I was amazed and thought that I was still outside the shrine and that you were waiting the signal from me, doing me that honour because I am supreme pontiff. But when I began to inquire what sacrifice the city intended to offer to celebrate the annual festival in honour of the god, the priest answered, “I have

¹ Kasios was the name of a mountain near Antioch where there was a temple of Zeus.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἱερεὺς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἤκω φέρων οἴκοθεν τῷ θεῷ
χῆνα ἱερείου, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡντρε-
πισται.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ φιλαπεχθήμων ἐγὼ πρὸς τὴν βου-
λὴν ἀνεπιεικεῖς πάννυ διελέχθην λόγους, ὧν ἴσως
οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ νῦν μνημονεύσαι. “Δεινόν,”
ἔφην ἐγώ, “τὴν τοσαύτην πόλιν οὕτω τῶν θεῶν
ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν, ὥς οὐδεμία παροικούσα ταῖς
ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Πόντου κώμη· μυρίους κλήρους C
γῆς ἰδίας κεκτημένη, τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ νῦν πρῶτον
ἐπιστάσης ἑορτῆς ἐνιαυσίου, ἐπειδὴ διεσκέδασαν
οἱ θεοὶ τῆς ἀθεότητος τὴν νεφέλην, μίαν ὄρνιν¹
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐ προσάγει, ἣν ἐχρῆν μάλιστα μὲν
καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς βουθυτεῖν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ῥάδιον, ἓνα
γε² κοινῇ πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ
ταῦρον. ὑμῶν δ’ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ μὲν εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα D
καὶ τὰς ἑορτάς χαίρει δαπανώμενος, καὶ εὖ οἶδα
πολλοὺς ὑμῶν πλείστα εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοῦ Μαῖ-
ουμᾶ χρήματα ἀπολέσαντας, ὑπὲρ δ’ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως οὐδεὶς θύει οὔτε
ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἡ πόλις κοινῇ, μόνος δ’ ὁ
ἱερεὺς, ὃν οἶμαι δικαιότερον ἢν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
τῶν προσφερομένων τῷ θεῷ παρ’ ὑμῶν οἴκαδε
ἀπιέναι μερίδας ἔχοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῦσιν
οἱ θεοὶ καλοκἀγαθία τιμᾶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρετῆς
ἐπιτηδεύσει προσέταξαν καὶ λειτουργεῖν σφίσι τὰ
εἰκότα· πρέπει δ’ οἶμαι τῇ πόλει θύειν ἰδίᾳ καὶ 363

¹ μίαν ὄρνιν Hertlein suggests, ὄρνιν MSS.

² ἓνα γε Hertlein suggests, ἓνα MSS.

MISOPOGON

brought with me from my own house a goose as an offering to the god, but the city this time has made no preparations."

Thereupon, being fond of making enemies, I made in the Senate a very unseemly speech which perhaps it may now be pertinent to quote to you. "It is a terrible thing," I said, "that so important a city should be more neglectful of the gods than any village on the borders of the Pontus.¹ Your city possesses ten thousand lots of land privately owned, and yet when the annual festival in honour of the god of her forefathers is to be celebrated for the first time since the gods dispelled the cloud of atheism, she does not produce on her own behalf a single bird, though she ought if possible to have sacrificed an ox for every tribe, or if that were too difficult, the whole city in common ought at any rate to have offered to the god one bull on her own behalf. Yet every one of you delights to spend money privately on dinners and feasts; and I know very well that many of you squandered very large sums of money on dinners during the May festival. Nevertheless, on your own behalf and on behalf of the city's welfare not one of the citizens offers a private sacrifice, nor does the city offer a public sacrifice, but only this priest! Yet I think that it would have been more just for him to go home carrying portions from the multitude of beasts offered by you to the god. For the duty assigned by the gods to priests is to do them honour by their nobility of character and by the practice of virtue, and also to perform to them the service that is due; but it befits the city, I think, to offer both private and public sacrifice. But as it is, every one

¹ cf. Themistius 332 D.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δημοσίᾳ· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐπιτρέπει μὲν τῇ
 γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἔνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γαλι-
 λαίους, καὶ τρέφουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐκεῖναι
 τοὺς πένητας πολὺ τῆς ἀθεότητος ἐργάζονται
 θαῦμα πρὸς τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων δεομένους· ἔστι δὲ
 τοιούτον οἶμαι τὸ πλείστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος·
 ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
 τιμῶν ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες πράττειν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον
 ὑπολαμβάνετε· πρόσσεισι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν δεομένων B
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἶμαι πόθεν διατραφῇ.
 καὶ γενέθλια μὲν τις ἐστιῶν ἱκανῶς παρασκευάζει
 δεῖπνον καὶ ἄριστον, ἐπὶ πολυτελεῇ τράπεζαν τοὺς
 φίλους παραλαμβάνων· ἐνιαυσίου δ' ἐορτῆς οὔσης
 οὐδεὶς ἐκόμισεν ἔλαιον εἰς λύχνον τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ
 σπονδὴν οὐδ' ἱερεῖον οὐδὲ λιβανωτόν. ἐγὼ μὲν
 οὖν¹ οὐκ οἶδα, ὅπως ἄν τις ταῦτα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς C
 ὁρῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποδέξαιτο, νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε μηδὲ
 τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκειν.”

Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τότε μέμνημαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς
 ἐμαρτύρησέ μου τοῖς λόγοις, ὥς μήποτε ὤφελεν,
 ἐκλιπὼν τὸ προάστειον, ὃ πολὺν ἐτήρησε χρόνον,
 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζάλῃ τρέψας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν κρα-
 τούντων τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τὸ χεῖρε βιασάμενος.
 ὑμῖν δ' ἀπηχθόμην ἐγὼ ποιῶν ἀνοήτως. ἐχρῆν
 γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ὥσπερ οἶμαι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
 συνεισελθόντων ἐμοί, καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν
 μηδ' ἐπιτιμᾶν. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προπετείας ἐγὼ καὶ D

¹ μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests, μὲν MSS.

MISOPOGON

of you allows his wife to carry everything out of his house to the Galilaeans, and when your wives feed the poor at your expense they inspire a great admiration for godlessness in those who are in need of such bounty—and of such sort are, I think, the great majority of mankind,—while as for yourselves you think that you are doing nothing out of the way when in the first place you are careless of the honours due to the gods, and not one of those in need goes near the temples—for there is nothing there, I think, to feed them with—and yet when any one of you gives a birthday feast he provides a dinner and a breakfast without stint and welcomes his friends to a costly table; when, however, the annual festival arrived no one furnished olive oil for a lamp for the god, or a libation, or a beast for sacrifice, or incense. Now I do not know how any good man could endure to see such things in your city, and for my part I am sure that it is displeasing to the gods also.”

This is what I remember to have said at the time, and the god bore witness to the truth of my words—would that he had not!—when he forsook your suburb which for so long he had protected, and again during that time of storm and stress¹ when he turned in the wrong direction the minds of those who were then in power and forced their hands. But I acted foolishly in making myself odious to you. For I ought to have remained silent as, I think, did many of those who came here with me, and I ought not to have been meddlesome or found fault. But

¹ Julian probably alludes to the riot which took place at Antioch on account of the famine in 354, when the populace killed Theophilus the Governor and were punished for the murder by Constantius.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τῆς καταγελάστου κολακείας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομιστέον ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἐμοὶ τότε εἰρῆσθαι τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγους, ἀλλ' οἶμαι δόξαν θηρεύων εὐλαβείας τε εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἀδόλου· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οἶμαι παγγέλοιος κολακεία· πολλὰ ὑμῶν μάτην κατέχεα. δίκαια τοίνυν ἐργάζεσθέ 364
 με τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐναλλάττοντες τὰ χωρία. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἵχνεσιν ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμῶν κατέδραμον· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαριεντίζεσθαι πολιτῶν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, πάντες οἱ λέγοντες κοινοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὁ ξὺν ἡδονῇ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἀκροασάμενος, μετέχων τῆς ἴσης ἡδονῆς ἀπραγμο- B
 νέστερον τοῦ λέγοντος, κοινωνός ἐστι τῆς αἰτίας.

Εἴρηται οὖν ὑμῖν δι' ὅλης καὶ ἡκρόαται τῆς πόλεως ὅποσα εἰς τουτουὶ πέπαικται τὸν φαῦλον πώγωνα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξαντα ὑμῖν καλὸν οὐδὲ ἐπιδείξοντα τρόπον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδείξει βίον ὑμῖν, ὅποιον ὑμεῖς αἰεὶ μὲν ζῆτε, ποθεῖτε δὲ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τῶν βλασφημιῶν, ἃς ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεχέατέ μου C
 παίζοντες ἐν τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις, ἑμαυτοῦ προσκατ-
 492

MISOPOGON

I poured down all these reproaches on your heads to no purpose, owing to my headlong temper and a ridiculous desire to flatter,—for it is surely not to be believed that out of goodwill towards you I spoke those words to you then ; but I was, I think, hunting after a reputation for piety towards the gods and for sincere good-will towards you, which is, I think, the most absurd form of flattery. Therefore you treat me justly when you defend yourselves against those criticisms of mine and choose a different place for making your defence. For I abused you under the god's statue near his altar and the footprints of the holy image, in the presence of few witnesses ; but you abused me in the market-place, in the presence of the whole populace, and with the help of citizens who were capable of composing such pleasant witticisms as yours. For you must be well aware that all of you, those who uttered the sayings about me and those who listened to them, are equally responsible ; and he who listened with pleasure to those slanders, since he had an equal share of the pleasure, though he took less trouble than the speaker, must share the blame.

Throughout the whole city, then, you both uttered and listened to all the jests that were made about this miserable beard of mine, and about one who has never displayed to you nor ever will display any charm of manner. For he will never display among you the sort of life that you always live and desire to see also among those who govern you. Next with respect to the slanders which both in private and publicly you have poured down on my head, when you ridiculed me in anapaestic verse, since I too have accused myself I permit you to employ that

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ηγορήσας ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέπω χρῆσθαι μετὰ μείζονος
 αὐτῷ παρρησίας, ὥς οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦτο
 πώποτε δεινὸν ἐργάσομαι σφάττων ἢ τύπτων
 ἢ δῶν ἢ ἀποκλείων ἢ κολλάζων. πῶς γάρ; ὅς,
 ἐπείπερ ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξας μετὰ τῶν φίλων
 σωφρονοῦντα, φαυλότατον ἰδεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀηδέ-
 στατον, οὐδὲν ἐπέδειξα καλὸν θέαμα, μεταστῆναι D
 τῆς πόλεως¹ ἔγνωκα καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι, πεπει-
 σμένος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι πάντως ἐκείνοις ἀρέσω,
 πρὸς οὓς πορεύομαι, κρίνων δ' αἰρετώτερον, εἰ
 διαμάρτοιμι τοῦ δόξαι γοῦν ἐκείνοις καλὸς κάγα-
 θός, ἐν μέρει μεταδοῦναι πᾶσι τῆς ἀηδίας τῆς
 ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐδαίμονα ταύτην ἀποκναῖ-
 σαι πόλιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δυσωδίας τῆς ἐμῆς μετριό-
 τητος καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῆς σωφροσύνης.

Ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀγρὸν οὐδὲ κῆπον ἐπρίατο 365
 παρ' ὑμῖν οὐδὲ οἰκίαν ὠκοδόμησεν οὐδ' ἔγημε
 παρ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἐξέδωκεν εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ ἡράσθημεν
 τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν καλῶν, οὐδ' ἐζηλώσαμεν Ἀσσύριον
 πλοῦτον οὐδ' ἐνειμάμεθα τὰς προστασίας οὐδὲ
 παραδυναστεύειν ἡμῖν ἡνεσχόμεθα τινὰς τῶν ἐν
 τέλει οὐδ' ἐπέισαμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς παρασκευὰς
 δείπνων ἢ θεάτρων, ὃν οὕτως ἐποιήσαμεν τρυφᾶν,
 ὥστε ἄγων σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας τοὺς ἀνα- B
 παίστους εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους αὐτῷ τῆς εὐθηνίας
 ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδ' ἐπεγράψαμεν χρυσίον οὐδὲ ἡτή-
 σαμεν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ηὐξήσαμεν φόρους· ἀλλὰ

¹ τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests, τὴν πόλιν MSS.

MISOPOGON .

method with even greater frankness; for I shall never on that account do you any harm, by slaying or beating or fettering or imprisoning you or punishing you in any way. Why indeed should I? For now that in showing you myself, in company with my friends, behaving with sobriety,—a most sorry and unpleasing sight to you—I have failed to show you any beautiful spectacle, I have decided to leave this city and to retire from it; not indeed because I am convinced that I shall be in all respects pleasing to those to whom I am going, but because I judge it more desirable, in case I should fail at least to seem to them an honourable and good man, to give all men in turn a share of my unpleasantness,¹ and not to annoy this happy city with the evil odour, as it were, of my moderation and the sobriety of my friends.

For not one of us has bought a field or garden in your city or built a house or married or given in marriage among you, or fallen in love with any of your handsome youths, or coveted the wealth of Assyria, or awarded court patronage;² nor have we allowed any of those in office to exercise influence over us, or induced the populace to get up banquets or theatrical shows; nay rather we have procured for them such luxurious ease that, since they have respite from want, they have had leisure to compose their anapaests against the very author of their well-being. Again, I have not levied gold money or demanded silver money or increased the tribute; but in

¹ Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 153 ἀποκταί γὰρ ἀνδρὰ καὶ ἀναισθησίᾳ.

² *προστασία* is sometimes used of the Imperial protection of a municipal guild, and that may be Julian's meaning here.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

πρὸς τοῖς ἐλλείμμασιν ἀνεῖται πᾶσι τῶν εἰθι-
σμένων εἰσφορῶν τὸ πέμπτον. οὐκ οἶμαι δ'
ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ¹ μέτριον
ἔχω ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ θεούς, ὡς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω,
τὸν εἰσαγγελέα, καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιτιμηθέντα,
διότι γέρων ὢν καὶ φαλακρὸς ἡρέμα τὰ πρόσω
διὰ δυστροπίαν αἰσχύνεται κομᾶν ἐξόπισθεν, C
ὥσπερ "Ομηρος ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἄβαντας, οὐδὲν
δ' ἐκείνου φαυλοτέρους ἄνδρας οἴκοι παρ' ἑμαυτῷ
δύο καὶ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρας, εἰ βούλεσθε
δὲ νυνὶ καὶ πέμπτον.

Ὁ δέ μοι θεῖος καὶ ὁμώνυμος οὐ δικαιοτάτα
μὲν ὑμῶν προύστη, μέχρις ἐπέτρεπον οἱ θεοὶ
ξυνεῖναι ἡμῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ξυμπράττειν; οὐ προμη-
θέστατα δὲ πάσαις ἐπεξῆλθε ταῖς οἰκονομίαις
τῆς πόλεως; ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει ταῦτα καλὰ,
πραότης ἀρχόντων μετὰ σωφροσύνης, ὥόμεθά τε D
ὑμῖν ἱκανῶς διὰ τούτων καλοὶ φανείσθαι τῶν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἢ τε βαθύτης
ἀπαρέσκει τοῦ γενείου καὶ τὸ ἀτημέλητον τῶν
τριχῶν καὶ τὸ μὴ παραβάλλειν τοῖς θεάτροις
καὶ τὸ ἀξιοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι σεμνοὺς καὶ
πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων ἢ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἡμῶν
ἀσχολία καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἶργειν τὴν πλεον-
εξίαν, ἐκόντες ὑμῖν ἐξιστάμεθα τῆς πόλεως. 366
οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ῥάδιον ἐν γήρᾳ μεταθεμένῳ δια-
φυγεῖν τὸν λεγόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱκτίνος μῦθον.
λέγεται γάρ τοι τὸν ἱκτῖνα φωνὴν ἔχοντα παρα-
πλησίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρνισιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ χρε-
μετίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι τῶν ἵππων, εἴτα τοῦ

¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ Reiske would add.

MISOPOGON

addition to the arrears, one-fifth of the regular taxes has been in all cases remitted. Moreover I do not think it enough that I myself practise self-restraint, but I have also an usher who, by Zeus and the other gods, is moderate indeed, as I believe, though he has been finely scolded by you, because, being an old man and slightly bald in front, in his perversity he is too modest to wear his hair long behind, as Homer made the Abantes wear theirs.¹ And I have with me at my court two or three men also who are not at all inferior to him, nay four or even five now, if you please.

And as for my uncle and namesake,² did he not govern you most justly, so long as the gods allowed him to remain with me and to assist me in my work? Did he not with the utmost foresight administer all the business of the city? For my part I thought these were admirable things, I mean mildness and moderation in those who govern, and I supposed that by practising these I should appear admirable in your eyes. But since the length of my beard is displeasing to you, and my unkempt locks, and the fact that I do not put in an appearance at the theatres and that I require men to be reverent in the temples; and since more than all these things my constant attendance at trials displeases you and the fact that I try to banish greed of gain from the market-place, I willingly go away and leave your city to you. For when a man changes his habits in his old age it is not easy, I think, for him to escape the fate that is described in the legend about the kite. The story goes that the kite once had a note like that of other birds, but it aimed at neighing like a high-spirited

¹ *Iliad* 2. 542.

² Julian, Count of the East.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μὲν ἐπιλαθόμενον, τὸ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντα ἐλεῖν
 ἱκανῶς ἀμφοῖν στέρεσθαι καὶ φαυλοτέραν τῶν
 ἄλλων ὀρνίθων εἶναι τὴν φωνήν. ὃ δὴ καὶ Β
 αὐτὸς εὐλαβοῦμαι παθεῖν, ἀγροικίας τε ἅμα καὶ
 δεξιότητος ἀμαρτεῖν. ἤδη γάρ, ὥς καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ
 συννοᾶτε, πλησίον ἐσμέν ἐθελόντων θεῶν,

Εὐτέ μοι λευκαὶ μελαίνοις ἀναμεμίζονται τρίχες,
 ὁ Τῆιος ἔφη ποιητής.

Εἶπεν. ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀχαριστίας, πρὸς θεῶν καὶ
 Διὸς ἀγοραίου καὶ πολιούχου, ὑπόσχετε λόγον.
 ἡδίκησθέ τι παρ' ἐμοῦ κοινῇ πώποτε ἢ καὶ¹ ἰδίᾳ,
 καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι C
 φανερώς διὰ τῶν ἀναπαίστων ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ οἱ
 κωμῳδοὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔλκουσι
 καὶ περιφέρουσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀγο-
 ραῖς ἐπιτρίβετε λοιδοροῦντες; ἢ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι
 χαλεπὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπεσχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς
 κακῶς οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην, ἵνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῶν
 αὐτῶν ἰόντες ἀμύνησθε; τίς οὖν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν αἰτία
 τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσκρούσματος καὶ τῆς ἀπε-
 χθείας; ἐγὼ γὰρ εὖ οἶδα δεινὸν οὐδένα ὑμῶν οὐδὲν D
 οὐδὲ ἀνήκεστον ἐργασάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας
 οὔτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' εἰπὼν οὐδὲν φλαῦρον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσας, ὥς ἔδοξέ μοι προσήκειν, καὶ
 μεταδούς χρηστοῦ τινος, ὅσον εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἐπι-
 θυμοῦντα μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πολλοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν
 ἀνθρώπους. ἀδύνατον δ' εὖ ἴστε καὶ τοῖς εἰσφέ-

¹ ἢ καὶ Hertlein suggests, καὶ MSS.

MISOPOGON

horse ; then since it forgot its former note and could not quite attain to the other sound, it was deprived of both, and hence the note it now utters is less musical than that of any other bird. This then is the fate that I am trying to avoid, I mean failing to be either really boorish or really accomplished. For already, as you can see for yourselves, I am, since Heaven so wills, near the age "When on my head white hairs mingle with black," as the poet of Teos said.¹

Enough of that. But now, in the name of Zeus, God of the Market-place and Guardian of the City, render me account of your ingratitude. Were you ever wronged by me in any way, either all in common or as individuals, and is it because you were unable to avenge yourselves openly that you now assail me with abuse in your market-places in anapaestic verse, just as comedians drag Heracles and Dionysus on the stage and make a public show of them? ² Or can you say that, though I refrained from any harsh conduct towards you, I did not refrain from speaking ill of you, so that you, in your turn, are defending yourselves by the same methods? What, I ask, is the reason of your antagonism and your hatred of me? For I am very sure that I had done no terrible or incurable injury to any one of you, either separately, as individuals, or to your city as a whole ; nor had I uttered any disparaging word, but I had even praised you, as I thought I was bound to do, and had bestowed on you certain advantages, as was natural for one who desires, as far as he can, to benefit many men. But it is impossible, as you know well, both to remit all their taxes to the taxpayers

¹ Anacreon *fr.* 77, Bergk.

² cf. *Oration* 7. 204 B.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ρουσι συγχωρεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ διδόναι πάντα τοῖς 367
εἰωθόσι λαμβάνειν. ὅταν οὖν φανῶ μηδὲν ἐλατ-
τώσας τῶν δημοσίων συντάξων, ὅσας εἴωθεν ἡ
βασιλικὴ νέμειν δαπάνη, ὑμῖν δ' ἀνεῖς τῶν εἰσφο-
ρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἂρ' οὐκ αἰνίγματι τὸ πρᾶγμα
ἔοικεν;

Ἄλλ' ὅποσα μὲν κοινῇ πρὸς πάντας πεποιήται
τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, πρέποι ἂν σιωπᾶν, ἵνα
μὴ δοκοῖν ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτοπρόσωπος ἐπαί- B
νους ἄδειν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλάμενος
πολλὰς καὶ ἀσελγεστάτας ὕβρεις καταχέαι· τὰ
δὲ ἰδίᾳ μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πεποιημένα προπετῶς μὲν
καὶ ἀνοήτως, ἥκιστα δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄξια ἀχαρι-
στεῖσθαι, πρέποι ἂν οἶμαι προφέρειν ὥσπερ τινὰ
ἐμὰ ὀνειδή τοσοῦτ' ὅντων ἔμπροσθεν χαλεπώτερα,
τοῦ τε αὐχμοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τῆς
ἀναφροδισίας, ὅσ' καὶ ἀληθέστερα ὄντα τῇ ψυχῇ
μάλιστα προσήκει. καὶ δὴ πρότερον ἐπήνουν C
ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐνεδέχετό μοι φιλοτίμως οὐκ ἀναμείνας
τὴν πείραν οὐδ' ὅπως ἔξομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ὑμᾶς μὲν Ἑλλήνων
παῖδας, ἐμαυτὸν δέ, εἰ καὶ γένος ἐστί μοι Θράκιον,
Ἕλληνα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι
μάλιστα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσομεν. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο
ἔστω μοι τῆς προπετείας ὄνειδος. ἔπειτα πρεσ-
βευσαμένοις ὑμῖν παρ' ἐμέ καὶ ἀφικομένοις ὑστέ-
ροις οὐ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων D
500

MISOPOGON

and to give everything to those who are accustomed to receive gifts. Therefore when it is seen that I have diminished none of the public subscriptions which the imperial purse is accustomed to contribute, but have remitted not a few of your taxes, does not this business seem like a riddle?

However, it becomes me to be silent about all that I have done for all my subjects in common, lest it should seem that I am purposely as it were singing my praises with my own lips, and that too after announcing that I should pour down on my own head many most opprobrious insults. But as for my actions with respect to you as individuals, which, though the manner of them was rash and foolish, nevertheless did not by any means deserve to be repaid by you with ingratitude, it would, I think, be becoming for me to bring them forward as reproaches against myself; and these reproaches ought to be more severe than those I uttered before, I mean those that related to my unkempt appearance and my lack of charm, inasmuch as they are more genuine since they have especial reference to the soul. I mean that before I came here I used to praise you in the strongest possible terms, without waiting to have actual experience of you, nor did I consider how we should feel towards one another; nay, since I thought that you were sons of Greeks, and I myself, though my family is Thracian, am a Greek in my habits, I supposed that we should regard one another with the greatest possible affection. This example of my rashness must therefore be counted as one reproach against me. Next, after you had sent an embassy to me—and it arrived not only later than all the other embassies, but even later than

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ, πολὺ μὲν ἀνῆκα χρυσίον, πολὺ δ' ἀργύριον, φόρους δὲ παμπληθεῖς ἰδίᾳ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔπειτα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τὸν κατάλογον διακοσίοις βουλευταῖς ἀνεπλήρωσα φεισάμενος οὐδενός. ἐσκόπουν γὰρ ὅπως ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν ἔσται μείζων καὶ δυνατωτέρα.

Δέδωκα οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτροπευσάντων τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργασα- 368 μένων τὸ νόμισμα τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους ἐλομένοις ἔχειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐκείνων μὲν οὐ τοὺς δυναμένους εἴλεσθε, λαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς εἰργάσασθε παραπλήσια πόλει μὲν οὐδαμῶς εὐνομουμένη, πρέποντα δ' ὑμῶν ἄλλως τῷ τρόπῳ. βούλεσθε ἐνὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω; βουλευτὴν ὀνομάσαντες, πρὶν προσγραφῆναι τῷ καταλόγῳ, μετεώρου τῆς δίκης οὔσης, ὑπεβάλετε λειτουργίᾳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἄλλον ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς εἰλκύσατε πένητα καὶ ἐκ τῶν B ἀπανταχοῦ μὲν ἀπολελειμμένων, παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ διὰ περιττὴν φρόνησιν ἀμειβομένων πρὸς χρυσίον συρφετῶν εὐποροῦντα μετρίας οὐσίας εἴλεσθε κοινωνόν. πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ὀνομασίας κακουργούντων ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πρὸς ἅπαντα συνεχωρήσαμεν, ὧν τε εὖ· εἰργασάμεθα τὴν χάριν ἀπεστερήθημεν, καὶ ὧν ἀπεσχόμεθα ξὺν δίκῃ παρ' ὑμῶν δυσχεραίνόμεθα.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν τῶν μικρῶν πάνυ καὶ οὐπω C δυνάμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐκπολεμῶσαι· τὸ δὲ δὴ

MISOPOGON

that of the Alexandrians who dwell in Egypt,—I remitted large sums of gold and of silver also, and all the tribute money for you separately apart from the other cities; and moreover I increased the register of your Senate by two hundred members and spared no man;¹ for I was planning to make your city greater and more powerful.

I therefore gave you the opportunity to elect and to have in your Senate the richest men among those who administer my own revenues and have charge of coining the currency. You however did not elect the capable men among these, but you seized the opportunity to act like a city by no means well-ordered, though quite in keeping with your character. Would you like me to remind you of a single instance? You nominated a Senator, and then before his name had been placed on the register, and the scrutiny of his character was still pending, you thrust this person into the public service. Then you dragged in another from the market-place, a man who was poor and who belonged to a class which in every other city is counted as the very dregs, but who among you, since of your excessive wisdom you exchange rubbish for gold, enjoys a moderate fortune; and this man you elected as your colleague. Many such offences did you commit with regard to the nominations, and then when I did not consent to everything, not only was I deprived of the thanks due for all the good I had done, but also I have incurred your dislike on account of all that I in justice refrained from.

Now these were very trivial matters and could not so far make the city hostile to me. But my greatest

¹ The Senatorship was an expensive burden.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

μέγιστον, ἔξ οὗ τὸ μέγα ἤρθη μῖσος, ἀφικομένου μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, πνιγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀφῆκε φωνὴν πρῶτον ταύτην· “ Παντα γέμει, πάντα πολλοῦ.” τῆς ἐπιούσης διελέχθην ἐγὼ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ὑμῶν ἐπιχειρῶν πείθειν, ὅτι κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ὑπεριδόντας ἀδίκου D κτήσεως εὖ ποιῆσαι πολίτας καὶ ξένους. οἱ δὲ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμελήσεσθαι μηνῶν ἑξῆς τριῶν ὑπεριδόντος μου καὶ περιμείναντος οὕτως ὀλιγώρως εἶχον τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἤλπισεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρων ἀληθῆ τὴν τοῦ δήμου φωνὴν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐχ ὑπ' ἐνδείας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀπληστίας τῶν κεκτημένων στενοχωρουμένην, 369 ἔταξα μέτριον ἐκάστου τίμημα καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησα πᾶσιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πάνν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· σίτου δ' ἐνδεῶς εἶχον, ἀφορίας δεινῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐχμῶν γενομένης, ἔδοξέ μοι πέμπειν εἰς Χαλκίδα καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καὶ πόλεις τὰς πέριξ, ἔνθεν εἰσῆγαγον ὑμῖν μέτρων τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ὡς δ' ἀνάλωτο καὶ τοῦτο, πρότερον μὲν πεντάκις χιλίους, ἐπτάκις χιλίους δ' B ὕστερον, εἶτα νῦν μυρίους, οὗς ἐπιχώριόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ὀνομάζειν μοδίους, ἀνάλισκον σίτου, πάντας οἰκοθεν ἔχων. ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κομισθέντα μοι σῖτον ἔδωκα τῇ πόλει, πραττόμενος ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐπὶ δέκα μέτρων,¹ ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα το-

¹ οὐκ ἐπὶ—μέτρων Hertlein suggests, οὐ κατὰ—μέτρα MSS.

MISOPOGON

offence of all, and what aroused that violent hatred of yours, was the following. When I arrived among you the populace in the theatre, who were being oppressed by the rich, first of all cried aloud, "Everything plentiful; everything dear!" On the following day I had an interview with your powerful citizens and tried to persuade them that it is better to despise unjust profits and to benefit the citizens and the strangers in your city. And they promised to take charge of the matter, but though for three successive months I took no notice and waited, they neglected the matter in a way that no one would have thought possible. And when I saw that there was truth in the outcry of the populace, and that the pressure in the market was due not to any scarcity but to the insatiate greed of the rich, I appointed a fair price for everything, and made it known to all men. And since the citizens had everything else in great abundance, wine, for instance, and olive oil and all the rest, but were short of corn, because there had been a terrible failure of the crops owing to the previous droughts, I decided to send to Chalcis and Hierapolis and the cities round about, and from them I imported for you four hundred thousand measures of corn. And when this too had been used, I first expended five thousand, then later seven thousand, and now again ten thousand bushels—"modii"¹ as they are called in my country—all of which was my very own property; moreover I gave to the city corn which had been brought for me from Egypt; and the price which I set on it was a silver piece, not for ten measures but for fifteen, that is to say, the same

¹ The modius was a bushel measure.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

σοῦτον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα πρότερον. εἰ δὲ
τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρους ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσμα-
τος, τί προσδοκᾷ ἔδει τηνικαῦτα, ἡνίκα, φησὶν ὁ
Βοιωτίας ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν C
ἐπὶ δώματι; ἄρ' οὐ πέντε μόγισ καὶ ἀγαπητῶς
ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικούτου χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου;

Τί οὖν ὑμῶν οἱ πλούσιοι; τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν ἀγρῶν σίτον λάθρα ἀπέδοντο πλείονος,
ἐβάρησαν δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασι·
καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλις μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦτο συρρεῖ, οἱ D
πλείστοι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συντρέχουσιν,
ὃ μόνον ἐστὶν εὔρεῖν πολὺ καὶ εὖωνον, ἄρτους
ἠνούμενοι. καίτοι τίς μέμνηται παρ' ὑμῖν εὐθη-
νουμένης τῆς πόλεως πεντεκαίδεκα μέτρα σίτου
πραθέντα τοῦ χρυσοῦ; ταύτης ἔνεκεν ὑμῖν ἀπη-
χθόμην ἐγὼ τῆς πράξεως, ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὑμῖν
οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα καὶ τὰ λάχανα καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας
ἀποδόσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων
ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις σίτον ἄργυρον
αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσὸν ἐξαίφνης παρ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι. 370
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως διέθεντο
καλῶς, ἐργασάμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις λιμὸν ἀλοι-
ητῆρα βρότειον, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἔφη τοὺς ταῦτα ἐπιτη-
δεύοντας ἐξελέγχων. ἡ πόλις δ' ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ
γέγονεν ἄρτων ἕνεκα μόνον, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός.

Συνίην μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν ὅτι μὴ B
πᾶσιν ἀρέσοιμι, πλὴν ἔμελεν οὐδὲν ἐμοί· τῷ γὰρ

MISOPOGON

amount that had formerly been paid for ten measures. And if in summer, in your city, that same number of measures is sold for that sum, what could you reasonably have expected at the season when, as the Boeotian poet says, "It is a cruel thing for famine to be in the house."¹ Would you not have been thankful to get five measures for that sum, especially when the winter had set in so severe?

But what did your rich men do? They secretly sold the corn in the country for an exaggerated price, and they oppressed the community by the expenses that private persons had to incur. And the result is that not only the city but most of the country people too are flocking in to buy bread, which is the only thing to be found in abundance and cheap. And indeed who remembers fifteen measures of corn to have been sold among you for a gold piece, even when the city was in a prosperous condition? It was for this conduct that I incurred your hatred, because I did not allow people to sell you wine and vegetables and fruit for gold, or the corn which had been locked away by the rich in their granaries to be suddenly converted by you into silver and gold for their benefit. For they managed the business finely outside the city, and so procured for men "famine that grinds down mortals,"² as the god said when he was accusing those who behave in this fashion. And the city now enjoys plenty only as regards bread, and nothing else.

Now I knew even then when I acted thus that I should not please everybody, only I cared nothing

¹ This does not occur in Hesiod or Pindar.

² A phrase from an unknown oracular source.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

ἀδικουμένῳ πλήθει βοηθεῖν ὥμην χρῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ξένοις, ἐμοῦ τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν συνόντων ἡμῖν ἀρχόντων. ἐπεὶ δ' οἶμαι συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι, τὴν πόλιν δ' εἶναι τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ γνώμης μιᾶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τραφέντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν· Ἀδραστεία πάντα ἐπιτρέψας ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος οἰχήσομαι καὶ δῆμον ἕτερον, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσας ὧν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔμπροσθεν C ἐννέα δίκαια δρῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους εἰργάσασθε, φέρων μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν δυνατῶν ξὺν βοῇ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ἀποκτιννὺς τὸν ἄρχοντα, δίκην δ' αὖθις ἀποτίνων ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὧν ὀργιζόμενος δικαίως ἔπραξεν οὐκέτι μετρίως.

Ἐπεὶ τίνος οὖν πρὸς θεῶν ἀχαριστούμεθα; ὅτι τρέφομεν ὑμᾶς οἰκοθεν, ὃ μέχρι σήμερον D ὑπῆρξεν οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, καὶ τρέφομεν οὕτω λαμπρῶς; ὅτι τὸν κατάλογον ὑμῶν ἠϋξήσαμεν; ὅτι κλέπτοντας ἐλόντες οὐκ ἐπέξήλθομεν; ἐνδὸς ἢ δύο βούλεσθε ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσω, μή τις ὑπολάβῃ σχῆμα καὶ ῥητορείαν εἶναι καὶ προσποιήσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα; γῆς κλήρους οἶμαι τρισχιλίους ἔφατε ἀσπόρους εἶναι καὶ ἠτήσασθε λαβεῖν, λαβόντες

MISOPOGON

about that. For I thought it was my duty to assist the mass of the people who were being wronged, and the strangers who kept arriving in the city both on my account and on account of the high officials who were with me. But since it is now, I think, the case that the latter have departed, and the city is of one mind with respect to me—for some of you hate me and the others whom I fed are ungrateful—I leave the whole matter in the hands of Adrasteia¹ and I will betake myself to some other nation and to citizens of another sort. Nor will I even remind you how you treated one another when you asserted your rights nine years ago; how the populace with loud clamour set fire to the houses of those in power, and murdered the Governor; and how later they were punished for these things because, though their anger was justified, what they did exceeded all limits.²

Why, I repeat, in Heaven's name, am I treated with ingratitude? Is it because I feed you from my own purse, a thing which before this day has never happened to any city, and moreover feed you so generously? Is it because I increased the register of Senators? Or because, when I caught you in the act of stealing, I did not proceed against you? Let me, if you please, remind you of one or two instances, so that no one may think that what I say is a pretext or mere rhetoric or a false claim. You said, I think, that three thousand lots of land were uncultivated, and you asked to have them; and when you had got them

¹ The avenging goddess who is more familiarly known as Nemesis.

² In 354 A.D. there was a riot at Antioch in consequence of scarcity of food; Constantius sent troops to punish the citizens for the murder of Theophilus the Governor of Syria.

THE SATIRES OF JULIAN

δ' ἐνείμασθε πάντες οἱ μὴ δεόμενοι. τοῦτο ἐξε-
 τασθὲν ἀνεφάνη σαφῶς. ἀφελόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐγὼ τῶν ἐχόντων οὐ δικαίως, καὶ πολυπραγμο-
 νήσας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὧν ἔσχον
 ἀτελεῖς, οὓς μάλιστα ἐχρῆν ὑποτελεῖς εἶναι, 371
 ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἔνειμα λειτουργίαις αὐτοὺς τῆς
 πόλεως. καὶ νῦν ἀτελεῖς ἔχουσιν οἱ καθ' ἕκαστον
 ὑμῖν ἐνιαυτὸν ἵπποτροφοῦντες γῆς κλήρους ἐγγὺς
 τρισχιλίους, ἐπινοία μὲν καὶ οἰκονομία τοῦ θείου
 τοῦμοῦ καὶ ὁμωνύμου, χάριτι δ' ἐμῇ, ὃς δὴ τοὺς
 πανούργους καὶ κλέπτας οὕτω κολάζων εἰκότως
 ὑμῖν φαίνομαι τὸν κόσμον ἀνατρέπειν. εὖ γὰρ B
 ἴστε ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ πραότης αὖξει
 καὶ τρέφει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κακίαν.

Ὁ λόγος οὖν μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα περιίσταται πάλιν
 εἰς ὃπερ βούλομαι. πάντων γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τῶν κακῶν
 αἴτιος γίγνομαι εἰς ἀχάριστα καταθέμενος ἥθη
 τὰς χάριτας. ἀνοίας οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο
 καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ
 τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἶναι πειράσομαι τοῦ λοιποῦ συνε-
 τώτερος· ὑμῖν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας C
 καὶ τιμῆς, ἣν ἐτιμήσατε δημοσίᾳ, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς
 ἀποδοῖεν.

MISOPOGON

you all divided them among you though you did not need them. This matter was investigated and brought to light beyond doubt. Then I took the lots away from those who held them unjustly, and made no inquiries about the lands which they had before acquired, and for which they paid no taxes, though they ought most certainly to have been taxed, and I appointed these men to the most expensive public services in the city. And even now they who breed horses for you every year hold nearly three thousand lots of land exempt from taxation. This is due in the first place to the judgment and management of my uncle and namesake¹ but also to my own kindness; and since this is the way in which I punish rascals and thieves, I naturally seem to you to be turning the world upside down. For you know very well that clemency towards men of this sort increases and fosters wickedness among mankind.

Well then, my discourse has now come round again to the point which I wished to arrive at. I mean to say that I am myself responsible for all the wrong that has been done to me, because I transformed your graciousness to ungracious ways. This therefore is the fault of my own folly and not of your licence. For the future therefore in my dealings with you I indeed shall endeavour to be more sensible: but to you, in return for your good will towards me and the honour wherewith you have publicly honoured me, may the gods duly pay the recompense!

¹ cf. 340 A, 365 c.

INDEX

- ABANTES**, the, 497
Abaris, 245
Abderos, 113
Academies, the, 231
Academy, the, 125
Achaeans, the, 317
Acheron, 129
Achilles, 91, 189, 191, 387, 409
Acropolis, the, 259
Actium, 389
Adonis, gardens of, 399
Adrastela, 509
Aegean, the, 205
Aegina, 19
Aeschines, 153
Aeschylus, 107, 133, 141, 333
Aesop, 81, 347
Aetios, 47
Aetolians, the, 387
Africanus, 257
Agamemnon, 317
Agathocles, 405
Agesilaus, 157
Agrippina, city of, 271
Ajaxes, the, 191
Alcaeus, 421
Alcibiades, the, 27
Alcibiades, 21, 209
Alcinous, 461
Alcmena, 367
Alexander the Great, 63, 91, 93, 191, 193, 203, 211, 229, 231, 367, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 389, 393, 399, 403, 407, 413
Alexander, Severus, 361
Alexandrians, the, 503
Alps Cottian, the, 287
Ammianus Marcellinus, 241, 253, 257, 265
Amphiaraus, 333
Anacharsis, 245
Anacreon, 421, 499
Anatolius, 121
Anaxagoras, 179, 181, 185, 229
Anthology, Palatine, 53
Anticyra, 121
Antilochus, 193
Antinous, 357
Antioch, 295, 418, 419, 427, 429, 439
Antiochus, 447, 449
Antipater, 131
Antisthenes, 2, 5, 23, 25, 85, 99, 103, 105, 169, 229
Antoninus Pius, 357
Antony, M., 387
Aphrodite, 155, 351, 357, 413, 481
Apollo, 25, 37, 87, 91, 157, 159, 193, 245, 351, 355, 365, 371, 413, 418, 439, 445, 461, 475
Apollodorus, 111
Appian, 383
Arabs, the, 451
Araxius, 217
Archidamus, 93
Archilochus, 79, 89, 131, 325, 421
Areius, 233, 391
Ares, 283, 409, 413
Arete, 217
Argentoratium (Strasburg), 271
Arlovistus, 379
Aristides the Just, 245
Aristides the rhetorician, 153, 301
Aristophanes, 175, 219, 355, 457
Aristotelian Paraphrases of Themistius, 200
Aristotle, 15, 31, 51, 63, 105, 155, 157, 200, 211, 221, 227, 231, 325, 363, 465, 481
Asclepiades, the Cynic, 123
Asclepius, 149
Asia, 213, 377, 379
Asmus, 70, 165
Ate, 129

INDEX

- Athenaeus**, 111
Athene, 111, 125, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 247, 249, 259, 283, 301, 441, 461
Athenians, the, 19, 131, 181, 213, 221, 241, 451, 457
Athenians, *Letter to the*, 242-291
Athenodorus, 353, 391
Athens, 15, 87, 93, 95, 175, 183, 217, 219, 241, 243, 259
Athos, Mount, 173
Augustus, Emperor, 233, 353
Aurelian, 361, 363
Autolycus, 453

Babylas, 485
Bacchanals, the, 113
Basilina, 461
Bernays, 2
Bithynia, 479
Bosporus, 205
Brigantia (Bregentz), 237
Britain, 271, 279
Brutus, 389, 405
Burton, 423

Cadmeans, the, 333
Cadmus, 113
Caesar, Caius, 405
Caesar, Julius, 351, 367, 369, 375, 379, 381, 389, 397, 403, 413
Caesarea, 418
Caesars, *The*, 344-415
Caligula, 353
Calliope, 103, 425, 475
Callisthenes, 169
Calypso, 461
Cappadocia, 251, 257
Capri, 353
Caracalla, 359, 367
Caria, 72
Carians, the, 377
Carterius, 217
Carus, 365
Cassius, 389, 405
Cato, 209
Cato the Younger, 477, 479
Cebes, 231
Celts, the, 195, 279, 377, 429, 433, 451, 479, 483
Centumcellae, 287
Chaeronea, 479
Chalcis, 505
Chamavi, the, 273

Charmides, 175
Charybdis, 51
Chnodomar, 271
Chrisostomos, Johannes, 485
Christ, 475
Chrysippus, 209, 325
Chrysostom, Saint, 419
Chytron, 123
Cicero, 245, 259, 427
Circe, 461
Citium, 17
Claudius, Emperor, 355, 361, 413
Clazomenae, 229
Cleinias, 209
Cleisthenes, 9
Cleitus, 403
Cocytus, 51, 129, 355
Commodus, 359
Constance, Lake, 287
Constans, 367
Constantine, 131, 367, 371, 397, 399, 411, 413
Constantine II, 367
Constantinople, 3, 205, 342
Constantius, 2, 70, 121, 143, 165, 175, 197, 200, 241, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 279, 281, 285, 367, 418, 427, 429, 461, 475, 485, 491, 509
Constantius Chlorus, 365, 413
Crassus, 383
Crates, 2, 17, 53, 55, 57, 59, 83, 89, 95, 97
Cratinus, 427
Crete, 77, 193
Crito, the, 27
Critoboulos, 181
Croesus, 435
Cyclades, the, 455
Cyclops, the, 191
Cynics, the, 2, 3, 231
Cynics, *To the Uneducated*, 4-65
Cyprus, 17

Damophilus, 479
Danube, the, 271, 377, 391, 393, 451
Daphne, 418, 439, 445, 475, 487
Daphnis, 425
Darius, 63, 213
Darius III, 377
Decentius, 281
Deioces, 245
Delos, 153, 461

INDEX

- Delphi, 363
 Delphic oracle, 189
 Demeter, 35, 445
 Demetrius, the freedman, 477
 Democritus, 21, 179, 229
 Demodocus, 459
 Demonax, 2
 Demosthenes, 65, 131, 153, 175, 237, 253, 291, 495
 Dio of Sicily, 209, 313
 Dio Chrysostom, 63, 70, 71, 77, 93, 111, 165, 175, 189, 203, 391, 423
 Diocletian, 365, 367
 Diogenes, the Cynic, 2, 3, 5, 19, 23, 25, 27, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 49, 53, 57, 59, 61, 63, 83, 89, 91, 93, 157, 159, 161, 211
 Diogenes Laertius, 43, 53, 125, 159, 177, 179, 181
 Diomede, 219
 Dionysius, 405
 Dionysus, 70, 73, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 203, 335, 349, 353, 363, 371, 395, 403, 407, 427, 475, 481, 499
 Domitian, 165, 357
 Dynamius, 257
 Dyrrachium, 385
 Egypt, 155, 233, 355, 379, 389, 503, 505
 Egyptians, the, 167
 Emesa, 361, 475
 Empedocles, 129
 Empedotimus, 313
 Epameinondas, 159
 Epicharmus, 183
 Epictetus, 2, 153
 Epictetus Bishop, 287
 Epicurus, 43, 207, 217, 327
 Erasistratus, 447, 449
 Eretria, 229
 Euboea, 179
 Euclid of Megara, 231
 Euphrates, the, 391
 Eupolis, 73
 Euripides, 5, 47, 49, 57, 95, 97, 113, 133, 185, 205, 249, 323, 333, 361, 397, 403
 Europe, 377, 379
 Eurycleia, 441
 Eusebia, 255, 257, 261
 Eusebius, 253, 257
 Fates, the, 135, 137
 Faustina, 359
 Felix, 257
 Florentius, 271, 273, 279, 281
 Frazer, 87, 399
 Furius Camillus, 383
 Gadara, 23
 Gades, 381
 Galba, 355
 Galilaeans, the, 37, 123, 327, 337, 475, 491
 Gallienus, 361
 Gallus, 269, 253, 255, 429
 Ganymede, 357
 Gaudentius, 257, 277
 Gaul, 121, 165, 183, 195, 257, 267, 269, 271, 279, 287, 289, 377, 379, 457
 Gauls, the, 385
 Genesis, 37, 301
 Germans, the, 269, 385, 389, 397, 479
 Geta, 359
 Getae, the, 357, 377, 393
 Gintonius, 279
 Glaucon, 209
 Glaukos, 219
 Graces, the, 351
 Greeks, the, 385, 387, 451
 Hades, 103
 Hadrian, 357, 418
 Harrison, J., 87
 Hector, 171, 401, 441
 Helen, 167
 Heliogabalus, 361
 Helios, 83, 119, 121, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 261, 283, 363, 379, 471
 Hera, 77, 113, 151, 349
 Heracleitus, 15, 23, 103, 129
 Heracles, 23, 70, 73, 91, 103, 105, 109, 111, 113, 203, 229, 347, 367, 375, 387, 413, 499
Heraclius, To the Cynic, 73-161
 Heraclius the Cynic, 69, 70
 Hercynian forest, 479
 Hermes, 9, 113, 125, 139, 141, 147, 149, 157, 347, 349, 357, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 399, 403, 405, 407, 411, 415
 Herodotus, 9, 353, 435

INDEX

- Hesiod, 79, 83, 149, 177, 179, 363,**
 443, 447, 507
 Hierapolis, 505
 Himerius, 153, 467
 Hippocleides, 9
 Hipponax, 325
 Homer, 13, 33, 37, 45, 73, 81, 83,
 87, 119, 131, 137, 145, 167, 171,
 175, 177, 183, 187, 189, 191, 193,
 197, 211, 219, 229, 409, 425, 435,
 441, 443, 447, 451, 453, 459, 461,
 467, 497
 Horace, 63, 121, 325, 421
 Hylas, 113
 Hymettus, 169
 Hyperboreans, the, 245

 Iamblichus, 25, 47, 105, 117, 151
 Iberians, the, 379
 Illyria, 183, 195
 Illyrians, the, 377
 Illyricum, 241
 India, 77, 115, 387, 401
 Iolaus, 113
 Ionia, 183
 Ionian Sea, the, 205
 Iphicles, 51
 Ismenias of Thebes, 423
 Isocrates, 150, 275
 Isthmus, the, 93
 Italians, the, 377
 Italy, 121, 287
 Ithaca, 459
 Ixion, 77

 Jesus, 327, 413
 Jews, the, 313
 Julian, Count, 249, 429, 497
 Jupiter Capitoline, 355
 Juvenal, 11, 125, 355, 383

 Kasios, Mt , 487
 Kronia, the lost, 343
 Kronia, the, 343, 345
 Kronos, 213, 215, 345, 347, 369,
 371, 413

 Lacedaemonians, the, 191, 243
 Laelius, 177
 Laestrygons, the, 191
 Lais, 127
 Lesbos, 421
 Leto, 153
 Letter, Fragment of a, 296-339, 343

 Libanius, 200, 241, 301, 418, 419,
 467, 485
 Lichas, 113
 Licinius, 367, 397
 Livy, 161, 179
 Loos, the month, 487
 Lotos-Eaters, the, 15
 Lucian, 2, 5, 23, 245, 323, 343, 353,
 375, 383, 391, 401
 Lucilianus, 279
 Lucius Gellius, 383
 Lucius Verus, 359
 Lucretius, 29
 Lucullus, 383
 Lupicinus, 275, 279, 281
 Lutetia (Paris), 429
 Lyceum, the, 125, 157, 231
 Lycurgus, 205, 225
 Lydians, the, 435

 Macedonians, the, 213
 Macellum, 251
 Macrinus, 361
 Magnentius, 367
 Magnesia, 89
 Mallians, the, 401
 Mammaea, 361
 Marathon, 457
 Marcellus, 267
 Marcus Aurelius, 203, 359, 371,
 395, 399, 407, 409, 411, 413
 Mardonius, 169, 259, 461, 463
 Marinus, 257
 Marius, Caius, 383
 Martial, 349
 Matthew, Gospel of, 7
 Maxentius, 397
 Maximians, the, 365, 367
 Maximus of Ephesus, 151, 467
 Maximus of Tyre, 71, 175
 Medes, the, 245
 Mediterranean, the, 379
 Megarian philosophy, 231
 Megarians, the, 189
 Memmorius, 121
 Menander the dramatist, 433, 453
 Menander the rhetorician, 30
 Menedemus, 229
 Messalina, 355
 Metroum, the, 5, 19
 Milan, 257, 261
 Milton, 395
 Minos, 359, 361, 367
 Misopogon, the, 49, 371, 420-511

INDEX

- Mithras, 415**
Mithridates, 383
Moses, 299
Mother of the Gods, 5, 113
Multan, 401
Murray, 69
Muses, the, 65, 153, 157, 349, 421, 423
Musonius, 233
Mykonos, 455
Mysians, the, 451
Mysteries, the, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 161

Narcissus, the freedman, 355
Nausicaa, 461
Naxos, 421
Nebridius, 281
Nemesis, 509
Neocles, 207
Nero, 233, 355
Nerva, 357
Nestor, 15
Nicolaus, 233
Nicomedia, 200, 418
Nireus, 191

Octavian, 351, 389, 397, 399, 405, 413
Odysseus, 171, 189, 191, 441, 459, 461
Oedipus, 133
Oenomaus, 23, 53, 85, 91
Olympia, 91, 93, 97, 159, 225
Olympus, 109, 129, 147, 323, 325, 347
Oreibasius, 265, 467
Orpheus, 99, 105, 167
Otho, 355

Paeonians, the, 451
Pallas, the freedman, 355
Pan, 83, 105, 113, 149, 425
Paris (Lutetia), 241, 279
Parisians, the, 429
Paros, 421
Parthians, the, 357, 387, 395
Patroclus, 191, 459
Paul, St., 309
Paul, a sycophant, 277
Peirithous, 173
Peleus, 193
Penelope, 457
Pentadius, 277, 281

Pentheus, 117
Pericles, 179, 181, 187
Peripatetics, the, 25
Perseus, 105
Persia, 155, 231, 295, 387
Persia, king of, 43, 63, 91
Persians, the, 213, 385, 439
Pertinax, 359
Petavius, 29, 30
Peter, St., 145
Petulantes, the, 279
Peucestes, 401
Phaeacians, the, 435, 459
Phaedo, 229, 231
Phaethon, 83
Phalaris, 357
Phemius, 459
Philebus, the, 155
Philippi, 389
Philiscus, 19, 91
Philostratus, 301
Phoenicians, the, 113
Phrygia, 219, 431
Phryne, 127
Pindar, 77, 113, 149, 301, 507
Pittacus, 205, 225
Plato, 9, 21, 25, 27, 31, 39, 41, 51, 63, 70, 77, 79, 81, 93, 99, 101, 103, 105, 117, 119, 133, 139, 145, 149, 155, 157, 169, 173, 179, 181, 213, 221, 223, 231, 263, 307, 317, 325, 345, 347, 353, 363, 365, 369, 409, 457, 465, 467, 481
Pliny, 401
Plotinus, 117
Plutarch, 55, 83, 89, 125, 131, 231, 245, 383, 385, 401, 423, 427, 447, 449, 477, 479
Pnyx, the, 207
Polemon, 169
Pompey, 377, 381, 383, 385, 389, 405, 477
Pontus, the, 489
Porphyry, 117
Portico, the, 125
Poseldon, 373, 389
Praechter, 70
Priam, 441
Priscus, 467
Probus, 363
Prodicus, 70, 105
Prometheus, 9, 41
Propontis, the, 195
Protagoras, the, 41

INDEX

- Protarchus, 155
 Pylos, 15
 Pyrrho, 327
 Pyrrhus, 387
 Pythagoras, 15, 22, 25, 33, 41, 51,
 63, 155, 161, 179, 195, 325, 353
 Pythagoreans, the, 47, 155, 231
 Pythian oracle, 11, 15, 23, 33, 53,
 159

 Quadi, the, 271
 Quirinus, 347, 355, 367, 369, 383

 Rhadamanthus, 363
 Rhea, 349
 Rhine, the, 269, 271, 273, 377, 423
 Rhodes, 301
 Romans, the, 379, 385, 397, 471,
 479
 Rome, 241, 331, 391, 475, 479
 Romulus, 347

 Salii, the, 273
Sallust, Address to, 166-197
 Sallust, 69, 70, 121, 165, 277, 279,
 343
 Salmoneus, 149
 Samos, 81, 155, 179, 447
 Sardis, 435
 Sarmatians, the, 271
 Saturn, 345
 Satyrs, the, 113
 Scipio Africanus, 177, 179
 Scipios, the, 383
 Scythians, the, 245, 305, 391, 397
 Selene, 261
 Seleucus, 353
 Semele, 70, 109, 113, 115
 Serapis, 355
 Serenianus, the Cynic, 123
 Severus, Emperor, 359, 367
 Sextus Empiricus, 29
 Sextus Pompeius, 389
 Sicilians, the, 313
 Silenus, 21, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357,
 359, 361, 363, 365, 369, 373, 393,
 395, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409,
 411
 Silvanus, 257, 259
 Simmias, 231
 Simonides, 407
 Sinope, 5
 Sirens, the, 167

 Sirmium, 257
 Smicrines, 453
 Socrates, 5, 21, 25, 27, 31, 33, 85,
 157, 159, 161, 169, 173, 175, 189,
 207, 217, 229, 231, 313, 365, 465
 Solon, 55, 205, 225, 435
 Sophroniscus, 229
 Sparta, 241
 Spartacus, 383
 Stoa, the, 231
 Stoics, the, 17
 Stratonice, 449
 Suetonius, 351, 353, 381, 389, 391
 Sulla, 383
 Sura, 393
 Synesius, 427
 Syracuse, 313, 405
 Syria, 509
 Syrians, the, 451

 Tacitus, 233, 353, 355
 Tarentum, 471
 Tartarus, 51, 139, 323, 325, 355
 Taurus, 287
 Telamon, 113
 Teos, 499
 Termerus, 89
 Thebans, the, 379
 Thebes, 25, 333
Themistius, Letter to, 202-237, 43,
 97, 103, 383, 391
 Themistius, 9, 71, 153, 167, 175,
 200, 201, 363, 391, 423, 489
 Themistocles, 63, 245
 Theocritus, 155, 177, 189, 197, 357,
 399, 425
 Theodosius, 200
 Theognis, 107, 185, 455
 Theophilus, Governor of Antioch,
 491, 509
 Theophrastus, 15, 465
 Theseus, 89, 105, 173
 Thesmophoria, the, 35
Thessalonians, 145
 Thessaly, 75
 Thrace, 75, 183, 195
 Thracians, the, 353, 391, 451, 457
 Thrasyleon, 453
 Thrasyllus, 233
 Thucydides, 81, 191
 Tiberius, 233, 353
 Tigris, the, 387
 Timaeus, 157
Timaeus, the, 155

INDEX

- Titus, 357
- Trajan, 357, 369, 373, 395, 397,
405, 413
- Tralles, 251
- Trojans, the, 167
- Troy, 191, 441
- Valerian, 361
- Vespasian, 355
- Vienne, 267, 279
- Vindex, 355
- Vitellius, 355
- Vosges Mts., 271
- Xenophon, 51, 85, 87, 105, 153,
181, 209, 229, 459
- Xerxes, 63, 173, 213, 461
- Zamolxis, 175, 353, 393
- Zeller, 200
- Zeno, 25, 63, 177, 325, 351
- Zeus, 17, 41, 43, 83, 93, 105, 109,
111, 113, 115, 135, 137, 141, 145,
149, 197, 283, 305, 307, 351, 367,
369, 395, 409, 411, 413, 445, 467,
475, (Kasios) 487, 499
- Zonaras, 425
- Zosimus, 241

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THE WORKS OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, PH.D.

LATE OF GIRTON COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN BRYN MAWR COLLEGE,
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IN THREE VOLUMES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION TO THE LETTERS	vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY	lviv
LETTERS 1-58 WITH DATES	3
LETTERS 59-73 UNDATED	209
APOCRYPHAL LETTERS 74-83	237
THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS	295
EPIGRAMS	305
INTRODUCTION TO "AGAINST THE GALILAEANS" . .	313
AGAINST THE GALILAEANS	319
FRAGMENTS	429
TABLE OF NUMBERS	435
INDEX	439

INTRODUCTION

THE more important letters and edicts in this volume are hardly intelligible to a reader unfamiliar with the historical background. The following brief summary of Julian's career is intended to explain the allusions in the text and to supplement the Introduction in Vol. 1. In his more formal works, especially the manifesto *To the Athenians* written in 361 as an apologia for his rebellion against the Emperor Constantius, and the *Misopogon* written in 362, a satire on his own austere habits addressed to the citizens of Antioch, Julian himself relates the main incidents of his childhood and youth. For the last ten years of his life, 353–363, the best authority is Ammianus Marcellinus, the Latin historian, an eye-witness.

Flavius Claudius Julianus was born at Constantinople in 331, the only son of Julius Constantius, half-brother of Constantine the Great, and Basilina, a highly educated woman and devout Christian, who died when Julian was a few months old. From his father's earlier marriage there survived a son, Gallus, a daughter, probably named Galla, who married her cousin the Emperor Constantius II, and another son whose name is unknown. Soon after the death of the Emperor Constantine in 337, the Emperor Constantius removed possible rivals by the murder

INTRODUCTION

of certain relatives, among whom were Julian's father and half-brother. Gallus and Julian survived. The latter was sent to Nicomedia in charge of a relative, the Bishop Eusebius, and his education was entrusted to the Christian eunuch Mardonius, who had taught Basilina Greek literature. In *Misopogon* 353 B, Julian says that Mardonius was "of all men most responsible" for his literary tastes and austere morals.¹ Julian also studied at Constantinople with the Christian sophist Hecebolius.² During this period he used to visit his grandmother's estate in Bithynia, which is described in *Letter* 25. In 345, when Julian was fourteen, Constantius, who in the twenty-four years of his reign that followed the murder of Julius Constantius lived in apprehension of the vengeance of his sons, interned Gallus and Julian in the lonely castle of Macellum (Fundus Macelli) in Cappadocia. In his manifesto *To the Athenians* 271 c, d, Julian speaks of their six years of solitary imprisonment at Macellum, and says that the cruelty and harshness of Gallus, who proved to be a sort of Christian Caligula, were increased by his life there, while his own love of philosophy saved him from being equally brutalised. From *Letter* 23 we learn that he was able to borrow books from George of Cappadocia, who later became Bishop of Alexandria and was murdered by the Alexandrian mob in 361. Julian at once wrote *Letter* 23 to demand his library.

¹ For the influence of Mardonius see Vol. 2 *Oration* 8, 241 c; *To the Athenians* 274 d; *Misopogon* 352-353. Julian's knowledge of Latin was probably slight, though Ammianus, 16. 5. 7, describes it as "sufficiens."

² For Hecebolius see *Letter* 63, and below, p. xlvii.

INTRODUCTION

In 351 Constantius, who had once visited the brothers at Macellum, released them, raised Gallus to the rank of Caesar and gave him his sister Constantia in marriage. Constantius had married as his first wife Galla, the sister of Gallus; she had lately died. Gallus was sent to Antioch to govern the provinces of the East. There he and Constantia, whose cruel and suspicious temper matched his own, embarked on a four years' reign of terror which is described by Ammianus.¹ Constantius meanwhile, at Arles, where he spent the winter of 353, and later at Milan, was just as suspicious and ruthless, but in Gallus Caesar tyrannical conduct seemed to his cousin the prelude to usurpation. He was therefore recalled to Milan in 354. Constantia died of a fever on the journey, and Gallus, escorted by the Emperor's agents as a virtual prisoner, was taken by way of Constantinople to Pola (where in 326 Crispus, the son of Constantine, had been put to death by his father), and was there beheaded, towards the end of 354. Julian later avenged himself on those whom he believed to have been accessory to the death of his brother.

Meanwhile he had devoted four years to study, first at Pergamon with Aedesius and Chrysanthius, the disciples of Iamblichus; but on hearing from Aedesius of the marvels wrought by his pupil Maximus of Ephesus the theurgist, he hastened to Ephesus.² Julian had been under Christian influences from his childhood, but he was an ardent admirer of Greek literature and philosophy and

¹ Book XIV.

² See the account of his studies at Pergamon and Ephesus in Eunapius, *Lives*, pp. 429-435, Wright.

INTRODUCTION

naturally inclined to superstition. With Maximus he studied the teachings of Iamblichus the Neoplatonist, and though he did not openly profess paganism until 361, he says in *Letter 47*, written in 362, that for twelve years he has ceased to be a Christian.

The Syrian Neoplatonism of the fourth Christian century which followed the teachings of Iamblichus was a religion rather than a philosophy, and was well suited to his love of the mystical and marvellous; for the rest of his life he was the devoted disciple of Maximus. But his apostasy from Christianity was carefully concealed, and his first panegyric on Constantius, *Oration 1*, written in 355, is entirely non-committal, refers vaguely to "the deity" and "providence," and might have been composed by a Christian.

In the second panegyric, *Oration 2*, written in Gaul at a safe distance, he frequently invokes Zeus, and assumes the reality of the gods of Homer in language that goes beyond what was allowed by literary etiquette in rhetorical works of this sort. It could not have been written by a Christian. His brother Gallus, some time between 351 and 354, heard rumours of his devotion to Maximus, and sent his own spiritual adviser Aetius to remonstrate with Julian. *Letter 82* (Gallus to Julian), the earliest letter in this volume that can be dated, expresses the relief of Gallus at the reassuring report of Aetius as to Julian's adherence to the Christian faith.

On the death of Gallus in 354 Julian was summoned to the court at Milan, and on the way thither visited Troy and had the interview with Pegasus

INTRODUCTION

which is described in *Letter* 19. Ammianus says¹ that Julian's life was in danger at Milan from the plots of enemies, who accused him to Constantius of having met Gallus at Constantinople in 354, and of having left Macellum without permission. Julian denies the first of these charges in *Oration* 3. 121A, and in *To the Athenians* 273 A. He was saved by the intercession of the second wife of Constantius, the Empress Eusebia, who, after seven months of suspense, obtained for him his single audience with the Emperor and permission to go to Athens to study. We know little of his brief stay of about two months in Athens in 355, but he was almost certainly initiated into the Mysteries at Eleusis,² and probably attended the lectures of the aged Christian sophist Prohaeresius, to whom in 361 or early in 362 he wrote *Letter* 14. Among his fellow-students were two Cappadocians, Gregory Nazianzen, who after Julian's death wrote bitter invectives against the apostate and an unflattering description of his appearance and manners, and Basil the Great, to whom Julian addressed *Letter* 26. From Athens the Emperor recalled Julian³ in September to Milan, where after some delay he was raised to the rank of Caesar on November 6, 355, given the task of pacifying the Gallic provinces, and married to Helena, the sister of Constantius. She was much older than he, had little influence on his life, and died in Gaul, without issue, not long after Julian

¹ 15. 2. 7.

² The evidence for this is Eunapius, *Lives*, p. 437, Wright.

³ For his grief at leaving Athens see Vol. 2, *To the Athenians*, 275 A.

INTRODUCTION

had been proclaimed Augustus by the army. The motives of Constantius in making Julian Caesar are not clear. Eunapius says that he hoped his cousin would be killed in Gaul. Eusebia may have persuaded the Emperor that their childlessness was a punishment for his treatment of his relatives. The Gallic provinces were overrun by barbarians, and Constantius could not go there himself because he was occupied on the Danube with the Sarmatians and the Quadi, and by the threat of the Persians in Mesopotamia. Julian set out for Gaul on December 1, 355, with a small troop of 360 men who "only knew how to pray," as he says in *frag.* 5. Eusebia gave him a library of books which he took with him. His task was to expel the hordes of Germans who, having been invited by Constantius to assist in suppressing the usurper Magnentius, had remained to overrun and devastate the country, and had destroyed the Roman forts on the Rhine. In his five years of campaigning in Gaul,¹ though he was continually thwarted by the officers whom Constantius had sent to watch his movements, Julian pacified the provinces and restored their prosperity, recovered 20,000 Gallic prisoners from Germany, expelled the Germans, defeated the Franks and Chamavi, restored the Roman forts, and crossed the Rhine four times. In August 357 he won the famous battle of Argentoratum (Strasbourg), which was fought somewhere between Saverne and Strasbourg, and sent Chnodomar, the king of the Alemanni, captive to Constantius. He spent the winter of 358-359 at Paris, whence he wrote to his

¹ For the condition of Gaul and his achievements there see Vol. 2, *To the Athenians*, 278-280.

INTRODUCTION

friend the physician Oribasius, at Vienne, *Letter 4*, of which the first part, with its dream,¹ is highly sophistic but expresses vague fears that he and Constantius may be involved in ruin together; the second part describes his opposition to the pretorian prefect Florentius, his persistent enemy, whom he forbade to recommend to Constantius increased taxes on the Gallic provincials. In this letter Julian wishes that he may not be deprived of the society of Sallust, his pagan friend and adviser, but Sallust was recalled by the suspicious Constantius in 358.

While he was in Gaul, Julian continued his studies, corresponded with sophists and philosophers such as Maximus, Libanius and Priscus, wrote *Oration 2*, a panegyric of Constantius; *Oration 3*, a panegyric of Eusebia; *Oration 8*, to console himself for the loss of Sallust; an account of the battle of Strasbourg which has perished; and perhaps the treatise on logic which we know only from the reference to it in Suidas.² To some of these works he refers at the end of *Letter 2, To Priscus*. That he wrote commentaries on his Gallic campaigns has been maintained by some scholars but cannot be proved.

Constantius, who had already suppressed four usurpers, either full-blown or suspected of ambition, Magnentius, Vetrano, Silvanus and Gallus Caesar, was alarmed at the military successes of his cousin, who had left Milan an awkward student, ridiculed by the court, and had transformed himself into a skilful general and administrator, adored by the Gallic

¹ Julian's dream may be, as Asmus thinks, an echo of Herodotus, 1. 108, but the parallel is not close.

² s.v. 'Ιουλιανός.

INTRODUCTION

army and the provincials. The Emperor was on the eve of a campaign against Sapor, the Persian king, and needed reinforcements. It was an opportune moment for weakening Julian's influence by withdrawing the flower of his troops for service in the East. Accordingly, in the winter of 359-360, Julian received peremptory orders, brought by the tribune Decentius, to send to the Emperor, under the command of Julian's officers Lupicinus and Sintula, the finest of his troops, in fact more than half his army of 23,000 men. Many of these were barbarian auxiliaries who had taken service with Julian on condition that they should not serve outside Gaul, and the Celtic troops, when the order became known, were dismayed at the prospect of leaving their lands and families at the mercy of renewed invasions of barbarians. Florentius was at Vienne, and refused to join Julian in Paris and discuss the question of the safety of Gaul if the troops should be withdrawn. Meanwhile two of the legions requisitioned by Constantius were in Britain fighting the Picts and Scots. But when the others reached Paris from their winter quarters in February 360, on their march eastwards, their discontent resulted in open mutiny, and Julian, whose loyalty towards Constantius up to this point is unquestioned, failed to pacify them. They surrounded the palace¹ at night, calling on Julian with the title of Augustus, and when, after receiving a divine sign,² he came out

¹ Julian was lodged in what is now the Musée des Thermes.

² See *To the Athenians*, 284 c, and cf. *Letter 2*, p. 5. Ammianus 20. 4 gives a full account of the mutiny and of Julian's speeches to the army and letter to Constantius.

INTRODUCTION

at dawn, he was raised on a shield and crowned with a standard-bearer's chain in default of a diadem. Julian sent by Pentadius and the loyal eunuch Eutherius a full account of these events to Constantius, who replied that he must be content with the title of Caesar. Constantius had already gone to Caesarea to prepare for his Persian campaign, and decided to meet the more pressing danger from the East before he reckoned with Julian. The prefect Florentius fled to the Emperor and was made consul for 361. Constantius sent Nebridius the quaestor to succeed Florentius in Gaul, and Julian accepted him as prefect. Julian left Paris for Vienne by way of Besançon, which town he describes in *Letter 8*. Thence he led his troops to another victory, this time over the Attuarii, who were raiding Gaul, and on November 6, 360, he celebrated his quinquennalia or fifth year as Caesar. He had not yet declared his change of religion, and in January 361 at Vienne, where he spent the winter, he took part in the feast of the Epiphany. In July he set out for the East, determined to win from Constantius recognition of his rank as Augustus, either by persuasion or by force. His troops were divided so as to march by three different routes, and he led the strongest division through the Black Forest (see *frag. 2*) and along the Danube. Sirmium (Mitrovitz) welcomed him with acclamation in October, and he went into winter quarters at Naissa (Nish). Thence he addressed to the Roman Senate, the Spartans, Corinthians and Athenians manifestos justifying his conduct towards Constantius and proclaiming his design to restore the Hellenic religion. Of these documents only the letter to the Athenians sur-

INTRODUCTION

vives, and a brief fragment of the letter to the Corinthians (*frag.* 3).³ Meanwhile, as he informs Maximus in *Letter* 8, he and his soldiers openly sacrificed to the gods. He now regarded himself as conducting a war in the name of Hellenism. Some time in 361 he wrote the *Kronia* (*Saturnalia*), and says in *Oration* 4. 157 c that he sent it to his friend Sallust. Of this work Suidas has preserved a few lines (*frag.* 4).¹

Meanwhile Constantius, who had achieved nothing conclusive against the Persians, had married, at Antioch, his third wife Faustina. Their only child, a daughter, was married later to the Emperor Gratian, but died young. Constantius had now no choice but to lead his army to defend Constantinople against Julian. But at Tarsus he fell ill, and on November 3, 361, died of a fever at Mopsucrene in Cilicia. When Julian heard the news he wrote *Letters* 8 and 13, in which he thanks the gods for his escape from civil war. He entered Constantinople in triumph as Emperor on December 11, 361.

The greater number of the letters in this volume that can be dated were written after Julian's accession, in 362, from Constantinople and Antioch. He lost no time in inviting to his court his friends Maximus from Ephesus (*Letter* 8), Chrysanthius from Sardis,² Eutherius the eunuch, his trusted court chamberlain (*Letter* 10), Eustathius (*Letter* 43), Priscus,³ and Basil (*Letter* 26). Chrysanthius and Basil did not accept this invitation, and Julian, when

¹ Suidas, *s.v.* Empedotimus.

² See Eunapius, *Lives*, p. 441, Wright.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

INTRODUCTION

he had failed to persuade Chrysanthius to follow the example of Maximus and disregard the omens which were unfavourable to their journey, appointed him high priest of Lydia.

In contrast with the wholesale butchery with which Constantius had begun his reign, Julian appointed a commission, partly composed of former officers of Constantius, to sit at Chalcedon across the Bosphorus and try his enemies, especially those who had abetted the cruelties of Constantius or were accessory to the death of Gallus. Ammianus, 22. 3, describes the work of this commission, on which were Sallust, Mamertinus and Nevitta the Goth. Among those condemned to death were the notorious informer and agent of Constantius, Paul, nicknamed "the Chain,"¹ the eunuch Eusebius, chamberlain of Constantius (see *Letter* 4, p. 11), and the ex-prefect, the consul Florentius, whose oppression of the Gallic provincials is described in the same letter. Florentius managed to conceal himself till after Julian's death.

On February 4, 362, Julian proclaimed religious freedom in the Empire, and ordered the restoration of the temples. All who had used them as quarries or bought portions of them for building houses were to restore the stone and marble.² This often caused great hardship to individuals, and even Libanius, a devout pagan, more than once in his letters³ intercedes with local officials on behalf of those affected by Julian's edict. The Emperor recalled the ecclesiastics who had been exiled by the Arian Constantius,

¹ See *Letter* 53; Ammianus 14. 5. 6; 19. 12.

² See *Letter* 29, to Count Julian, p. 99.

³ e. g. *Letter* 724, Foerster.

INTRODUCTION

among them Aetius, to whom he wrote *Letter* 15, and the famous orthodox prelate Athanasius, for whom see *Letters* 24, 46, 47.¹ It was perhaps easier to restore the temples than the half-forgotten ritual of the gods, but Julian enlisted the aid of a learned pagan, the Roman antiquarian and senator, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, whom in 362 he appointed Proconsul of Achaia, while for the rites appropriate to the oriental cults he certainly consulted Maximus of Ephesus, who initiated him into the Mysteries of Mithras.

Constantius, fully occupied with the persecution of non-Arian Christians, had not persecuted pagan intellectuals such as Libanius and Themistius the philosopher, while even pagan officials such as Sallust had been promoted in his reign. But Julian gave instructions that pagans should be preferred to Christians for public offices (*Letter* 37), and, as the progress of "Hellenism" proved slower than he had hoped, he grew more intolerant. For evidence of definite persecution of the Christians in his brief reign we depend on Gregory Nazianzen, Socrates, Sozomen and other historians of the Church. But certain administrative measures referred to in the letters were aimed at the Christians. As a part of Julian's general policy of exacting service in their local senates from all well-to-do citizens, he deprived Christian clerics of their immunity from such service;² funerals were no longer allowed to

¹ Cf. the account of the life of Athanasius, p. xxxix.

² See *Letter* 39, *To the Byzacians*. Libanius, *Oration* 18. 148, praises this reform. For Julian's increase of the Senate at Antioch cf. *Misopogon* 367 D. *Codex Theodosianus* 12. 1. 50-56.

INTRODUCTION

take place in the daytime according to the Christian custom¹; and one of his earliest reforms in connection with the use of the public post, the *cursus publicus*, directly affected Christian ecclesiastics. The privilege of free transport and the use of inns, horses and mules at the expense of the State had been granted to ecclesiastics by Constantine in 314; and in the reign of Constantius, when the bishops were summoned from all parts of the Empire to one synod after another, the system of public transport broke down under the burden.² In an edict preserved in *Codex Theodosianus* 8. 5. 12, dated February 22, 362, Julian reserves to himself, except in certain cases, the right of granting *evectio*, or free transport. In *Letters* 8, 15, and 26 he authorises his correspondents to use State carriages and horses. Libanius says that this reform was so thoroughly carried out that often the animals and their drivers had nothing to do.

But such withdrawals of privileges were pin-pricks compared with the famous edict³ in which Julian reserved to himself the control of the appointments of teachers, and the rescript, *Letter* 36, in which he forbade Christians to read the pagan authors with their pupils. This meant that they must cease to teach, since all education was based on the reading of the poets, historians and philosophers. The Christian sophist Victorinus, who was then lecturing at Rome, and Prohaeresius at Athens, must resign their chairs. Julian offered a special exemption to

¹ See *Letter* 56, the edict on funerals.

² See Libanius, *Oration*, 18. 143; Ammianus 21. 16. 18.

³ The Latin edict, dated June 17, 362, survives in *Codex Theodosianus* 13. 3. 5.

INTRODUCTION

Prohaeresius, but the sophist, says Eunapius,¹ refused the privilege. He could afford to wait in patience, for, like many another distinguished Christian, he consulted the omens through the pagan hierophant of Greece, and learned indirectly, but to his own reassurance, that Julian's power would be short-lived. Even Ammianus the pagan historian deplored the bigotry and malice of Julian's attempt to suppress Christian educators. "It was," he says, "a harsh measure, and had better be buried in eternal silence."² The Christians interpreted it as excluding their children from education; Theodoret, 3. 4. 2, says as much, and quotes a saying of Julian's (*frag.* 7), whose context is lost, to the effect that the Christians arm their intellects to oppose Hellenism by means of the Hellenic masterpieces. Socrates, 3. 12. 7, quotes another saying of the same sort (*frag.* 6). These two quotations perhaps belong to lost rescripts aimed at Christian teachers, which followed the extant edict and rescript. Well-educated Christians can hardly have been consoled by the enterprise of a father and son named Apollinarius, who "within a very brief space of time," says Sozomen, 5. 18, converted the Bible into epics, tragedies, comedies, odes and dialogues for the education of Christian youths. But Christian teachers did not suffer much inconvenience, for Julian's prohibition can hardly have been enforced in the few months that preceded his

¹ *Lives*, p. 513, Wright.

² 22. 10. 7: illud inclemens . . . obruendum perenni silentio. He repeats this criticism in 25. 4. 20. Libanius, however, was delighted, and taunted Basil and Gregory as "barbarians."

INTRODUCTION

death. The edict was rescinded by the Emperor Valentinian.

In his dealings with the Jews, Julian reversed the policy of Constantius and Gallus Caesar, who had treated them with extreme harshness.¹ He freed them from the taxes levied on them as Jews, and invited them to renew their ancient sacrifices. When they replied that this could be done only in the Temple at Jerusalem he promised to rebuild the Temple, and restore Jerusalem to the Jews. He may almost be called a Zionist. The historians of the Church say that Julian desired to nullify the prophecy of Christ, that not one stone of the Temple should remain on another, and exult in the fact that his project had to be abandoned, owing to the earthquakes that were experienced in the East in the winter of 362-363. Julian himself speaks of his plan of rebuilding the Temple,² and Ammianus says that the work was entrusted to Alypius, the ex-Governor of Britain, to whom Julian when in Gaul wrote *Letters* 6 and 7, and that it was abandoned owing to mysterious "balls of flame" which burned the workmen. Almost the same account is given by Philostorgius 7. 9, Theodoret 3. 15, and other historians of the Church. Nevertheless, Lardner in *Jewish and Heathen Testimony* 4. p. 47, and Adler in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, deny that the work was ever undertaken, and assert that Ammianus derived his account from Gregory Nazianzen's

¹ Sozomen 4. 7. 5.

² Vol. 2, *Fragment of a Letter* 295 c; *Letter* 51. 398 A; and Lydus, *de Mensibus* 4. 53, quotes Julian as saying ἀνεγείρω . . . τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ, "I am rebuilding the Temple of the Most High God."

INTRODUCTION

spiteful *Invective against Julian*, and that the Christian historians were taken in by Gregory's invention. But Ammianus was with Julian at Antioch that winter and on the march to Persia in 363, and must have known the facts. He did not need to depend on Gregory for information;—Gregory does not, in fact, mention the appointment of Alypius—nor would Gregory have been likely to write his detailed account of the zealous cooperation of the Jews in the building if he could have been refuted by any resident of Jerusalem. We may therefore believe that the enterprise was begun but was given up because of earthquakes, and possibly also because Julian had withdrawn to Persia. The rescript *To the Community of the Jews* (Letter 51), though it is cited by Sozomen 5. 22 and Socrates 3. 20 as Julian's, has been condemned as a forgery by Schwarz, Klimek and Geffcken, was considered "très suspect" by Bidez and Cumont in 1898 (*Recherches*) and is rejected outright by them in their edition of 1922. Their arguments are based on the general tone of the document, and the strange reference to "my brother" the Jewish patriarch, but while the rescript may have been rewritten or edited in a bureau, it probably represents the sentiments of Julian and is consistent with his attitude to the Jews as expressed in the treatise *Against the Galilaeans*. It has therefore been placed with the genuine letters in this volume.

The appeal *On behalf of the Argives* (Letter 28), was accepted as genuine by all editors before Bidez and Cumont, and by Schwarz, Geffcken and Asmus, and was formerly assigned by Cumont to the year 355, when Julian was a student at Athens. Bidez

INTRODUCTION

and Cumont (1922) now accept the theory of Keil¹ that it is not by Julian, but was composed in the first century A.D. as a letter of recommendation (ἐπιστολή συστατική). Maas, however, maintains that it was written by the high-priest Theodorus in Julian's reign, and that the proconsul's rejection of its appeal is referred to in Julian's letter to Theodorus, p. 37. But there is nothing in it that could not have been written by Julian, and it would be natural for him to defend ancient Argos, which had probably remained Hellenic, and her sacred festivals against Romanised and Christianised Corinth, the provincial metropolis. Julian disliked beast shows² as much as Constantius had loved them, and the tribute exacted from Argos was used to pay for such shows (see p. 89). He asks a favour rather than gives orders as an Emperor, but this was consistent with his custom of referring such appeals as that of the Argives to the governors of the provinces.³ We do not know from other sources when the Argives began to pay tribute to Corinth, though there is abundant evidence that under the Empire the minor cities of Greece did pay tribute to Corinth instead of to Rome. On the whole I see no reason for suspecting the authenticity of this document, or for assigning it to Julian's student days at Athens.

In May or June 362 Julian left Constantinople for Antioch, the capital of the provinces of the East,

¹ In *Nachrichten Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1913.

² *i. e.* public exhibitions of combats of wild beasts, such as were regularly given at the expense of the municipalities at this period.

³ For this policy see Ammianus 16. 5. 13. Heyler's comment on *Letter 28* is—*cogit rogando*.

INTRODUCTION

and about this time he wrote *Letter 35* to Aristoxenus, asking him to meet him at Tyana, and *Letter 29* to his uncle at Antioch, whom he had appointed Count of the East (Comes Orientis); he refers to their approaching meeting at Antioch (p. 105). On the way he visited and wept over Nicomedia, which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 358,¹ and Pessinus, where he sacrificed to Cybele the Mother of the Gods at her ancient shrine. From *Letter 42* to Callixeine it appears that as a consequence of his visit he appointed her priestess of Cybele at Pessinus. That the citizens of Pessinus had displeased him by a lack of enthusiasm for the restoration of their famous cult may be gathered from *Letter 22*, p. 73. Julian also visited Tarsus, in whose suburb near the river Cydnus he was destined to be buried in the following year. He arrived at Antioch towards the end of July, and wrote *Letter 41*, the rescript to the citizens of Bostra, on August 1.² In January 363 he entered on the consulship (see *Letter 54*).

In the *Misopogon* (Loeb Library, Vol. 2), Julian has himself described his nine months' stay at Antioch. The city was predominantly Christian and opposed to his restoration of paganism, so that when the celebrated temple of Apollo in the beautiful suburb of Daphne was burned in 362, he ascribed it to the malice of the Christians. The citizens, who were notoriously pleasure-loving and luxurious, openly ridiculed his austere way of life and disliked his reforms. During the winter he wrote the

¹ Ammianus 22. 9. 3-5.

² Julian's first edict from Antioch in *Codex Theodosianus* 1. 16. 8 is dated July 28, 362.

INTRODUCTION

treatise *Against the Galilaeans*. When he left Antioch on March 5, 363, for his Persian campaign he announced that he would spend the coming winter, not at Antioch, but at Tarsus. This showed that he expected a short campaign. In the extant letters he does not mention his disappointment with his reception at Antioch, though in *Letter* 58, 399 c, written on March 10 or 11 at Hierapolis, he alludes to his interview with the delegates from the senate of Antioch who had followed him as far as Litarbae in the attempt to conciliate his displeasure.¹ This is his last extant letter.

For his brief and fatal campaign against Sapor in 363 we depend on Ammianus and Eutropius who accompanied him, and on Zosimus. On the march Julian avoided Edessa, which was stubbornly Christian (see *Letter* 40). At Carrhae, notorious for the defeat of the Romans under Crassus, he assembled his troops. Procopius was sent towards Nisibis with 18,000 men in order to distract the attention of Sapor, and was ordered to meet the Armenian auxiliaries whom Julian had requisitioned in *Letter* 57, and later rejoin Julian. Meanwhile the Emperor with 65,000 men proceeded to the Euphrates. His fleet of a thousand boats of all kinds he transferred by means of a canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and arrived under the walls of Ctesiphon, devastating the country and burning towns and villages as he went. The omens from first to last were unfavourable, his officers were inefficient, and the troops whom he had brought from Gaul began

¹ Cf. Libanius, *Oration* 16. 1, and his *Letter* 824, Foerster, for his attempt to persuade Julian to forgive Antioch.

INTRODUCTION

to suffer from the heat.¹ Though before Ctesiphon he won an important victory over the Persians, he reluctantly decided not to besiege this stronghold, but to try to effect a junction with the forces of Procopius by marching northwards. He burnt his ships rather than take them up the Tigris. But Procopius and the Armenians failed to arrive, and Sapor with his main army was at hand and began to harass Julian's forces from June 16. The Persians were repulsed, but, after about ten days of almost incessant fighting and marching, Julian was mortally wounded in a rear attack on June 26, and died at midnight. On his death-bed he is said to have discussed the immortality of the soul with Maximus and Priscus.² The exact name of the place where he fell is not known, but Ammianus 25. 3. 9, says that when Julian learned that the locality was called Phrygia he gave up hope of recovery, because an oracle had said that he would die in Phrygia. His body was carried with the army on its retreat and was later sent to Tarsus for burial in charge of Procopius. The Christian general Jovian was elected Emperor by the troops.

¹ On the lack of discipline among the Gallic troops, both at Antioch and on the march, see Ammianus 22. 12; 25. 7.

² The numerous and varying accounts of Julian's death from Ammianus to the Byzantine chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been collected by Reinhardt *Der Tod des Kaiser Julian*, 1891. The legend that the dying Emperor threw a handful of his own blood in the air and cried *νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαίε*, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilaean!" is found in Theodoret 3. 20, Sozomen 6. 2. Others said he was reproaching the Sun, who had betrayed him, and that his words were misunderstood; cf. Philostorgius 7. 15.

INTRODUCTION

The letters of Julian must have been collected and published before the end of the fourth century, since Eunapius (A.D. 346–414) used them as a source for his *History*, and in his *Lives* mentions several that are not extant. Libanius, not long after Julian's death, wrote to Aristophanes of Corinth that some of Julian's letters were safe to publish, others not, and consoled himself for the Emperor's loss with "these his immortal children." Zosimus the pagan historian, who wrote 450–501, says that from Julian's letters one may best comprehend his activities, "which extended over the whole world." The historians of the Church, notably Socrates of Constantinople, who completed his *History* about A.D. 440, seem to have quoted from a mixed collection of letters and edicts such as has come down to us. Sozomen, a contemporary of Socrates, quotes nine of the extant letters and mentions fourteen that have not survived. Such a collection would be entitled *Letters* because any Imperial edict was called a letter. Julian was an indefatigable letter-writer, and we have only a fraction of his vast correspondence. Many letters must have been suppressed by their owners as dangerous to themselves after his death, or by the Christians because of their disrespectful allusions to Christianity; of those that survive some were mutilated by the Christians for the same reason, while others, such as *Letter 81, To Basil*, are suspected of being Christian forgeries designed to display Julian in an unpleasant light. On the other hand, documents which could be used as evidence that Julian persecuted the Christians (*e. g. Letter 37*), or pastoral letters written in his character of *pontifex maximus* to admonish pagan priests to

INTRODUCTION

imitate the Christian virtues of asceticism and charity to the poor (*e. g. Letter 20 and the Fragment of a Letter*, Vol. 2), would not be allowed to perish. Many letters survived in hand-books as models of epistolary style, a fact which, as Cumont pointed out, adds greatly to the difficulties of correct ascription, because the compilers of such hand-books were often careless about the authorship, form of address, or completeness of such extracts.

The "Letters" in this collection are (1) edicts or rescripts, the majority of which are concerned with the Christians; these were certainly worked over by the Imperial secretaries and are only indirectly Julian's; (2) pastoral or encyclical letters to priests; and (3) private correspondence. As a rule Julian dictated to secretaries, and so fast that Libanius says the "tachygraphers" were unable to keep pace with him, but certain postscripts are marked "with his own hand." After his accession in 361 the plea of lack of time or a shortage of secretaries is frequent, and some scholars have rejected certain purely conventional and sophistic letters, such as 59 and 60, or assigned them to his student days, on the ground that Julian after 355 would not write in that strain, and that his undoubtedly genuine letters always have some definite content. They never reject a letter in which pressure of business is mentioned, though one may see from the correspondence of Libanius that the plea of lack of time owing to affairs is a regular sophistic excuse. The purely sophistic letters have been placed last in the present volume in order that they may not interrupt the sequence of those that can be dated with more or less certainty. But I am not convinced that at any

INTRODUCTION

time in Julian's career he had renounced writing like a sophist and bandying quotations with his friends. Nothing could be more sophistic than part of his unquestionably genuine letter to Libanius, in which he expresses his admiration for his friend's speech on behalf of Aristophanes.¹ There seems to be only one safe criterion for rejecting letters ascribed in the MS. tradition to Julian: when the historical facts of his life cannot be reconciled with the contents of a letter, or if he cannot have known the person addressed, as is the case with the six letters addressed to Iamblichus, or when the contents are too foolish even for Julian in his sophistic vein,² it has seemed better not to confuse the reader by including them, as Hertlein did, with the genuine letters. They are therefore grouped together as apocryphal. After the publication of Hertlein's edition, six letters, ascribed to Julian, were discovered by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in a convent, used as a school for Greek merchants, on the island Chalce (Halki) near Constantinople; they are included in this edition. The text used in this volume is, for the rest of the letters, that of Hertlein (Leipzig, 1876), revised and rearranged in chronological order as far as possible. The marginal numbers correspond to the pages of Spanheim, 1696. The edition of Bidez and Cumont (1922) appeared too late to be used in constructing the present text, but is referred to in this Introduction. All references to Bidez or Cumont in the critical notes refer to their publications before 1922. Their edition includes the Latin edicts of Julian preserved in the *Codex*

¹ See *Letter* 53, 382 D, p. 185.

² Cf. *Letter* 80, *To Sarapion*.

INTRODUCTION

Theodosianus and the Imperial edict in Greek, *De auro coronario*, published by Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth in *Fayûm towns and their Papyri*, p. 116 foll., and assigned by those editors and by Wilcken to Alexander Severus. Bidez and Cumont support Dessau¹ in regarding this edict as by Julian, who, as we know from an edict in *Codex Theodosianus* 12. 13. 1, remitted the *aurum coronarium* on April 29, 362. Ammianus² mentions this as an instance of Julian's generosity.

The following biographical notices of Julian's more important correspondents or of persons mentioned in the text, are in alphabetical order and are designed to supplement the notes.

AETIUS of Antioch, nicknamed "Atheist" by his Christian opponents, rose from extreme poverty and obscurity to the position of leader of the faction of the Arian sect called Anomoean because its members held that "the substance of the Son is *unlike* the substance of the Father." The less radical of the unorthodox, semi-Arians, like the Emperor Constantius, persecuted the Anomoeans. But Gallus Caesar, Julian's half-brother, soon after his promotion in 351 and his appointment to govern the East, came under the influence of Aetius, who, for the next three years while he resided at Antioch, was his spiritual adviser. When Gallus heard that Julian, then studying at Ephesus with Maximus the theurgist, was inclined to "Hellenism," he more than once sent

¹ In *Revue de Philologie*, 1901.

² 25. 4. 15.

INTRODUCTION

Aetius to admonish his younger brother, who contrived to reassure them both.¹ After the disgrace and execution of Gallus by Constantius at the end of 354, Aetius was exiled to Phrygia by the Emperor, partly because of his alarming influence and extreme Arianism, partly because of his intimacy with Gallus. Expelled from his office of deacon and repudiated by the Arians, he was still in exile on Julian's accession, when he was recalled to Constantinople and treated with peculiar favour. In spite of the title of Julian's letter of recall,² Aetius was not made a bishop until the reign of Valens. After Julian's death he retired to an estate in Lesbos which had been given him by Julian, but later he went to Constantinople, and in spite of his heresy was made a bishop, though probably without a see. In the histories of the fourth-century Church, such as those of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, he is the most important of all the heretics and apparently the most dangerous to the unity of the Church. Philostorgius gives a detailed and fairly tolerant account of his varied life and great influence, and praises his eloquence and learning, whereas the others ridicule as superficial his study of Aristotle, with whose logic this ex-goldsmith of Antioch professed to have fitted himself to found a heresy, and Newman, who intensely disliked his heresy, calls him a mountebank.³

¹ See Philostorgius 3. 27 and the letter of Gallus to Julian, p. 288. Sozomen 5. 5 mentions Julian's letter recalling Aetius.

² See *Letter* 15 in which Julian refers to their friendship of long standing, and *Against the Galilaeans*, 333 D, p. 413, where the reference may be to the Anomoean Aetius.

³ *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, 1833.

INTRODUCTION

ALYPIUS, to whom Julian wrote *Letters* 6 and 7, was, according to Ammianus 23. 1. 2, a native of Antioch. In 358 Libanius in an extant letter (324 Foerster), congratulates him on his success as governor of Britain—his title was *Vicarius Britanniarum*, an office subordinate to the prefect of the Gallic provinces—and reports favourably of his young son Hierocles, who had been left at Antioch in the sophist's charge. Seeck and Cumont think that Julian's *Letter* 6 should be dated 355 or 356, and that his summons to Alypius preceded the latter's appointment to Britain; but I agree with Geffcken that Julian's language implies that he had been for some time in Gaul, and that he needed the assistance of Alypius for his expedition against Constantius, so that the letter should be dated 360. As there is nothing in *Letter* 7 to indicate whether Alypius was in Britain or what was the map which he had sent to Julian, I have not altered the traditional order of the two letters to Alypius. If, however, Alypius was still in Britain, *Letter* 7 will naturally antedate *Letter* 6 and will fall between 356 and 360. In that case the illness from which Julian had lately recovered may be the semi-asphyxiation which he himself describes in *Misopogon* 341 D as having occurred when he was at Paris in the winter of 358–9. We know that Alypius was appointed by Julian in 362–3 to superintend the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem (Ammianus 23. 1. 2). The project failed, and Alypius returned to Antioch, where he is mentioned in a letter from Libanius to Basil (1583 Wolf) as a person of distinction. In 372, when the Emperor Valens, in his panic terror of assassination, was persecuting right and left, Alypius was exiled on a false
xxxii

INTRODUCTION

charge of poisoning and his property confiscated (Ammianus 29. 1. 44). Like Priscus and Libanius he is addressed by Julian as "brother," possibly, as Asmus thinks, because they were fellow-initiates in the Mysteries of Mithras.¹ In the MSS. of Julian's *Letters* Alypius is entitled "brother of Caesarius" to distinguish him from the dwarf Alypius of Alexandria, whose *Life* was written first by his friend Iamblichus the philosopher and later by Eunapius. Caesarius held several high offices in the fourth century, and in the reign of Valens, when city prefect of Constantinople, was imprisoned by the usurper Procopius (Ammianus 26. 7. 4). Several letters from Libanius to Caesarius are extant.

ARISTOPHANES of Corinth, about whose reinstatement Julian wrote to Libanius when they were at Antioch towards the end of 362 (*Letter* 53), was an official of no great importance, but the detailed account of his life which Libanius addressed to Julian at that time (*Oration* 14, Vol. 2, Foerster) is a curious record of the vicissitudes of official life in the fourth century. Aristophanes was the son of a rich senator of Corinth and was educated in rhetoric at Athens. He was involved in a ruinous lawsuit and robbed of part of his patrimony by his brother-in-law Eugenius, a favourite of the Emperor Constans, and since, while Constans ruled Greece, it was useless to oppose Eugenius, Aristophanes retired to Syria, some time before 350. There he was appointed an *Agens in rebus*, and, as a sort of Imperial courier, travelled all over the Empire. In 357 he was sent to Egypt with the newly-appointed prefect

¹ See Dieterich, *Mithras-Liturgie*, p. 149.

INTRODUCTION

Parnassius. There they incautiously consulted an astrologer. How dangerous was this proceeding under the Empire, since it aroused suspicion of treasonable interest in the length of the Emperor's life or reign, may be seen from the accounts in Ammianus of the reigns of Constantius and Valens and their wholesale persecution of alleged conspirators. After a trial at Scythopolis (Ammianus 19. 12. 10), conducted by the cruel agent of Constantius, Paul, nicknamed "the Chain," Parnassius was exiled in 359 or 360, while Aristophanes was tortured and barely escaped with his life. He was condemned to travel throughout Egypt under the escort of a soldier and a herald, who proclaimed wherever they went that any Egyptian whom Aristophanes had defrauded might come forward and denounce him. Libanius, who, like all fourth-century writers, gives the Egyptians a very bad character, argues that, if even the Egyptians could not trump up a charge against Aristophanes, he was at least innocent of the charges of speculation that had been brought against him at Scythopolis. He was released by the death of Constantius in 361. No doubt the strongest argument that Libanius used in favour of Aristophanes was the fact that he was a devout pagan who at his trial had openly sworn by the gods. Libanius asked for his protégé some office that would rehabilitate him in the eyes of the Corinthians, and in *Letter* 53 Julian says that he will confer with Libanius as to what this shall be, but we know only that Aristophanes did receive some office and returned to Corinth. Julian was more interested in the eloquence of Libanius than in the fortunes of Aristophanes. Seeck, however, in *Die Briefe des Libanius* states that Julian appointed
xxxiv

INTRODUCTION

Aristophanes to the highest office in Greece, the proconsulship of Achaea, and places him in the lists of proconsuls for 362-3. But already in 362 Julian had given that honour to a man of the highest character, whom he greatly admired, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, and since we know from Zosimus 4. 3. 3 that Praetextatus still held the office in September 364, when he was able to persuade the Emperor Valentinian not to enforce against the Greeks the edict forbidding the nocturnal celebration of religious rites, there is no room for Aristophanes as proconsul of Achaea; nor is it likely that so strict a moralist as Julian would have conceded so great a distinction to a man for whose loose morals even Libanius felt bound to apologise in his oration.¹ Libanius in a letter (758) expresses his delight at Julian's praise of his speech and says that it shall be published with the Emperor's letter; they do occur together in some MSS. In 364, after Julian's death, Aristophanes wrote to Libanius asking that he might see the correspondence of Julian and Libanius. The sophist replied (1350 Wolf) by reproaching him with having soon forgotten "the divine Julian," and says that he can send only such letters as it would be safe to publish. It was, in fact, a dangerous time for the friends of Julian, who were regarded with suspicion by the Christian Emperors Valens and Valentinian, and, for the most part, lost their offices.

ARSACES, or Arsacius, to whom is addressed *Letter* 57, was king of Armenia in the reigns of Constantius and Julian, and, since Armenia was the buffer state

¹ Cumont in his edition, and Geffcken, *Julianus*, are silent on this point.

INTRODUCTION

between Rome and Persia, he was courted by Romans and Persians alike, whenever they were at war. In his *Oration* 1. 20 D, Julian describes how in the Eastern campaign of Constantius in 337 the Armenians for a time went over to the Persians. When in 361 Constantius was about to march against Julian, leaving his Eastern frontier insecure, he summoned Arsaces to Caesarea in Cappadocia and strengthened the old alliance of Rome and Armenia by giving him in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the prefect Ablabius, who had been betrothed when very young to the Emperor's deceased brother Constans (Ammianus 20. 11). Athanasius reckoned it among the impieties of the Arian Constantius that he had "given over to the barbarians" one who had been all but a Roman Empress. Constantius immediately on his accession had put to death the prefect Ablabius, the low-born favourite of Constantine whose ambitious career and violent end are related in the *Lives* of Eunapius; he now disposed of Ablabius' daughter as he had disposed of his own two sisters, giving one to Gallus and the other to Julian in order to secure their loyalty when they were promoted to the Caesarship. Arsaces remained faithful to Rome and so lost his kingdom and his life to the Persians (Ammianus 27. 12), but his failure to arrive with his auxiliaries to aid Julian at Ctesiphon contributed to the breakdown of the campaign (Ammianus 24. 7). *Letter* 57 is bracketed by Hertlein as spurious and rejected by all modern editors on account of its bombastic style, and its authenticity is dubious. But it was cited by Sozomen 6. 2, in the fifth century, and, if a forgery, was forged early enough to take
xxxvi

INTRODUCTION

him in. He criticises its "unbounded arrogance" and speaks of its "blasphemies against Christ"; since these are not in *Letter 57* he may have seen a somewhat different version. As for the style, since Arsaces was a Christian and a barbarian, Julian may have thought that threats would serve him better than cajoleries, and in any case we cannot tell in what language he or his secretaries might see fit to address a ruler who owed his throne to the Romans and might be suspected of intending treachery in the coming campaign. Accordingly, though its authorship is doubtful, I have not placed this letter with the apocrypha.

ARTEMIOUS, military governor of Egypt (*Dux Aegypti*) in 361, is mentioned, though not named, by Julian in *Letter 21, To the Alexandrians*. He was in high favour with the Emperor Constantius and an ardent Christian. In Alexandria he was hated by the pagans because he despoiled the temples, especially the famous Serapeum, the shrine of Serapis, and not less by the orthodox Christians for his support of the Arian Bishop George. In 362 Julian summoned him to Antioch, deprived him of his office, and had him beheaded on October 20, 362, a day that was consecrated by the Church to his memory as a saint and martyr. There were several reasons why Julian detested Artemius. He was a friend of Constantius, had been foremost in suppressing the pagan cults, and was supposed to have been accessory to the murder of Gallus Caesar, though this last charge Artemius denied. The fullest account of his defiance of Julian at Antioch, his religious controversy with the Emperor, his

xxxvii

INTRODUCTION

tortures and death, was preserved by the late fourth-century historian of the Church, Philostorgius (pp. 151-176, Bidez). Ammianus is strangely in error when he says (22. 11. 3) that the news of the death of Artemius was the signal at Alexandria for the outbreak of the populace which resulted in the murder of Bishop George, whose oppression of the citizens Artemius had supported with his troops (Sozomen 4. 30). Ammianus was at Antioch and must have known the date of the death of Artemius; he should also have known that George was murdered nearly a year earlier, in December 361, when the death of Constantius was announced. Artemius, according to Philostorgius, was one of those who resisted Julian's *blanda persecutio* of bribes and eloquent arguments to which so many succumbed, and this accounts for the fact that he was not punished till some time after Julian's accession.

ATARBIUS¹ to whom the Emperor Julian wrote *Letter 37* telling him not to persecute the Galilaeans, but to prefer the god-fearing, *i. e.* the pagans, was a native of Ancyra and himself a pagan. At that time, 362, he was governing the province of the Euphrates with the title *Praeses Euphratensis*. The letter as we have it is abrupt and is probably a fragment of a longer letter or edict, often quoted no doubt by the Christians as evidence of their persecution and exclusion from office in Julian's reign. On the general question of Julian's treat-

¹ Hertlein prefers Artabius; both forms occur in the MSS., and in *Codex Justinianus* 11. 70. 1, an edict of Julian on buildings erected on state lands, is addressed to Atarbinus, possibly the same official.

INTRODUCTION

ment of Christian officials or candidates for office the historians of the Church give divergent accounts, but Socrates 3. 13. 2 and Sozomen 5. 18 say that he would not appoint them to govern provinces, on the ground that their law forbade them to inflict capital punishment. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration 7*, says that Julian bribed the Christians to sacrifice to the gods by promising them appointments, and Jerome says that many could not resist this *blanda persecutio*. In 362-363 Libanius wrote several letters, which are extant, to Atarbius, and especially in *Letter 741*, Foerster, praised his mild administration of the Euphratensis. In 364, when Libanius wrote to him *Letter 1221* Wolf, Atarbius was *Consularis Macedoniae*.

ATHANASIUS, the saint and orthodox bishop of Alexandria about whom Julian wrote *Letters 24, 46 and 47*, is the most notable Christian with whom on his accession Julian had to deal. He became bishop of Alexandria in 326 and died in 373. But of that time he spent about twenty years away from his see, and went into exile or hiding five times, once under Constantine, twice under Constantius, who supported the Arian heresy of which Athanasius was the determined opponent, once under Julian, and finally for four months under the Arian Emperor Valens in 367. With the death of Valens the Arians lost practically all their influence and the orthodox prelate had won in the end. When, in 362, Julian proclaimed an amnesty for the non-Arian ecclesiastics who had been persecuted by Constantius, Athanasius returned in February to his see at Alexandria. His enemy, the Arian Bishop George of Cappadocia, who then held the bishopric,

INTRODUCTION

had been murdered on December 24, 361, when the news of the death of Constantius became known at Alexandria. George was obnoxious to pagans and Athanasians alike, but though Philostorgius 7. 2 says that Athanasius incited the people to murder George, the silence of Julian on this point and the testimony of Socrates 3. 31 and Sozomen 3. 7 that Athanasius was innocent, indicate that the charge was due to the malice of the Arians. Tumults similar to that which resulted in the lynching of George occurred elsewhere in the Empire, and the Christian writers in their invectives against Julian accuse him of having recalled the exiles in order to foment the strife of the Christian sects, whose quarrels were so bitter and unremitting that the story of the reigns of Constantine, Constantius and Valens is mainly that of a heated theological controversy. Julian in *Letter* 21 rebuked the Alexandrians, though not as severely as they deserved, for the murder of George, and with indecent haste demanded for himself in *Letter* 23 the books of the dead bishop, whose library he had used in the past, perhaps in his years of retirement at Macellum in Cappadocia; he may have wished to use them again for his tract *Against the Galilaeans*, which he composed at Antioch in the following winter. When Athanasius after his return proceeded to exercise his functions, Julian in an edict addressed to the Alexandrians, *Letter* 24, banished him from Alexandria, and wrote a sharp rebuke to the prefect of Egypt, Ecdicius Olympus, ordering Athanasius to be expelled from Egypt before December 1. Accordingly, on October 23, 361, Athanasius left Alexandria, saying, "It is but a little cloud and it

INTRODUCTION

will pass" (Sozomen 5. 15). In the late autumn of 362 the Alexandrians sent to Julian at Antioch a petition for the recall of Athanasius, but he refused their request in a document (*Letter 47*) which is partly an edict, partly a theological argument for paganism, and contains the statement, useful for his biographers, that he had finally renounced Christianity twelve years earlier, *i. e.* in 350. Athanasius remained in hiding near Alexandria and at Memphis until Julian's death in 363, when he resumed his bishopric.

BASIL the Great, commonly called St. Basil, was a native of Cappadocia. He and Julian were about the same age, and were fellow-students in Athens in 355. Basil returned to Cappadocia in 356 and was probably in retreat in a monastery near Caesarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, when Julian addressed to him *Letter 26* inviting him to the court at Constantinople. The invitation was certainly not accepted, but there is no proof that they did not remain on good terms. Basil had other pagan friends, especially the sophist Libanius, with whom he corresponded and to whom he sent pupils from Cappadocia. Basil became bishop of Caesarea in 370 and died in his fiftieth year in 379. There is no good reason for doubting the genuineness of *Letter 26*, or for supposing that it was addressed to some other Basil than the famous bishop. But *Letter 81*, in which Julian demands from Basil a large sum of money as a fine on Caesarea, and threatens to punish the citizens still more severely if he is not obeyed, is generally regarded as spurious, and equally spurious is Basil's defiant answer, which

INTRODUCTION

is extant among the saint's correspondence as *Letter 41*. Even in Byzantine times both letters were regarded as unskilful forgeries, alien to the character of the writers to whom they were ascribed. The main argument against the authenticity of *Letter 81* is the peculiar language, which is like nothing that we know to be Julianic. A minor point is that he regularly calls the Danube by the name Ister, whereas the writer of the letter does not. Further, the silence of Gregory Nazianzen as to the demand of money from Basil is strange in one who had been a fellow-student of the two men at Athens, and in his invectives against Julian would hardly have omitted this outrage if Basil had been involved. Moreover, the last words of *Letter 81* are said by Sozomen 5. 18 to have been addressed by Julian "to the bishops," and he says that the bishops made the retort which appears at the end of Basil's alleged reply: ἀνέγνως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔγνως· εἰ γὰρ ἔγνως, οὐκ ἂν κατέγνως. "What you read you did not understand. For if you had understood you would not have condemned." But Julian's hostility to Caesarea was a fact. Cappadocia as a whole was Christian, and its capital was, as Sozomen 5. 4 says, "Christian to a man." Under Constantius the citizens had pulled down the temples of Zeus and Apollo, and in Julian's reign they invited martyrdom by destroying the temple of Fortune, the only one that remained. Sozomen relates their punishment by Julian, which probably occurred while he was at Antioch in 362-363. The city lost its complimentary name of Caesarea, and was obliged to resume its old name Mazaca; it was expunged from the catalogue of cities, and its church treasures were confiscated.

INTRODUCTION

Libanius, *Oration* 16, describes its fate as a warning to the recalcitrant. That Julian was displeased with the Cappadocians in general may be seen from the tone of *Letter* 35, *To Aristoxenus*, whom he asked to meet him at Tyana on his way to Antioch; nor did he visit Caesarea the metropolis, or Macellum, where he had spent so much of his youth. His death probably prevented the punishment of Caesarea from being fully carried out.

Ecdicius, probably called also Olympus, to whom Julian wrote *Letters* 23, 45, 46, 49, was prefect of Egypt 362-363. The letters all refer to the affairs of Egypt. Julian commissions Ecdicius to secure for him the library of Bishop George; scolds him for not having taken instant action against Athanasius; tells him the height of the Nile flood; and orders him to encourage the study of music at Alexandria. Ammianus 22. 14 says that in 362 Julian received from the prefect of Egypt a report on the sacred bull Apis, but does not give his name. In *Codex Theodosianus* 15. 1. 8, Ecdicius appears by name and receives rescripts from Julian. As the name of the prefect at this time appears also as Olympus, Seeck is probably right in assuming that he had, as was not unusual, two names, and that either could be used. This may be the Ecdicius who studied in Athens with Libanius in 336-340, later corresponded with him, and sent him pupils. On August 20, 363, Ecdicius announced to the Alexandrians the death of Julian in Persia. In informing Ecdicius about the height of the Nile flood Julian, who was at Antioch, wrote what Ecdicius must have known. Julian took a special

INTRODUCTION

interest in the Nile flood because he had, on his accession, ordered that the Nilometer, the measure used to gauge its height, should be restored to the temple of Serapis, whence it had been removed by Constantine to a Christian church ; Socrates 1. 18, Sozomen 5. 3.

ELPIDIUS "the philosopher," to whom is addressed *Letter* 65, is not otherwise known, and the letter, which is a purely formal type of excuse for the brevity of the writer, was probably preserved on that account in epistolary hand-books. It is placed by Cumont with the spurious letters, though there is nothing against it but its lack of content. Two men named Elpidius attained to high office in the fourth century, and one of them was a favourite with Julian because he had renounced Christianity and become a zealous pagan. He was with Julian at Antioch in the winter of 362 as *Comes rerum privatarum*, and Libanius, in *Letter* 33, written when Julian was in Gaul in 358, says that Julian, though younger than Elpidius, has exercised a good influence on him, and that in his conversation Elpidius echoes Julian's ideas and is as anxious as Libanius himself regarding Julian's future. This probably alludes to the renunciation of Christianity by Elpidius which was to follow Julian's accession (see, too, Libanius, *Oration* 14. 35). It was to him that Libanius applied when he grew anxious as to the fate of Aristophanes (see *Letter* 758, Foerster). The other Elpidius, a Christian, was prefect of the East in 360, and was also at Antioch with Julian in 362. He is often mentioned by Ammianus and Libanius. Neither of these men could correctly be called a philosopher, xliv

INTRODUCTION

but it is possible that Julian might so address the former, who was among his intimates.

EUSTATHIUS, to whom Julian addressed *Letters* 43 and 44, was a Neo-Platonic philosopher but apparently not a miracle-worker of the type of Maximus. He was a distinguished orator, and in 358 was sent by Constantius on an embassy to the Persian king Sapor, having been chosen for this mission, says Ammanius 17. 5, *ut opifex suadendi*. His extraordinary, though short-lived, influence over Sapor is described by Eunapius (pp. 393–399, Wright). He married Sosipatra the clairvoyant, whose miraculous childhood under the tutelage of Chaldaean thaumaturgists is related by Eunapius. Eustathius had poor health and died soon after Julian had given him permission to return to his native Cappadocia. His widow continued her teaching, and their son Antoninus had a distinguished career as a priest and teacher in Egypt, where his prediction of the destruction of the temples came to rank as an oracle (Eunapius, *Lives*, pp. 415–425). The letter of Eustathius, p. 291, in which he describes his comfortable journey, appeared in the editions of Martin, Estienne and Hertlein with the wrong title, *To Libanius*. Cumont restored the correct title from *Parisinus* 963. It has accordingly been placed in this volume with the apocryphal letters. Eustathius was a kinsman of the philosopher Aedesius, and when the latter migrated to Pergamon he left his interests in Cappadocia in charge of Eustathius. Libanius and Basil corresponded with Eustathius, and in *Letter* 123, written in 359, Libanius calls him “the most renowned of philosophers.”

INTRODUCTION

EUTHERIUS, to whom Julian wrote *Letter* 10 announcing his safety and his desire that the other should join him in Constantinople, is otherwise known from the account of his life in Ammianus 16. 7. He was an Armenian, a eunuch of unusual virtue and intellectual attainments, who had been kidnapped and sold to some Roman merchants, rose to a position at Court, became adviser to Constans, and later high chamberlain to Julian when the latter was made Caesar. Eutherius went with Julian to Gaul as his trusted adviser, and had the courage to reprove his master for that un-Roman levity of character which Ammianus says he had acquired by his residence in Asia. Eutherius was sent by Julian to the Court at Milan in 356 to counteract the plots of Marcellus, his late master of horse, and he successfully defended the loyalty of Julian before Constantius; again in 360 Julian sent him to Constantius with the letters in which he sought to justify his action in accepting the title of Augustus from the army in Gaul. After Julian's death, Eutherius, who was a pagan, retired to Rome, where he spent his old age respected by all. Ammianus says that though he has ransacked history he can find no eunuch who in wisdom and accomplishments can be compared with Eutherius. He must have possessed extraordinary tact to have been loved by Constantius, though he was a pagan, and by Julian, though he was the favourite of Constantius.

EVAGRIUS, the rhetorician to whom Julian wrote *Letter* 25, making him the present of a small estate in Bithynia, is otherwise unknown, though he is possibly to be identified with the man of that name

xlvi

INTRODUCTION

who joined Julian at Nish in the autumn of 361 (*Letter 8, To Maximus*). Neither the *Comes rerum privatarum* under Constantius, whom Julian banished on his accession (Ammianus 22. 3. 7), nor the friend of Libanius who appears in his correspondence and in that of St. Basil, is likely to have received this gift from Julian, but we know nothing definite on this point. Julian tells us in his *Letter to the Athenians*, Vol. 2, 273 B, that Constantius had kept all his father's property, so that he had the use only of his mother's estate before he was made Caesar. On the other hand we have the statement of Eunapius (*Lives*, p. 428, Wright), that there was at the disposal of Julian when a student, "ample and abundant wealth from every source." In his fragmentary *Letter to a Priest* (Vol. 2, 290 D), Julian says that his grandmother's estate was taken from him for a time only, and boasts of his own generosity in giving when he had little to spare. The date when he gave the small country-place to Evagrius cannot be precisely determined. In the absence of direct evidence I have dated it shortly after his accession; so, too, Schwarz. Cumont places it first in his edition and thinks that it was written from Gaul before 358. In favour of his view is Libanius, *Letter 369* (Foerster), written to Julian in Gaul, in which he praises his generosity in having given to his friends houses, slaves, lands and money. On the other hand, it is equally likely that the estate which Julian's uncle, Count Julian, asked for too late in the summer of 362, was this very estate in Bithynia, and that it had been recently given to Evagrius.

HECEBOLIUS was a time-serving sophist who taught

xlvi

INTRODUCTION

Julian rhetoric when he was at Constantinople as a boy in 342. In all editions earlier than Bidez and Cumont, two letters are entitled *To Hecebolius*, namely those numbered 40 and 63 in this volume. The first of these is almost certainly not addressed to Julian's old teacher, who had now changed from Christianity to Hellenism, but to some official at Edessa. Cumont entitles it *To the people of Edessa*. *Letter 63*, rejected by Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken because of its flowery style and lack of serious content, contains Julianic phrases and is just such a letter as one would expect an Imperial sophist to write to a sophist. Socrates 3. 1 says that Hecebolius taught Julian, and in 3. 13 describes his shamelessness in changing his religion three times in order to win Imperial favour. Libanius, *Oration 18*, calls Hecebolius a rascally sophist, but does not mention his name, perhaps because he was writing after Julian's death, when it was not safe to attack openly one who had just become reconverted to Christianity.

HIMERIUS, to whom is addressed *Letter 69*, cannot be identified with certainty; but at any rate we may be sure that he is not the famous Bithynian sophist whom Julian invited to join him at Antioch in 362, since the reference to the family of the widower with whom the writer of *Letter 69* condoles does not suit what we know of the sophist's private life from his own extant works. Since two MSS. give Julian's correspondent the title "Prefect of Egypt," Cumont identifies him with the Himerius whom we know, from the letters of Libanius, as the father of Iamblichus II; he was the son (or son-in-law?) of the
xlvi

INTRODUCTION

more famous Iamblichus, the philosopher. From Libanius we learn (*Letter* 573) that this Himerius was an official of some sort, and we know that he died before 357. In that case Julian, if he wrote this letter to him, did so in his student days or from Gaul, after he became Caesar. Cumont suspects its genuineness. The difficulty about this identification of Himerius, son of Iamblichus, with the prefect of the MS. tradition is that we know of no prefect of Egypt of that name, and it does not occur in the list of prefects from 328 A.D. Schenkl therefore suggests (in *Rhein. Mus.* 72) that the real title may be *To Hierius*, since there was an Egyptian prefect of that name in 364, who succeeded Ecdicius Olympus. Hierius was not appointed until after Julian's death, but the title may have been added to the letter after he had received the office. The letter is in Julian's manner, and there are no good grounds for rejecting it. The name of Julian's correspondent appears in the MSS. in various forms, as Amerius (retained by Hertlein), Hemerius, and Himerius. (See under Sopater.)

IAMBlichus of Chalcis in Coele-Syria, a pupil of Porphyry, was the chief exponent of the Syrian school of Neo-Platonism in the first half of the fourth century. His *Life* was written by Eunapius (pp. 363-373, Wright), who shows him performing feats of magic, but reluctantly, at the instance of his disciples. The six letters to him which were ascribed to Julian in the MSS. tradition, namely 74-79 of this edition, cannot have been written by the Emperor, who was a mere child when Iamblichus died in the latter part of the reign of Constantine

xlix

d

INTRODUCTION

and was succeeded in his school by Aedesius. The letters are therefore either forgeries or were written by some other admirer of Iamblichus whose name may have been Julian. Their writer seems to have marched with the Emperor from Pannonia to the Dardanelles in 323 when the Emperor was proceeding to Nicomedia in pursuit of Licinius, and he dwells on the hardships he had endured in war, sieges, and other dangers. Cumont in his edition (1922), as in 1889 (*Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julien*), though less confidently, ascribes these letters to the sophist Julian of Caesarea, who taught rhetoric at Athens down to 340 A.D., when he was succeeded by Prohaeresius; but he fails to account for the silence of Eunapius in his *Life* of Julian of Caesarea (pp. 467-477, Wright) as to any such experiences as are alluded to in these letters. Nor does Eunapius indicate that Julian of Caesarea, who left no writings, was interested in philosophy as well as rhetoric; rather he shows us a typical teacher of rhetoric at Athens whose glory was that he had trained the famous Christian sophist Prohaeresius, and had triumphed over the jealousies of his rivals, the other Athenian sophists. The theory that this group of letters was addressed by the Emperor Julian to the younger Iamblichus, the famous philosopher's grandson, who with his father Himerius and his uncle Sopater are known to us chiefly from the correspondence of Libanius, is untenable. Iamblichus II, though he was a philosopher and is mentioned with admiration by the Emperor Julian in *Letter 2*, was not distinguished enough to account for the servile flattery expressed in these letters; and the writer, if he had been addressing the grand-

INTRODUCTION

son, would hardly have failed to mention his famous grandfather. Moreover, the events alluded to are irreconcilable with what we know of Julian's life. There are in these six letters certain parallels of thought and language which favour the theory that they are by one man; but there are also similarities with the genuine works of Julian, and such parallels cannot be safely counted as evidence either of forgery or of Julianic authorship; they are more probably the common epistolary mannerisms of the fourth century.

JULIAN, the Emperor Julian's uncle, brother of his mother Basilina, and son of Julius Julianus, to whom are addressed *Letters* 9 and 29, was persuaded by his nephew, after the death of Constantius, to renounce Christianity and to devote himself to the restoration of the Hellenic religion. This he did with such zeal that he became peculiarly odious to the Christians, especially in the East, where he resided at Antioch as *Comes Orientis* (Count of the East). There he died of a painful illness during Julian's visit to Antioch in 362–363. Sozomen 5. 8, Theodoret 3. 12, and Philostorgius 7. 10 recount his persecutions of the Christians and his terrible end. In *Letter* 29 the Emperor Julian directs his uncle, who had preceded him to Antioch, to restore the columns of the famous temple of Apollo in the suburb of Daphne; that this was done, and that the sight of the colonnade irritated the Christians, may be gathered from Ammianus 22. 13. The temple was burned down on October 22, 362, while the Emperor was in residence at Antioch, and the Emperor suspected that this was Christian vengeance,

li

INTRODUCTION

partly for the removal of the bones of St. Babylas from Daphne, partly for the rebuilding of the colonnade. Count Julian's nephew mentions his death in Vol. 2, *Misopogon* 365 c, and praises his administration. He was a correspondent of Libanius, and we have the letter of congratulation, 701, Foerster, sent to him by the sophist when the Emperor appointed him Count of the East in 362.

LIBANIUS of Antioch, the famous teacher whose speeches Julian studied at Nicomedia in 344-345, and to whom he wrote many letters (of which only three, 52, 53 and 58, survive), has left more works, chiefly rhetorical, than any other sophist of his time. His *Life* by Eunapius is in some respects disparaging (see Eunapius, *Lives*, Wright, pp. 333-336), and we can best judge of his career from his own letters, more than 1600 of which are extant, and his numerous orations. He was born in 314, and may have survived as late as 395. From his works may be gathered many details about the officials of the fourth century and the conditions of education. He corresponded with Christians and pagans alike, but the death of Julian was a severe blow to his hopes for the future of Hellenic studies, which he lived to see on the decline, giving place to Latin and Roman law. He himself knew no Latin, and was chagrined when a school of Latin was founded at Antioch in order that students might not have to go to Rome to learn the language. Libanius was with Julian at Antioch in the winter of 362-363, and two of the extant letters to him from Julian were written at that time; the third, 58, is Julian's last extant letter and was written when the Emperor was at Hierapolis

INTRODUCTION

on his way to Persia, in March 363. Hertlein, like all earlier editors, published four letters to Libanius, but Cumont (*Recherches*) has shown that Hertlein 74 and 14 are one letter, and they are so arranged in this volume as *Letter 53*. We have the answer of Libanius (760, Foerster) to *Letter 52*, and his answer (758, Foerster) to *Letter 53*. Libanius' *Monody* on the temple of Apollo at Daphne, after it had been destroyed in 362 by fire, and his *Orations*, namely 12, *To Julian*, delivered in January 363; 13, *To Julian*, welcoming him to Antioch in 362; 14, *For Aristophanes*; 15, *To Julian*, on behalf of Antioch, after the Emperor had left the city in 363 declaring that he would not return; 17, the *Monody on Julian*, which was published almost two years after Julian's death; 18, the *Epitaph on Julian*, published probably in 364; and 24, *On Avenging Julian*, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius, are invaluable documents for the attitude of a cultured pagan to Julian's restoration of Hellenism, and for his life and reign. We depend the more on these orations and the letters of Libanius, because the *History* of Eunapius, which was in great part devoted to Julian, exists only in a few fragments. To the enthusiasm of Libanius the Christian fathers, such as Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Theodoret and, most embittered of all, Julian's fellow-student, Gregory Nazianzen, opposed their accounts of his persecution of the Church and their criticisms of his character and motives. Both estimates of Julian may be corrected by the moderate and impartial account of one who was no sophist, and who, though a pagan, was apparently little influenced by desire for a Hellenic restoration, the Latin historian Ammianus Marcel-

INTRODUCTION

linus. Socrates 3. 1 is the authority for the statement that Constantius, when he sent Julian, then a boy, to Nicomedia, expressly forbade him to attend the lectures of the pagan Libanius.

MAXIMUS of Ephesus, whose *Life* was written by Eunapius (*Lives*, pp. 431–461, 543–545, Wright), had obtained great influence over Julian in the latter's student days, when he first, as Eunapius relates, studied with Aedesius at Pergamon, but on hearing of the miraculous communications with the unseen powers of the theurgist Maximus, the pupil of Aedesius, proceeded to join him at Ephesus. In *Letter* 8, written soon after the death of Constantius, Julian invited Maximus to his Court, and in spite of the unfavourable omens described by Eunapius in his *Life of Maximus*, pp. 441–445, omens which prevented the more cautious Chrysanthius from obeying Julian's summons, Maximus joined him at Constantinople early in 362. This pseudo-philosopher remained with Julian, and was present at his death-bed. On his return from Persia, Maximus, who had many enemies, paid the penalty of the arrogance and display in which Julian had allowed him to indulge, and after various ups and downs of fortune was executed at Ephesus under the Emperor Valens in 371 on the charge of having been concerned in a conspiracy against the Emperor (Ammianus 29. 1; Zosimus 4. 15). Maximus seems to have initiated Julian into the Mysteries of Mithras, and Julian was wholly in sympathy with the theurgy of this clever charlatan. Of the three extant letters entitled *To Maximus*, *Letters* 12 and 59 are rejected by Geffcken for their sophistic style, and Cumont in
liv

INTRODUCTION

his edition places them with the "spurious or doubtful" letters. But there is nothing in them that Julian might not have written, and one rather uncommon illustration in 59, the Celtic test of the legitimacy of children, was used by Julian in *Oration* 2, 81 D, and is probably reflected from his experience in Gaul. There is no evidence for the date of *Letter* 59, but it is not unlikely that Julian was writing to his teacher from Gaul, and therefore used this illustration while it was fresh in his mind.

NILUS DIONYSIUS, to whom Julian addressed *Letter* 50, is not otherwise known, unless he is to be identified with the Roman senator of whom Libanius says in *Oration* 18. 198 that Julian punished his impudence by a letter, when he might have confiscated his property. There is also a possible reference to Nilus in Libanius, *Letter* 758, Foerster, *To Julian*, where Libanius says that while he and Aristophanes were waiting for Julian's decision (see under Aristophanes), they feared that Julian might inflict on Aristophanes τὸ Νείλου κακόν, "the punishment of Nilus" (?). Both these references are uncertain, though Asmus, Geffcken and Cumont relate them to Julian's letter *To Nilus*. We know only what can be gathered from Julian, namely, that Nilus was a senator (446 A) of dubious morals, who had been recommended to the Emperor by one Symmachus; Julian, in a lost letter, had invited him to Court with the intention of giving him an office, but Nilus, who was perhaps a Christian, though Julian does not say so, held back until he received a second and more peremptory summons,

INTRODUCTION

which is also lost. Nilus certainly came to Antioch and was snubbed by the Emperor (446 B), and later wrote to him to excuse himself for his silence (443 C) and to say that he would come if again invited. In his answer to this communication Julian descends to personal invective of the sort that he used in his *Oration 7, Against the Cynic Heraclius*, but there is nothing to prove that Nilus himself was, as Asmus thinks, a Cynic. Nilus had irritated Julian by praising Alexander (a favourite commonplace of Julian's own, though in this case he found something disparaging to himself), had praised Constans and Magnentius (446 A), and had asked for a reply (446 B). Erudition is always in place in a Greek or Roman invective, and so Julian's innuendoes against the character and career of Nilus are interwoven with allusions to the historians of Alexander, to Phaedo of Elis (for whose *Simon* see Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 14), Demosthenes, Philostratus, Babrius and other authors. Asmus in *Philologus* 71 maintains that in *Letter* 50 we have a contamination of two letters, and that one was written in December 361, the other at the end of 362. But though the arrangement of the letter is strange (for example, five paragraphs begin with the word ἀλλά), we cannot, in our ignorance of the circumstances, and of Julian's real grievance, attempt to rewrite it. We are not even sure as to the man's name. Julian calls him "Dionysius" (444 D, 445 B), and in some MSS. alludes to him as "Nilus" (444 D); *Laurentianus* 58 has the title *Against Nilus*, while the earliest editor Rigalt and all others before Cumont entitled the letter *To Dionysius* because of Julian's use of the name in the letter.

INTRODUCTION

ORIBASIOS, the physician to whom is addressed *Letter 4*, was, next to Galen, the most important medical writer of the Graeco-Roman period. He is the faithful friend of whom Julian speaks in his *Letter to the Athenians* 277c, and he was with Julian in Gaul and at Antioch. According to Eunapius, who wrote his *Life* (pp. 533-537, Wright), he was suspected of having been Julian's accomplice in his rebellion against Constantius. Julian sent him to Delphi to revive the oracle of Apollo there, and received the famous response, preserved by Cedrenus:

“Tell the king, on earth has fallen the glorious dwelling,
And the water-springs that spake are quenched and dead.
Not a cell is left the god, no roof, no cover,
In his hand the prophet laurel flowers no more.”¹

Eunapius in his *History*, *frag.* 24, says that Oribasios admonished Julian to use more self-control when he was angry, to which Julian replied that the advice was good and would not be needed a second time. When they were in Gaul Julian requested him to compile an epitome of the works of Galen, and later he expanded the work into an Encyclopaedia of Medicine in 70 Books. This also, as Oribasios says in his Introduction, was done at

¹ Swinburne's translation, in *The Last Oracle*, of the Greek text:

Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσιν· ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.

INTRODUCTION

Julian's wish. This work, entitled *Ἱατρικαὶ συναγωγαί*, of which only about half survives, was published in 1808 by Matthaei (Moscow) with considerable omissions, and, complete as far as it survives, by Bussemaker-Daremberg, Paris, 1851, with a French translation. Oribasius was a pagan, but his son Eustathius, to whom he bequeathed his medical writings, was a Christian and a friend and correspondent of St. Basil. Eunapius relates that after Julian's death Oribasius was exiled "among the most savage barbarians" by the Christian Emperors. At the courts of "the barbarians" he rose to great renown and was worshipped like a god because of his wonderful cures. He was therefore permitted to return, and recovered his fortune and position. Suidas says that he was born at Sardis, but probably Eunapius, who gives his birthplace as Pergamon, was better informed. He was, however, practising at Sardis, no doubt after his exile, when Eunapius wrote his *Life* and described his skilful treatment of the aged Chrysanthius.

PRISCUS, whom Eunapius calls "the Thesprotian or Molossian," was born about 305 and died in 395 when Alaric invaded Greece. His *Life* was written by Eunapius (*Lives*, pp. 461-465, Wright). Julian made his acquaintance when he studied at Pergamon, and on his accession summoned him to his Court, and he accompanied the Emperor to Persia. On his return to Antioch in 363, Priscus, like other friends of Julian, fell under the suspicion of Valens and Valentinian, but was acquitted and dismissed with honour to Greece, where he continued to teach for another thirty years. He was evidently not con-

lviii

INTRODUCTION

sidered as dangerous as Maximus by the Christian Emperors, was probably not a theurgist, and was therefore free from the charge of practising magic. He was a correspondent of Libanius. Julian wrote to him *Letters* 1, 2, and 5, all from Gaul, encouraging Priscus to visit him there, but there is no evidence that the visit was paid. Libanius, *Oration* 14, 32, implies that towards the end of 362 Priscus was with Julian and Maximus at Antioch, though in *Letter* 52 Julian complains to Libanius that Priscus has not yet arrived. As all three men were living at Antioch at the time, we cannot lay any stress on this remark, which may refer to a temporary absence of Priscus. Priscus had a wife Hippias, and children. Eunapius says that his bearing was "deliberate and lofty," and that he had secretive manners and sneered at human weakness, in contrast with his teacher, the expansive and democratic Aedesius.

PROHAERESIOS, to whom is addressed *Letter* 14, was an Armenian sophist who succeeded Julian of Caesarea in the chair of rhetoric at Athens and taught there for many years. Probably the Emperor Julian studied with him at Athens in 355. When Eunapius went to study at Athens in 362, Prohaeresius was already eighty-seven and had overcome his rivals, whose persecutions of this too successful teacher Eunapius describes. Earlier in his career he had been sent by the Emperor Constans to Rome to display his eloquence and was there honoured with a bronze statue. When Julian issued his notorious decree forbidding Christians to teach the classics, he made a special exception in favour of Prohaeresius, who, however, refused to benefit by
lix

INTRODUCTION

the exemption. Eunapius tells a curious story to the effect that this Christian sophist consulted the pagan hierophant of Greece in order to find out indirectly whether Julian's reign would last much longer, and when the hierophant's answer implied that it would not, "Prohaeresius took courage." This was the sort of conduct that later under Valens cost Maximus of Ephesus his head, but apparently under Julian one could forecast the future with impunity. According to Eunapius, Prohaeresius died in 367, at the age of ninety-two, and he seems to have taught to the last, for the edict of Julian can hardly have "shut him out from the field of education" (Eunapius, p. 513, Wright) for more than a few months, if at all.

SOPATER (or Sosipater),¹ to whom is addressed *Letter* 61, cannot be identified with certainty, but, if the letter is Julian's, he is not the famous Sopater, the disciple of Iamblichus I, whose violent death in the reign of Constantine is related by Eunapius in his *Lives*. If Schwarz, Geffcken and Cumont are right in rejecting *Letter* 61, chiefly because of the reference to the writer's children (Julian was childless), it may belong to the same period as the six letters to Iamblichus and have been written to Sopater I before 337; but this is impossible to decide. Sopater II, who is mentioned by Julian as his host at Hierapolis in March 363 (*Letter* 58, 401 c, a corrupt passage), and as having resisted the efforts of Gallus and Constantius to convert him to Christianity, is

¹ For the variation in the spelling of the name see *Acts* 20. 4; Sopater of Beroea, Paul's kinsman, who accompanied him to Asia, is called, in some MSS., Sosipater; cf. *Romans*, 16. 21.

INTRODUCTION

perhaps the son (or son-in-law?) of Sopater I, who is mentioned by the writer of *Letter* 78, 418 A. Julian, however, calls him a *κηδεστής* of Sopater I, a vague word which may mean "son-in-law" or even "relative"; the passage is mutilated.¹

THEODORUS, to whom Julian wrote *Letter* 16 rejoicing in his safety, and 20 appointing him high-priest "of all the temples in Asia," was not necessarily a priest, as the office of high-priest was often given to rich laymen; the high-priest presided *ex officio* over the public games and the provincial assemblies. We know of Theodorus only from these letters of Julian. In *Letter* 20 he speaks of the teacher they had had in common, probably Maximus of Ephesus, and the word used, *καθηγεμών*, may indicate that Maximus had initiated Theodorus as well as Julian into the Mysteries of Mithras. Theodorus was certainly a philosopher, and as Neo-Platonism was, under Julian, the religion of the State, he was doubtless a Neo-Platonist of the Syrian school. Julian writes to him with great deference, though he never forgets in a pastoral letter that as Emperor he is *Pontifex Maximus* in-

¹ The Sopater who is mentioned in the six spurious *Letters* to Iamblichus is almost certainly Sopater I. Wilhelm, in *Rhein. Mus.* 72, assigns to Sopater I the letter, partly preserved by Stobaeus 4, p. 212, to Hemerius (or Himerius) from his brother Sopater, a typical sophistic sermon on the ideal ruler to one in high office, a *λόγος παραινετικός*. Others assign this work to Sopater II of Apamea, who, as we know from the correspondence of Libanius, died about 364, and is not known to have left any writings. In *Letter* 1448 Libanius tells Sopater II that he has shown the latter's letter to a friend, whose comment was that Sopater was imitating his distinguished father.

INTRODUCTION

structing a trusted subordinate in the duties of priests. *Letter 16* is one of the six letters discovered on Chalce (Halki) in 1885 by Papadopoulos. It has been rejected by Schwarz and Geffcken on account of the difficulty found by all commentators in explaining the allusion in it to a quarrel between Julian (reading ἡμᾶς with the MSS.) or Theodorus (reading ὑμᾶς with Maas) and the proconsul of Achaea, for which incident there is no other evidence. We do not expect to find Theodorus concerned with the affairs of Greece, as his interests were evidently in Asia; nor do we know of any trouble between Julian and the proconsul. Asmus, by altering the text to read "ruler of the Hellespont" (Ἑλλησπόντου for Ἑλλάδος), tries to localise in Asia the quarrel referred to. The letter is decidedly Julianic in manner, and its genuineness is defended by Asmus in *Philologus* 72. *Letter 20*, together with the fragment of a letter *To a Priest* (Vol. 2, pp. 297-339), is important as evidence of Julian's desire, at which the Christian fathers scoffed, to introduce among the pagans certain reforms in the lives of the priests and in the treatment of the poor and of strangers, based on his experience of the charities and the asceticism of the Christian Church. Cumont, following Asmus, regards *Letter 20* (89 in his edition) as an integral part of the fragment *To a Priest* (Vol. 2, Wright), and accordingly includes that fragment in his edition as 89 b. But the similarities between *Letter 20* and the fragment in Vol. 2 amount to unnecessary repetition if they occur in one letter, and it is certainly implied in *Letter 20* that Julian and Theodorus have not yet met, whereas the fragment *To a Priest*, which mentions Julian's

lxii

INTRODUCTION

design to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, probably, though not certainly, should be dated later, while the Emperor was in residence at Antioch. That that fragment is addressed to Theodorus, rather than to some other priest whose aid Julian had enlisted in his reforms, cannot be proved, and on the whole seems to me unlikely in view of their very similar contents and the tone of 298 B, where *καθηγεμὼν* is apparently used of a superior official or priest—perhaps Theodorus, who had reported favourably to Julian about the person addressed. On the other hand, the reference may be to Maximus, as in *Letter* 20.

ZENO, the physician and professor of medicine at Alexandria, to whom Julian wrote *Letter* 17, was driven from Alexandria by Bishop George in 360 for reasons unknown, and at the request of the Alexandrians was recalled to his previous dignity of chief physician or head of the medical faculty, *ἀρχίατρος*, by Julian on his accession. He was famous as a teacher. Libanius in *Letter* 171, written 359–360, condole with him on his exile and hints at a coming change for the better, by which he must have meant the rise of Julian to power. Libanius says that though they have never met he owes much to the skill of Zeno's pupils, some of whom had evidently tried to cure his chronic headache. Cumont, following Boissonade, identifies Zeno of Alexandria with another famous teacher of medicine, Zeno of Cyprus, the “healing sophist,” whose *Life* by Eunapius is extant.¹ But Eunapius

¹ See Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists*, Wright, pp. 336, 529–531.

INTRODUCTION

does not say that this Zeno practised at Alexandria. He had been the teacher of Julian's friend the physician Oribasius, and Eunapius says that he lived "down to the time of Julian the sophist," i. e. Julian of Caesarea, who died at Athens in 340. It appears, therefore, that Zeno of Cyprus can hardly have been alive in 361. Moreover, Julian would not have failed to mention Zeno's oratorical talent if he had been addressing the teacher of Oribasius. The Alexandrian is, therefore, almost certainly another and a younger man.

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lxiv

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

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THE WORKS OF
THE EMPEROR JULIAN
III

VOL. III.

B

Πρίσκῳ¹

Ἐγὼ δεξάμενός σου τὰ γράμματα παραχρῆμα τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέστειλα, δούς αὐτῷ φέρειν ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς σέ, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα, καθάπερ ἐκέλευσας, εἰς πλείονα χρόνον. ἱστορῆσαι δέ σοι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐθέλοντι ὑπάρξει σὺν θεῷ πάντα κατὰ γνώμην, εἰ μὴ τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀμουσίαν καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διευλαβηθείης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὅπως ἂν ἡ τῷ θεῷ φίλον γενήσεται, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμνυμί σοι τὸν πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐμοὶ αἴτιον καὶ σωτήρα, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ζῆν εὐχομαι, ἵν' ὑμῖν τι χρήσιμος γένωμαι. τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν ὅταν εἴπω, τοὺς ἀληθινούς φημι φιλοσόφους, ὧν εἶναί σε πεισθεὶς οἶσθα πῶς ἐφίλησα καὶ φιλῶ καὶ ὁρᾶν εὐχομαι. ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θεία πρόνοια διαφυλάξειε πολλοῖς χρόνοις, ἀδελφὲ ποθεινότατε καὶ φιλικώτατε. τὴν ἱερὰν Ἰππίαν καὶ τὰ παιδία ὑμῶν προσαγορεύω.

Πρίσκῳ²

Περὶ τοῦ τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα πρὸς με ἥκειν, εἴπερ διανοῇ, νῦν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς βούλευσαι καὶ

¹ Hertlein 71

² Papadopoulos 4* ; not in Hertlein.

¹ For another letter to Priscus, see p. 15.

² Literally "token," a synonym of τὸ σύμβολον. This, like the Latin tessera, could be of various kinds, but here Julian probably refers to a document, the equivalent of the

1

To Priscus¹

ON receiving your letter I at once despatched Archelaus, and gave him letters to carry to you, and the passport,² as you wished, for a longer time. If you are inclined to explore the ocean, everything, with the god's help, will be provided for you as you would wish, unless you dread the boorishness of the Gauls and the winter climate. This, however, will turn out as the god sees fit; but I swear to you by him who is the giver and preserver of all my good fortune that I desire to live only that I may in some degree be of use to you. When I say "you," I mean the true philosophers, and convinced as I am that you are one of these, how much I have loved and love you you well know, and how I desire to see you. May Divine Providence preserve you in health for many a year, my dearest and best beloved brother! I salute the admirable Hippias and your children.³

359 A.D.
From
Gaul

2

To the Same

As regards a visit to me from your good self,⁴ if you have it in mind, make your plans now, with the modern passport, which he had visaed for Priscus in order that he might proceed to Gaul.

358-359
From
Gaul

² For the life of Priscus, cf. Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*. He visited Julian in Gaul, was summoned to Constantinople not long after Julian's accession, and went with him to Persia. See Introduction, under Priscus.

⁴ Lit. "your goodness." For Julian's use of this and similar abstract words, see p. 109.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

προθυμήθητι· τυχὸν γὰρ ὀλίγον ὕστερον οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σχολὴν ἄξω.¹ τὰ Ἰαμβλίου πάντα μοι τὰ εἰς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ζήτει· δύνασαι δὲ μόνος· ἔχει γὰρ ὁ τῆς σῆς ἀδελφῆς γαμβρὸς εὐδιόρθωτα. εἰ δὲ μὴ σφάλλομαι, καὶ σημειῶν τί μοι, ἡνίκα τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔγραφον, ἐγένετο θαυμάσιον. ἰκετεύω σε, μὴ διαθρυλείτωσαν οἱ Θεοδώριοι καὶ τὰς σὰς ἀκοάς, ὅτι ἄρα φιλότιμος ὁ θεῖος ἀληθῶς καὶ μετὰ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Πλάτωνα τρίτος Ἰάμβλιχος· εἰ δὲ τολμηρὸν πρὸς σὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν φανεράν ποιεῖν, ὥς ἔπεται τοῖς ἐνθουσιῶσιν, οὐ παράλογος ἡ συγγνώμη· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ μὲν Ἰάμβλιχον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, περὶ δὲ τὸν ὁμώνυμον² ἐν θεοσοφίᾳ μέμνηται.³ καὶ νομίζω τοὺς ἄλλους, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, μὴθὲν εἶναι πρὸς τούτους. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συναγωγῶν ἃς ἐποίησω, τοσοῦτόν σοι λέγω· πεποίηκάς με ψευδεπίγραφον εἶναί σου μαθητήν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τύριος Μάξιμος ἐξ⁴ βιβλίοις με τῆς Πλατωνικῆς λογικῆς ὀλίγα μνεῖν εἶχε, σὺ δέ με δι' ἑνὸς βιβλίου τῆς Ἀριστοτελικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐποίησας ἴσως δὴ καὶ βύκχον, ἀλλ' οὖν γε⁵ ναρθηκοφόρον. εἰ δὲ ἀληθὴ λέγω, παραγενομένη σοι

¹ ἄξω Wright, ἄγω MSS.

² Bidez ὁμώνυμόν μου to support his theory that Julian refers to Julian the theurgist.

³ μέμνηται Weil, μενοινῶ Bidez, μενοινᾷ MS. μενοινᾷς Papadopoulos.

⁴ ἐξ—εἶχε Cumont; εἰς βιβλία μοι δυεῖν πλείονα τῆς λογικῆς ὀλίγα εἶπε Papadopoulos; εἰς βιβλία μὲν πλείονα τῆς λογικῆς ὀλίγα δυεῖν εἶπε MS. I accept Cumont's bold and ingenious version of this corrupt passage. Buecheler first suggested that Plato's name should be restored out of πλείονα τῆς.

⁵ Weil supplies γε; Cumont ἀλλ' οὖν; MS. ἀλλ' οὐτι.

TO PRISCUS

help of the gods, and exert yourself; for perhaps a little later I too shall have no time to spare. Hunt up for me all the writings of Iamblichus to his¹ namesake. Only you can do this, for your sister's son-in-law owns a thoroughly revised version. And, if I am not mistaken, while I was writing this sentence, a marvellous sign² was vouchsafed me. I entreat you not to let Theodorus³ and his followers deafen you too by their assertions that Iamblichus, that truly godlike man, who ranks next to Pythagoras and Plato, was worldly and self-seeking. But if it be rash to declare my own opinion to you, I may reasonably expect you to excuse me, as one excuses those who are carried away by a divine frenzy. You are yourself an ardent admirer of Iamblichus for his philosophy and of his namesake for his theosophy. And I too think, like Apollodorus, that the rest are not worth mentioning compared with those two. As for your collection of the works of Aristotle, so much I will say, you have made me style myself your pupil, though I have no right to the title. For while Maximus of Tyre in six books was able to initiate me to some little extent into Plato's logic, you, with one book, have made me, perhaps I may even say, a complete initiate in the philosophy of Aristotle, but at any rate a thyrsus-bearer.⁴ When you join me I

¹ Bidez prefers "my namesake," and makes the writer refer to Julian the theurgist or Chaldean, whom we know from Suidas. More probably the younger Iamblichus is meant.

² Cf. Vol. 2, 284c, for a similar sign of approval given to Julian by Zeus.

³ Theodorus of Asine was a disciple of the great Iamblichus; we know of no such polemics as are indicated here.

⁴ Plato, *Phaedo* 69c, says that "many carry the thyrsus of Dionysus, but few are really inspired."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

πολλὰ πάνυ τοῦ πέρυσιν χειμῶνος ἐξελέγξει
πάρεργα.

3

Εὐμενίῳ καὶ Φαριανῷ¹

- 441 Εἴ τις ὑμᾶς πέπεικεν, ὅτι τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπὶ
σχολῆς ἀπραγμόνως ἐστὶν ἥδιον ἢ λυσιτελέστερόν
B τι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡπατημένος ἐξαπατᾷ· εἰ δὲ
μένει παρ' ὑμῖν ἢ πάλαι προθυμία καὶ μὴ καθάπερ
φλόξ λαμπρὰ ταχέως ἀπέσβη, μακαρίους ἔγωγε
ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνω. τέταρτος ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη παρε-
λήλυθε καὶ μὴν οὐτοσὶ τρίτος ἐπ' αὐτῷ σχεδόν,
ἐξότε κεχωρίσμεθα ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλων. ἡδέως δ' ἂν
σκεψαίμην,² ἐν τούτῳ πόσον τι προεληλύθατε.
τὰ δὲ ἐμά, εἰ καὶ φθεγγοίμην Ἑλληνιστί, θαυμά-
C ζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐσμέν ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένοι διὰ
τὰ χωρία. μὴ καταφρονεῖτε τῶν λογιδίων, μηδὲ
ἀμελεῖτε ῥητορικῆς μηδὲ τοῦ ποιήμασιν ὀμιλεῖν.
ἔστω δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπιμέλεια πλείων, ὃ
δὲ πᾶς πόνος τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Πλάτωνος
δογμάτων ἐπιστήμη. τοῦτο ἔργον ἔστω, τοῦτο
D κρηπίς, θεμέλιος, οἰκοδομία, στέγη· τᾶλλα δὲ
πάρεργα, μετὰ μείζονος σπουδῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπι-
τελούμενα ἢ παρά τισι τὰ ἀληθῶς ἔργα. ἐγὼ νῆ
τὴν θείαν Δίκην ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀδελφούς φιλῶν ταῦτα

¹ Hertlein 55.

² Hertlein suggests ; ἔσκεψάμην MSS.

¹ Julian went to Gaul in 355; he probably knew these students in Athens, earlier in the same year.

TO EUMENIUS AND PHARIANUS

can prove the truth of my words by the great number of works that I wrote in my spare time, during last winter.

3

To Eumenius and Pharianus ¹

IF anyone has persuaded you that there is anything more delightful or more profitable for the human race than to pursue philosophy at one's leisure without interruptions, he is a deluded man trying to delude you. But if your old-time zeal still abides in you and has not been swiftly quenched like a brilliant flame, then I regard you as peculiarly blest. Four years have already passed, yes and almost three months besides, since we parted from one another. It would give me pleasure to observe how far you have progressed in this period. As for my own progress, if I can still so much as speak Greek it is surprising, such a barbarian have I become because of the places I have lived in.² Do not despise the study of mere words or be careless of rhetoric or fail to read poetry. But you must devote still more attention to serious studies, and let your whole effort be to acquire understanding of the teachings of Aristotle and Plato. Let this be your task, the base, the foundation, the edifice, the roof. For all other studies are by the way, though they are completed by you with greater zeal than some bestow on really important tasks. I call sacred Justice to witness that I give you this advice because

359
From
Gaul

² Like all the sophists Julian recognises only Greek culture, and for him Latin literature or the culture of Gaul did not exist.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὑμῖν συμβουλεύω· γεγόνατε γάρ μοι συμφοιτηταὶ καὶ πάνυ φίλοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν πεισθείητε, πλέον στέρξω, ἀπειθοῦντας δὲ ὀρῶν λυπήσομαι. λύπη δὲ συνεχῆς εἰς ὃ ποτε τελευτᾶν εἴωθεν, εἰπεῖν παραιτούμαι οἰωνοῦ κρείττονος ἔνεκα.

4

Ὅριβασίῳ ¹

- 384 Τῶν ὀνειράτων δύο πύλας εἶναί φησιν ὁ θεῖος "Ομηρος, καὶ διάφορον εἶναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 B τῶν ἀποβησομένων πίστιν. ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω σε νῦν, εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε, σαφῶς ἑορακέσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων· ἔθεασάμην γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον σήμερον. δένδρον γὰρ ὥμην ὑψηλὸν ἔν τινι τρικλίνῳ σφόδρα μεγάλῳ πεφυτευμένον εἰς ἔδαφος ῥέπειν, τῇ ῥίζῃ παραπεφυκότος ἑτέρου μικροῦ καὶ νεογενοῦς, ἀνθηροῦ λίαν. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μικροῦ σφόδρα ἠγωνίω, μή τις αὐτὸ μετὰ τοῦ
 C μεγάλου συναποσπάσῃ. καὶ τοίνυν ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐγενόμην, ὀρῶ τὸ μέγα μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκτεταμένον, τὸ μικρὸν δὲ ὀρθὸν μὲν, μετέωρον δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς. ὥς οὖν εἶδον, ἀγωνιάσας ἔφην· "Οἷου δένδρου! κίνδυνός ἐστι μηδὲ τὴν παραφυάδα σωθῆναι." καὶ τις ἀγνώς ἐμοὶ παντελῶς

¹ Hertlein 17. This letter exists in only one MS. of importance, the *Vossianus*.

¹ Oribasius was the physician, friend, and perhaps accomplice of Julian in his ambitions: cf. *Letter to the Athenians* Vol. 2, p. 265; and for his career, Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*. He was at Vienne when Julian wrote this letter.

TO ORIBASIOUS

I love you like brothers. For you were my fellow-students and my very good friends. If therefore you follow my advice I shall love you the more, but if I see that you disregard it I shall grieve. And grief, if it lasts, usually results in something that, for the sake of a happier augury, I forbear to mention.

4

To Oribasius¹

THE divinely inspired Homer says² that there are two gates of dreams, and that with regard to future events we cannot trust them both equally. But I think that this time, if ever before, you have seen clearly into the future; for I too this very day saw a vision of the same sort. I thought that in a certain very spacious room a tall tree had been planted, and that it was leaning down to the ground, while at its root had sprouted another, small and young and very flourishing. Now I was very anxious on behalf of the small tree, lest someone in pulling up the large one should pull it up as well. And in fact, when I came close I saw that the tall tree was lying at full length on the ground, while the small one was still erect, but hung suspended away from the earth. Now when I saw this I said, in great anxiety, "Alas for this tall tree! There is danger that not even its offspring will be preserved." Then one³

858-9
From
Paris

¹ *Odyssey* 19. 562. Oribasius had evidently reported to Julian some dream of his which augured well for their hopes. In the dream that follows the tall tree is Constantius, the sapling is Julian.

² Hermes, who was Julian's guide in the myth in *Oration* 7. 230c.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

“Ορα, ἔφησεν, ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάρρει· τῆς ρίζης γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ μενούσης τὸ μικρότερον ἀβλαβὲς διαμενεῖ
D καὶ βεβαιότερον ἰδρυνηθήσεται.” τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν
ὀνειράτων τοιαῦτα, θεὸς δὲ οἶδεν εἰς ὅτι φέρει.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ μιανοῦ ἀνδρογύνου μάθοιμ’ ἂν
ἡδέως ἐκείνο, πότε διελέχθη περὶ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα,
πότερον πρὶν ἢ συντυχεῖν ἐμοὶ ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο.
δήλωσον οὖν ἡμῖν ὅ,τι ἂν οἴός τε ᾖς.

ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ¹ ὅτι
πολλάκις, αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπαρχιώτας ἀδικήσαντος,
ἐσιώπησα παρὰ τὸ πρέπον ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ μὲν οὐκ
ἀκούων, τὰ δὲ οὐ προσιέμενος, ἄλλοις δὲ ἀπιστῶν,
385 ἔνια δὲ εἰς τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ τρέπων. ὅτι δέ
μοι μεταδοῦναι τῆς τοιαύτης ἡξίωσεν αἰσχύνης,
ἀποστείλας τὰ μιὰ καὶ πάσης αἰσχύνης ἄξια
ὑπομνήματα, τί με πράττειν ἐχρῆν; ἄρα σιωπᾶν
ἢ μάχεσθαι; τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἦν ἡλίθιον καὶ
δουλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεομίσητον, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ
δίκαιον μὲν καὶ ἀνδρείον καὶ ἐλευθέριον, ὑπὸ δὲ
τῶν κατεχόντων² ἡμᾶς πραγμάτων οὐ συγχωρού-
B μενον. τί τοίνυν ἐποίησα; πολλῶν παρόντων,
οὓς ᾔδειν ἀναγγελοῦντας αὐτῷ “Πάντη καὶ
πάντως, εἶπον, διορθώσει τὰ ὑπομνήματα οὗτος³

¹ Hercher supplies οἱ θεοί.

² Cobet; MS. ἐχόντων.

³ Hertlein brackets, Asmus defends.

¹ Probably Eusebius the chamberlain of Constantius whose intrigues against Julian are mentioned in *Letter to the Athenians* 274A. The epithet is unsuitable to Florentius, though some editors refer it to him.

² In spite of the abruptness of the transition, I follow Asmus in supposing that Julian here, partly for prudence and partly because of his sophistic habit of avoiding names, refers to Florentius, prefect of Gaul 357–360 and consul

TO ORIBASIOUS

who was altogether a stranger to me said: "Look carefully and take courage. For since the root still remains in the earth, the smaller tree will be uninjured and will be established even more securely than before." So much then for my dreams. God knows what they portend.

As for that abominable eunuch,¹ I should be glad to learn when he said these things about me, whether it was before he met me, or since. So tell me whatever you can about this.

But with regard to my behaviour towards him,² the gods know that often, when he wronged the provincials, I kept silence, at the expense of my own honour; to some charges I would not listen, others I would not admit, others again I did not believe, while in some cases I imputed the blame to his associates. But when he thought fit to make me share in such infamy by sending to me to sign those shameful and wholly abominable reports,³ what was the right thing for me to do? Was I to remain silent, or to oppose him? The former course was foolish, servile and odious to the gods, the latter was just, manly and liberal, but was not open to me on account of the affairs that engaged me. What then did I do? In the presence of many persons who I knew would report it to him I said: "Such-a-one will certainly and by all means revise his reports, for they pass

361 A.D., who was at Vienne at this time. For his oppression of the province, see Ammianus 17. 3. 2; Julian, *Letter to the Athenians* 282c. When Julian was proclaimed Augustus, he fled to Constantius, and later, though condemned to death by Julian, remained in hiding till the latter's death, Ammianus 22. 3. 6.

³ For Julian's refusal to sign or even read the prefect's orders for fresh taxes, see Ammianus 17. 3. 5.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὁ δεῖνα, ἐπεὶ δεινῶς ἀσχημονεῖ.” τοῦτο ἐκείνος ἀκούσας τοσοῦτον ἐδέησε σωφρόνως τι πράξαι, ὥστε πεποιήκεν οἷα μὰ τὸν θεὸν οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς μέτριος τύραννος, οὕτω μου πλησίον ὄντος. ἐνταῦθα τί πράττειν ἐχρῆν ἄνδρα τῶν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ζηλωτὴν δογμάτων; ἄρα περιορᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀθλίους τοῖς κλέπταις ἐκδι-
C δομένους, ἢ κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, ὡς¹ ἤδη τὸ κύκνειον ἐξάδουσι διὰ τὸ θεομισὲς ἐργαστήριον τῶν τοιούτων; ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς μὲν χιλιάρχους, ὅταν λείπωσι τὴν τάξιν, καταδικάζειν· καίτοι χρῆν ἐκείνους² τεθνάναι παραχρῆμα καὶ μηδὲ ταφῆς ἀξιούσθαι· τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείπειν τάξιν, ὅταν δέῃ πρὸς κλέπτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοιούτους, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος ἡμῖν, ὅσπερ
D οὖν ἔταξεν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν τι συμβαίῃ, μετὰ καλοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος οὐ μικρὰ παραμυθία πορευθῆναι. τὸν δὲ χρηστὸν Σαλούστιον θεοὶ μὲν μοι χαρίζαιντο. κἂν συμβαίῃ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν διαδόχου, λυπήσει τυχὸν οὐδέν· ἄμεινον γὰρ ὀλίγον ὀρθῶς ἢ πολλὴν κακῶς πράξαι χρόνον. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς λέγουσί τινες, τὰ Περιπατητικὰ δόγματα τῶν Στωικῶν ἀγεννέστερα, τοσοῦτ’ δὲ μόνον ἀλλήλων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, διαφέρει· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αἰεὶ θερμότερα καὶ ἀβουλότερα, τὰ δὲ

¹ Before ὡς Hercher deletes, Hertlein brackets, οἷμαι.

² Boissonade, MS. ἰκανά.

¹ Sallust, who accompanied Julian as civil adviser, was recalled by Constantius in 358. Julian, *Oration* 8; *Oration* 4 is dedicated to him.

TO ORIBASIOS

the bounds of decency." When he heard this, he was so far from behaving with discretion that he did things which, by heaven, no tyrant with any moderation would have done, and that too though I was so near where he was. In such a case what was the proper conduct for a man who is a zealous student of the teachings of Plato and Aristotle? Ought I to have looked on while the wretched people were being betrayed to thieves, or to have aided them as far as I could, for they were already singing their swan-song because of the criminal artifices of men of that sort? To me, at least, it seems a disgraceful thing that, while I punish my military tribunes when they desert their post—and indeed they ought to be put to death at once, and not even granted burial—I should myself desert my post which is for the defence of such wretched people; whereas it is my duty to fight against thieves of his sort, especially when God is fighting on my side, for it was indeed he who posted me here. And if any harm to myself should result, it is no small consolation to have proceeded with a good conscience. But I pray that the gods may let me keep the excellent Sallust!¹ If, however, it turns out that because of this affair I receive his successor,² perhaps it will not grieve me. For it is better to do one's duty for a brief time honestly than for a long time dishonestly. The Peripatetic teachings are not, as some say, less noble than the Stoic. In my judgement, there is only this difference between them; the former are always more sanguine and not so much the result of deliberate thought, while the latter have a greater

¹ This strains the construction but seems more probable than the rendering "If I should be superseded."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

φρονήσεως ἀξιώτερα καὶ τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις μᾶλλον
ἐμμένει.¹

5

Πρίσκῳ²

- 425 Ἄρτι μοι παυσαμένῳ τῆς χαλεπῆς πάνυ καὶ
 B τραχείας νόσου τῇ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος προνοία
 γράμματα εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθεν ὑμέτερα, καθ' ἣν ἡμέ-
 ραν πρῶτον ἐλουσάμην. δείλης ἤδη ταῦτα ἀνα-
 C γνούς οὐκ ἂν εἴποις ῥαδίως ὅπως ἐρρωννύμην,
 αἰσθανόμενος τῆς σῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ καθαρᾶς
 εὐνοίας, ἥς εἴθε γενοίμην ἄξιος, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατα-
 σχύναιμι τὴν σὴν φιλίαν. τὰς μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρας
 ἐπιστολὰς εὐθὺς ἀνέγνων, καί περ οὐ σφόδρα τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν δυνάμενος, τὰς δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐταμιενσάμην.
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐβδόμῃ σοι ταῦτα ἔγραφον ἡμέρα,³ κατὰ
 λόγον μοι τῆς ῥώσεως προχωρούσης διὰ τὴν τοῦ
 θεοῦ προμήθειαν. σώζοιό μοι, ποθεινότατε καὶ
 φιλικώτατε ἀδελφέ, ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶντος
 D θεοῦ· ἴδοιμί σε, ἐμὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ ἰδίᾳ χειρί· νῆ
 τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐμήν, νῆ τὸν πάντα
 ἐφορῶντα θεόν, ὥς φρονῶ γέγραφα. ἀγαθώτατε,

¹ ἀξιώτερα καὶ τ. ε. μᾶλλον Asmus ; ἄξια τ. ε. ἐμμένει Hertlein.

² Hertlein 44. Λιβανίῳ Hertlein, *Parisinus* and all editions ;
 Πρίσκῳ *Baroccianus*, *Laurentianus* lviii, Cumont.

³ Naber suggests ὥρῃ.

¹ I translate the suggested reading of Asmus, but the sense remains unsatisfactory.

TO PRISCUS

claim to practical wisdom, and are more rigidly consistent with the rules of conduct that they have laid down.¹

5

To Priscus²

I HAD only just recovered by the providence of the All-Seeing One³ from a very severe and sharp attack of sickness, when your letters reached my hands, on the very day when I took my first bath. It was already evening when I read them, and it would be hard for you to tell how my strength began to return when I realised your pure and sincere affection. May I become worthy of it, that I may not shame your love for me! Your letters I read at once, though I was not very well able to do so, but those of Antonius to Alexander I stored up for the next day. On the seventh day from their receipt I began to write this to you, since my strength is improving reasonably well, thanks to Divine Providence. May the All-Seeing god preserve you, my dearest and best beloved brother. May I see you, my treasure! *Added with his own hand.* I swear by your well-being and my own, by the All-Seeing god, that I really feel as I have written. Best of men, when can I see you

358-359
Winter.
From
Paris

¹ So Cumont, following the ascription of MS. *Baroccianus*. Hertlein with hesitation addressed it to Libanius. So, too, Schwarz, who accordingly gives the date as 362 A.D. But as assigned to Priscus, it should be connected with the foregoing invitation to that sophist to come to Gaul, and the illness to which Julian refers is almost certainly his semi-asphyxiation in Paris described in *Misopogon* 340-342A.

² i. e. Helios-Mithras.

πότε σε ἴδω καὶ περιλάβωμαι ; νῦν γάρ σου καὶ τοῦνομα καθάπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες φιλῶ.¹

6

Ἄλυπίῳ ἀδελφῷ Καισαρίου²

- 402 Ὁ Συλοσὼν ἀνῆλθε, φασί, παρὰ τὸν Δαρεῖον,
 D καὶ ὑπέμνησεν αὐτὸν τῆς χλανίδος, καὶ ᾔτησεν
 αὐτ' ἐκείνης παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Σάμον. εἶτα ἐπὶ
 τούτῳ Δαρεῖος μὲν ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, μεγάλα ἀντὶ
 403 μικρῶν νομίζων ἀποδεδωκέναι. Συλοσὼν δὲ λυπη-
 ρὰν ἐλάμβανε χάριν. σκόπει δὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα νῦν
 πρὸς ἐκεῖνα. ἐνὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πρῶτον οἶμαι κρεῖσ-
 σον ἔργον ἡμέτερον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπεμείναμεν ὑπο-
 μνησθῆναι παρ' ἄλλου· τοσοῦτ' δὲ χρόνῳ τὴν
 μνήμην τῆς σῆς φιλίας διαφυλάξαντες ἀκέραιον,
 ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἐν δευτέροις,
 ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις σε μετεκαλέσαμεν. τὰ μὲν
 οὖν πρῶτα τοιαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ἄρά
 μοι δώσεις τι· καὶ γὰρ εἶμι μαντικός· προαγο-
 B ρεῦσαι ; μακρῷ νομίζω κρείττονα ἐκείνων, Ἀδρά-
 στεια δ' εὐμενῆς εἴη. σύ τε γὰρ οὐδὲν δέη συγκα-
 ταστρεφομένου πόλιν βασιλέως, ἐγὼ τε πολλῶν
 δέομαι τῶν συνεπανορθούντων μοι τὰ πεπτωκότα

¹ ὑπὸ (six lines above) to φιλῶ in *Baroccianus* only, bracketed by Spanheim and Hertlein, Hercher rejects.

² Hertlein 29.

¹ For Alypius see Introduction.

² The story of Syloson from Herodotus 3. 139, is told by Julian, Vol. 1. *Oration* 3. 117b. The "cloak of Syloson" became a proverb for the overpayment of a benefit.

³ *i. e.* to Susa.

TO ALYPIUS, BROTHER OF CAESARIUS

and embrace you? For already, like doting lovers,
I adore your very name.

6

To Alypius, brother of Caesarius¹

SYLOSON,² it is said, went up³ to Darius, reminded him of his cloak and asked him for Samos in return for it. Then Darius prided himself greatly on this, because he considered that he had given much for little; though after all it proved a grievous gift for Syloson.⁴ Now consider my conduct compared with that of Darius. In the first place I think that I have behaved better than he in one point at any rate, I mean that I did not wait to be reminded by another. But after preserving the memory of your friendship so long undimmed, the first moment that the god granted me power I summoned you, not among the second but among the very first. So much for the past. Now with reference to the future, will you allow me—for I am a prophet⁵—to foretell something? I think that it will be far more prosperous than in the case I spoke of, only let not Adrasteia⁶ take offence when I say so! For you need no king to help you to conquer a city,⁷ while I on the other hand need many to help me to raise up again what has fallen on evil days. Thus does

361
Before
July
From
Gaul

⁴ The Persians devastated Samos before Syloson could benefit by the gift.

⁵ An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 343B.

⁶ Another name for Nemesis, cf. Vol. 2. *Misopogon* 370B.

⁷ If the date assigned to the letter is correct this must be Constantinople which Julian was preparing to occupy in his march against Constantius.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

κακῶς. ταῦτά σοι Γαλλικὴ καὶ βάρβαρος Μοῦσα
προσπαίξει, σὺ δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ τῶν θεῶν πομπῇ χαίρων
ἀφίκοιο. καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρί· λῆις ἐρίφων καὶ
τῆς ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις θήρας¹ τῶν προβατίων.²
C ἦκε πρὸς τὸν φίλον, ὃς σε τότε, καίπερ οὐπω
γινώσκειν οἶος³ εἰ δυνάμενος, ὁμως περιείπον.

7

Τῷ αὐτῷ⁴

Ἦδη μὲν ἐτύγγανον ἀνειμένος τῆς νόσου,⁵ τὴν
γεωγραφίαν ὅτε ἀπέστειλας· οὐ μὴν ἔλαττον διὰ
τοῦτο ἡδέως ἐδεξάμην τὸ παρὰ σοῦ πινάκιον ἀπο-
D σταλέν. ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν
πρόσθεν βελτίω, καὶ κατεμούσσωσας αὐτὸ προσ-
θεὶς τοὺς ἰάμβους, οὐ μάχην αἰδούντας τὴν Βου-
πάλειον κατὰ τὸν Κυρηναῖον ποιητὴν, ἀλλ' οἶους
ἢ καλὴ Σαπφῶ βούλεται τοῖς νόμοις ἀρμόττειν.
καὶ τὸ μὲν δῶρον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὅποιον ἴσως σοί
τε ἔπρεπε δοῦναι, ἐμοί τε ἡδιστον δέξασθαι. περὶ
δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πραγμάτων ὅτι δραστηρίως
ἅμα καὶ πράως ἅπαντα περαίνειν προθυμῇ, συνη-
δόμεθα· μίξαι γὰρ πραότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην
404 ἀνδρεία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ τῇ μὲν χρήσασθαι πρὸς

¹ καὶ τις—θήρα Capps suggests.

² Obscure and perhaps corrupt. Hertlein suggests προβά-
των τῶν ἀγρίων, "wild sheep."

³ Klimek ; ὅσος Hertlein.

⁴ Hertlein 30.

⁵ Hertlein suggests παρειμένος τῇ νόσῳ or ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

¹ This is perhaps a veiled allusion to Julian's plot to defeat the adherents of Constantius.

TO ALYPIUS, BROTHER OF CAESARIUS

my Gallic and barbarian Muse jest for your benefit. But be of good cheer and come, and may the gods attend you.

Added with his own hand. There is good spoil of deer and hunting of small sheep in the winter quarters.¹ Come to your friend who valued you even when he could not yet know your merit.

7

To the Same

It happened that when you sent me your map I had just recovered from my illness, but I was none the less glad on that account to receive the chart that you sent. For not only does it contain diagrams better than any hitherto made; but you have embellished it by adding those iambic verses, not such as "Sing the War of Bupalus,"² as the poet of Cyrene³ expresses it, but such as beautiful Sappho is wont to fashion for her songs.⁴ In fact the gift is such as no doubt it well became you to give, while to me it is most agreeable to receive.⁵ With regard to your administration of affairs, inasmuch as you study to act in all cases both energetically and humanely, I am well pleased with it. For to blend mildness and moderation with courage and force, and to exercise the former towards the most virtuous,

² For Bupalus cf. Horace, *Epodes* 6. 14; Lucian, *Pseudologist* 2.

³ Callimachus, *frag.* 90, Ernesti.

⁴ Literally "nomes," though Julian may only have meant "poetry"; in any case he refers to lyric iambics.

⁵ An echo of Isocrates, *Nicocles* 29B.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀπαραιτήτως πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν οὐ μικρᾶς ἐστὶ φύσεως οὐδ' ἀρετῆς ἔργον, ὥς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω. τούτων εὐχόμεθά σε τῶν σκοπῶν ἐχόμενον ἄμφω πρὸς ἐν τὸ καλὸν αὐτοὺς συναρμόσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπάσαις προκεῖσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς τέλος οὐκ εἰκῇ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπίστευον οἱ λογιώτατοι. ἔρρωμένος καὶ εὐδαιμονῶν διατελοίης ἐπὶ μήκιστον, ἀδελφε ποθεινότατε καὶ φιλικώτατε.

8

Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ¹

- 414 Πάντα ἀθρόα ἔπεισί μοι καὶ ἀποκλείει τὴν φωνὴν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ προελθεῖν οὐ συγχωροῦν τῶν ἐμῶν διανοημάτων, εἴτε τῶν ψυχικῶν² παθῶν εἴτε ὅπως φίλον κατονομάζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀλλ' ἀποδῶμεν αὐτοῖς ἣν ὁ χρόνος ἀπέδωκε τάξιν,
- B εὐχαριστήσαντες τοῖς πάντα ἀγαθοῖς θεοῖς, οἱ τέως μὲν γράφειν ἐμοὶ συνεχώρησαν, ἴσως δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἰδεῖν συγχωρήσουσιν. ὥς πρῶτον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγενόμην ἄκων,³ ὥς ἴσασι οἱ θεοί, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόθι⁴ καταφανὲς ὃν ἐνεδέχeto τρόπον ἐποίησα· στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐκείνης μοι γενομένης τριμήνου τῆς στρατείας,

¹ Hertlein 38.

² τῶν Bidez adds, ψυχρὸν τῶν MSS., Hertlein, who suspects corruption; ψυχικῶν παθῶν Papadopoulos MSS. XY.

³ ἄκων ἐγενόμην Hertlein, from *Parisinus* 2755.

⁴ αὐτοῖς εἰ MSS.; αὐτοῖς Hertlein; αὐτόθι Capps.

¹ Cf. *Oration* 1. 3D, Vol. 1.

TO MAXIMUS, THE PHILOSOPHER

and the latter implacably in the case of the wicked for their regeneration, is, as I am convinced, a task that calls for no slight natural endowment and virtue. I pray that you may ever hold fast to these ambitions and may adapt them both solely to what is fair and honourable.¹ Not without reason did the most eloquent of the ancient writers believe that this is the end and aim set for all the virtues. May you continue in health and happiness as long as possible, my well-beloved and most dear brother!

8

To Maximus, the philosopher²

EVERYTHING crowds into my mind at once and chokes my utterance, as one thought refuses to let another precede it, whether you please to class such symptoms among psychic troubles, or to give them some other name. But let me arrange what I have to tell in chronological order, though not till I have first offered thanks to the all-merciful gods, who at this present have permitted me to write, and will also perhaps permit us to see one another. Directly after I had been made Emperor—against my will, as the gods know; and this I made evident then and there in every way possible,—I led the army against the barbarians.³ That expedition lasted for three

361
Novem-
ber
From
Naissa
(Nish)

¹ The theurgist. His life was written by Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*. Maximus was at Ephesus; Julian's headquarters were at Naissa, where he had received news of the death of Constantius, November 3rd, 361. Schwarz dates this letter October or November.

² i. e. when he recrossed the Rhine in 360. For this campaign, see Ammianus 20. 10.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- C ἐπανιών εἰς τοὺς Γαλατικούς αἰγιαλοὺς¹ ἐπεσκό-
 πουν καὶ τῶν ἐκείθεν ἡκόντων ἀνεπυθανόμην, μή
 τις φιλόσοφος, μή τις σχολαστικός ἢ τριβώνιον ἢ
 χλανίδιον φορῶν κατῆρεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βι-
 σεντίωνα² ἦν· πολίχνη³ δὲ νῦν ἐστὶν⁴ ἀνειλημμένη,
 πάλαι δὲ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ πολυτελέσιν ἱεροῖς
 ἐκεκόσμητο, καὶ τείχει καρτερῷ καὶ προσέτι τῇ
 φύσει τοῦ χωρίου· περιθεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ ὁ Δοῦβις
 ποταμός· ἡ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ πετρώδης ἄκρα
 ἀνέστηκεν, ἄβατος ὀλίγου δέω φάναι καὶ αὐτοῖς
- D ὄρنيσι, πλὴν ὅσα ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν περιρρέων
 ὥσπερ τινὰς αἰγιαλοὺς ἔχει προκειμένους· ταύτης
 πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἀπήντησε κυνικός τις ἀνὴρ,
 ἔχων τρίβωνα καὶ βακτηρίαν. τοῦτον πόρρωθεν
 θεασάμενος οὐδὲν ἄλλο⁵ ὑπέλαβον ἢ σέ, πλησίον
 δὲ ἤδη προσιὼν παρὰ σοῦ πάντως ἤκειν αὐτὸν
 ἐνόμιζον. οὗτος⁶ δ' ἀνὴρ φίλος μέν, ἡττων⁷ δὲ
 τῆς προσδοκωμένης ἐλπίδος. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον
 ὄναρ ἐγένετό μοι. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ πάντως⁸ ὦμην
- 415 σε πολυπραγμονήσαντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἐκτὸς οὐδαμῶς εὐρήσειν.⁹ ἴστω Ζεὺς, ἴστω μέγας
 Ἥλιος, ἴστω Ἀθηνᾶς κράτος καὶ πάντες θεοὶ καὶ
 πᾶσαι, πῶς κατιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν
 Κελτῶν ἔτρεμον ὑπὲρ σοῦ. καὶ ἐπυυθανόμην τῶν

¹ Schwarz suggests σταθμούς because of the strange use of αἰγιαλός, "beach," for the bank of a river.

² Βισεντίωνα X, Βικεντίωνα *Parisinus*, Hertlein. ἦν Schwarz adds.

³ πολίχνη Cobet, πολίχνιον MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ δέ ἐστι νῦν X. ⁵ οὐδένα ἄλλον XY. ⁶ ὥφθη δὲ XY.

⁷ ἡττων XY, ἡττον *Parisinus*, Hertlein.

⁸ πάντως *Parisinus* omits, followed by Hertlein.

⁹ εὐρεθῆναι Hertlein.

TO MAXIMUS, THE PHILOSOPHER

months, and when I returned to the shores of Gaul, I was ever on the watch and kept enquiring from all who came from that quarter whether any philosopher or any scholar wearing a philosopher's cloak or a soldier's tunic had arrived there. Then I approached Besontio.¹ It is a little town that has lately been restored, but in ancient times it was a large city adorned with costly temples, and was fortified by a strong wall and further by the nature of the place; for it is encircled by the river Doubis.² It rises up like a rocky cliff in the sea, inaccessible, I might almost say, to the very birds, except in those places where the river as it flows round it throws out what one may call beaches, that lie in front of it. Near this city there came to meet me a certain man who looked like a Cynic with his long cloak and staff. When I first caught sight of him in the distance, I imagined that he was none other than yourself. And when I came nearer to him I thought that he had surely come from you. The man was in fact a friend of mine though he fell short of what I hoped and expected. This then was one vain dream I had! And afterwards I thought that, because you were busied with my affairs, I should certainly find you nowhere outside of Greece. Zeus be my witness and great Helios, mighty Athene and all the gods and goddesses, how on my way down to Illyricum from Gaul³ I trembled for your safety! Also I kept

¹ Cf. Ammianus 20. 10, per Besontionem Viennam hiematurus abcessit. Besontio or Vesontio (Besançon), the capital of the Sequani, is described in much the same language by Caesar, *Gallie War* 1. 38.

² Doubs.

³ Ammianus 21. 7, Zosimus 3. 10 describe this march.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

θεῶν (αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ τολμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμενον οὔτε
 ἰδεῖν τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι οὐδέν, οἷον ἂν τις ὑπέ-
 B λαβε δύνασθαι τηνικαῦτα περὶ σέ γίγνεσθαι, ἐπέ-
 τρεπον δὲ ἄλλοις), οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ταραχὰς μὲν τινας
 ἔσεσθαι περὶ σέ περιφανῶς¹ ἐδήλουν, οὐδὲν μέντοι
 δεινὸν οὐδὲ εἰς ἔργον τῶν ἀθέων² βουλευμάτων.

Ἄλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ παρέδραμον.
 μάλιστά σε πυθέσθαι ἄξιον, πῶς μὲν ἀθρόως τῆς
 ἐπιφανείας ἡσθόμεθα τῶν θεῶν, τίνα δὲ τρόπον τὸ
 τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπιβούλων πλήθος διαπεφεύγαμεν,
 κτείναντες οὐδένα, χρήματα οὐδενὸς ἀφελόμενοι,
 C φυλαξάμενοι δὲ μόνον οὓς ἐλαμβάνομεν ἐπ' αὐτο-
 φώρῃ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴσως οὐ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ
 φράζειν χρή, οἶμαι δέ σε καὶ μάλα ἡδέως πεύσε-
 σθαι. θρησκεύομεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναφανδόν, καὶ τὸ
 πλήθος τοῦ συγκατελθόντος μοι στρατοπέδου θεο-
 σεβές ἐστιν. ἡμεῖς φανερώς βουθυτοῦμεν. ἀπε-
 δώκαμεν τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστήρια³ ἐκατόμβας πολ-
 D λάς. ἐμὲ κελεύουσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὰ πάντα ἀγνέειν
 εἰς δύναμιν, καὶ πείθομαί γε καὶ προθύμως αὐτοῖς·
 μεγάλους γὰρ καρποὺς τῶν πόνων ἀποδώσειν
 φασίν, ἣν μὴ ῥαθυμῶμεν. ἦλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς Εὐά-
 γριος.⁴ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν
 τιμωμένον θεοῦ.⁵

Πολλὰ γοῦν ἐπέρχεται μοι πρὸς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ
 χρὴ ταμιεύσασθαί τινα καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῇ σῇ.

¹ φανερώς XY. ² ἀθέων Asmus, ἀθέσμων MSS., Hertlein.

³ After χαριστήρια XY have περὶ ἡμῶν.

⁴ In Hertlein the letter ends at Εὐάγριος. In XY (Papadopoulos) a lacuna of about 82 letters follows.

⁵ A lacuna follows in XY.

TO MAXIMUS, THE PHILOSOPHER

enquiring of the gods—not that I ventured to do this myself, for I could not endure to see or hear anything so terrible as one might have supposed would be happening to you at that time, but I entrusted the task to others; and the gods did indeed show clearly that certain troubles would befall you, nothing terrible however, nor to indicate that impious counsels would be carried out.¹

But you see that I have passed over many important events. Above all, it is right that you should learn how I became all at once conscious of the very presence of the gods, and in what manner I escaped the multitude of those who plotted against me, though I put no man to death, deprived no man of his property, and only imprisoned those whom I caught red-handed. All this, however, I ought perhaps to tell you rather than write it, but I think you will be very glad to be informed of it. I worship the gods openly, and the whole mass of the troops who are returning with me worship the gods.² I sacrifice oxen in public. I have offered to the gods many hecatombs as thank-offerings. The gods command me to restore their worship in its utmost purity, and I obey them, yes, and with a good will. For they promise me great rewards for my labours, if only I am not remiss. Evagrius³ has joined me. . . . of the god whom we honour. . . .

Many things occur to my mind, besides what I have written, but I must store up certain matters to tell you when you are with me. Come here,

¹ Julian's friends in the East were in danger after his quarrel with Constantius.

² Cf. Libanius, *Oration* 18. 114.

³ Cf. *Letter* 25, *To Evagrius*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

δεῦρο οὖν, τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, τὴν ταχίστην, εἴτε δύο εἴτε πλείοσι χρησάμενος ὀχήμασιν. ἀπέστειλα δὲ καὶ δύο τῶν πιστοτάτων ὑπηρετῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν εἰς ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου παραπέμψει σε· ἕτερος δὲ ἐξεληλυθέναι σε καὶ ἤκειν ἤδη μηνύσει· πότερον δὲ ὑπὸ ποτέρου γενέσθαι θέλεις αὐτὸς τοῖς νεανίσκοις σήμνηον.¹

9

Ἰουλιανῷ θείῳ²

- 382 Τρίτης ὥρας νυκτὸς ἀρχομένης, οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ
 B τὸν ὑπογράφοντα³ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀσχόλους
 εἶναι, μόλις ἴσχυσα πρὸς σέ ταῦτα γράψαι.
 ζῶμεν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντες τοῦ παθεῖν
 ἢ δρᾶσαι τὰ ἀνήκεστα· μάρτυς δὲ ὁ Ἥλιος, δν
 μάλιστα πάντων ἰκέτευσά συνάρασθαί μοι, καὶ
 ὁ βασιλεὺς Ζεὺς, ὡς οὐπώποτε ηὐξάμην ἀποκτεῖ-
 ναι Κωνστάντιον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπηυξάμην. τί οὖν
 ἦλθον; ἐπειδὴ μοι οἱ θεοὶ διαρρηδὴν ἐκέλευσαν,
 σωτηρίαν μὲν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι πειθομένῳ, μένοντι
 C δὲ ὁ μηδεὶς θεῶν ποιήσειεν· ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ

¹ πολλὰ σήμνηον restored from XY, not in Hertlein.

² Hertlein 13; after θείῳ X adds αὐτοῦ.

³ Hertlein suggests, MSS. ὑπογράφοντα.

¹ Maximus did not join Julian at Naissa, but, as Eunapius relates in his *Life of Chrysanthius*, p. 554 (Wright), he lingered at Ephesus in the vain attempt to secure favourable omens for the journey, and finally joined Julian at Constanti-

TO HIS UNCLE JULIAN

then, in the name of the gods, as quickly as you can, and use two or more public carriages. Moreover, I have sent two of my most trusted servants, one of whom will escort you as far as my headquarters; the other will inform me that you have set out and will forthwith arrive. Do you yourself tell the youths which of them you wish to undertake which of these tasks.¹

9

To his Uncle Julian ²

THE third hour of the night has just begun, and as I have no secretary to dictate to because they are all occupied, I have with difficulty made the effort to write this to you myself. I am alive, by the grace of the gods, and have been freed from the necessity of either suffering or inflicting irreparable ill.³ But the Sun, whom of all the gods I besought most earnestly to assist me, and sovereign Zeus also, bear me witness that never for a moment did I wish to slay Constantius, but rather I wished the contrary. Why then did I come? Because the gods expressly ordered me,⁴ and promised me safety if I obeyed them, but if I stayed, what I pray no god may do to me! Furthermore I came because, having been de-

361
Late
Novem-
ber or
early
Decem-
ber
From
Naissa
(Nish)

noble early in 362; cf. Eunapius, *Life of Aedsius*, pp. 440 foll.

¹ For Count Julian, see Introduction.

² A proverbial phrase; cf. *Letter to Nilus*, p. 159. The sudden death of Constantius had simplified Julian's course.

⁴ Cf. Vol. 3, *Letter to the Athenians* 284B-285D, for Julian's own account of the mutiny against Constantius and the sign given by the gods.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

πολέμιος ἀποδειχθεὶς ὥμην φοβῆσαι μόνον καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίας ἤξειν ἐπικεικστέρας τὰ πράγματα· εἰ δὲ μάχῃ κριθείη, τῇ τύχῃ τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέψας περιμένειν ὅπερ ἂν αὐτῶν τῇ φιλανθρωπία δόξῃ.

10

Ἰουλιανὸς Εὐθηρίῳ ¹

Ζῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν σωθέντες· ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς θύε τὰ χαριστήρια. θύσεις δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δέ σοι σχολὴ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως διαβῆναι, τιμησαίμην ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγου τὴν σὴν ἐντυχίαν.

11

Ἰουλιανὸς Λεοντίῳ ²

389 Ὁ λογοποιὸς ὁ Θούριος ὦτα εἶπεν ἀνθρώποις
B ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα. τούτῳ δ' ἐπὶ σοῦ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχω γνώμην ἐγώ· πιστότερα γάρ ἐστί μοι τὰ ὦτα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. οὐ γάρ, εἴποτε εἰδόν σε δεκάκις, οὕτως ἂν ἐπίστευσα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς,

¹ Hertlein 69.

² Hertlein 22.

¹ An Armenian eunuch, a pagan who had been kidnapped, sold into slavery, and finally attained to the office of court chamberlain and confidential adviser to Constans and Julian; see Ammianus 16. 7. 4. He was employed by Julian in Gaul as a trusted messenger to Constantius at Milan; Ammianus 20. 8. 19.

TO LEONTIUS

clared a public enemy, I meant to frighten him merely, and that our quarrel should result in intercourse on more friendly terms; but if we should have to decide the issue by battle, I meant to entrust the whole to Fortune and to the gods, and so await whatever their clemency might decide.

10

To Eutherius¹

I AM alive, and have been saved by the gods. Therefore offer sacrifices to them on my behalf, as thank-offerings. Your sacrifice will be not for one man only, but for the whole body of Hellenes.² If you have time to travel as far as Constantinople I shall feel myself highly honoured by your presence.

361
About
Decem-
ber 1st
From
Naissa
(Nish)

11

To Leontius

THE Thurian historian³ said that men's ears are less to be trusted than their eyes.⁴ But in your case I hold the opposite opinion from this, since here my ears are more trustworthy than my eyes. For not if I had seen you ten times would I have trusted my eyes as I now trust my ears, instructed

361
From
Naissa
(Nish)
or Con-
stanti-
nople

² In the fourth century this word has lost some of its national meaning, and is used of pagans as opposed to Christians, especially by Julian. The sophists of that period called themselves and all students of rhetoric "Hellenes."

³ Herodotus.

⁴ Herodotus 1. 8; cf. Julian *Oration* 1. 37c, and 4. 145D.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὥς νῦν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς πιστεύω ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ, παρ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἷον τε ψεύδεσθαι δεδιδαγμένος, ὅτι πάντα ἀνὴρ ὧν αὐτὸς σεαυτοῦ κρείττων εἶ περὶ τὸ ῥέξαι, φησὶν "Ὀμηρος, χερσὶ τε καὶ ποσίν. ἐπιτρέψαντες οὖν σοι τὴν τῶν ὅπλων χρῆσιν ἀπεστείλαμέν τε πανοπλίαν, ἥτις¹ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀρμόττει.² ἐγκατελέξαμέν τέ σε τῷ τῶν οἰκείων συντάγματι.³

12

Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ⁴

- 383 Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν τὸν Μακεδόνα τοῖς Ὀμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐφυπνώττειν λόγος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὁμιλῇ συνθήμασιν· ἡμεῖς δέ σου ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὥσπερ παιωνίοις τισὶ φαρμάκοις συγκαθεύδομεν, καὶ οὐ
- B διαλείπομεν ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀεὶ καθάπερ νεαραῖς ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον εἰς χεῖρας ἡκούσαις. εἴπερ οὖν ἐθέλεις ἡμῖν εἰκόνα τῆς σῆς παρουσίας τὴν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὁμιλίαν προξενεῖν, γράφε καὶ μὴ λήγε συνεχῶς τοῦτο πράττων· μᾶλλον δὲ ἦκε σὺν θεοῖς, ἐνθυμούμενος ὥς ἡμῖν γ' ἕως ἂν ἀπῆς

¹ Hertlein suggests, MSS. ἡ τέως.

² MSS. add *κουφοτέρα δέ ἐστιν αὕτη τῆς τῶν ἱππέων* deleted by Wytttenbach, Hertlein brackets.

³ MSS. add *γίνονται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλοφορησάντων οὗτοι καὶ στρατευσαμένων* deleted by Wytttenbach, Hertlein brackets.

⁴ Hertlein 15.

¹ An echo of Demosthenes, *Olynthiac* 2. 17.

TO THE PHILOSOPHER MAXIMUS

as I have been by a man who is in no wise capable of speaking falsely,¹ that, while in all respects you show yourself a man, you surpass yourself² in your achievements "with hand and foot," as Homer says.³ I therefore entrust you with the employment of arms, and have despatched to you a complete suit of armour such as is adapted for the infantry. Moreover I have enrolled you in my household corps.⁴

12

To the philosopher Maximus

THERE is a tradition⁵ that Alexander of Macedon used to sleep with Homer's poems under his pillow, in order that by night as well as by day he might busy himself with his martial writings. But I sleep with your letters as though they were healing drugs of some sort, and I do not cease to read them constantly as though they were newly written and had only just come into my hands. Therefore if you are willing to furnish me with intercourse by means of letters, as a semblance of your own society, write, and do not cease to do so continually. Or rather come,⁶ with heaven's help, and consider that while

End of
361 or
early in
362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ Cf. Julian, *Oration* 7. 235B, *Letter to Themistius* 264D, *Caesars* 309D, 327C.

² *Odyssey* 8. 148; the phrase is there used of the athletic sports of the Phaeacians.

³ *i. e.* the *protectores domestici*; cf. Symmachus, *Letter* 67. In C.I.L. III. 5670A (Dessau 774), a Leontius is mentioned as *praepositus militum auxilium* in 370 A.D.

⁵ Plutarch, *Alexander* 12.

⁶ Ammianus 22. 7. 3 describes Julian's effusive greeting of Maximus, for which he interrupted a meeting of the Senate.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

οὐδ' ὅτι ζῶμεν εἰπεῖν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον τοῖς παρὰ
σοῦ γραφομένοις ἐντυχεῖν ἔξεστιν.

13

Ἑρμογένει ἀποϋπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου ¹.

- 389 Δός μοί τι κατὰ τοὺς μελικτὰς ² εἰπεῖν ῥήτορας,
D ὦ παρ' ἐλπίδα σεσσωμένος ἐγώ, ὦ παρ' ἐλπίδας ³
ἀκηκοώς, ὅτι διαπέφευγας τὴν τρικέφαλον ὕδραν,
οὔτι μὰ Δία τὸν ἀδελφόν φημι Κωνστάντιον·
ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν ἦν οἶος ἦν· ἀλλὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν
θηρία πᾶσιν ἐποφθαλμιῶντα, ἃ κακέινον ἐποίει
χαλεπώτερον, οὐδὲ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν παντάπασι
390 πρᾶον, εἰ καὶ ἐδόκει πολλοῖς τοιοῦτος. ἐκείνῳ
μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ μακαρίτης ἐγένετο, κούφη γῆ,
καθάπερ λέγεται· τούτους δὲ ἀδίκως μὲν τι παθεῖν
οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι, ἴστω Ζεὺς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς
ἐπανίστανται πολλοὶ κατήγοροι, δικαστήριον
ἀποκεκλήρωται. σὺ δέ, ὦ φίλε, πάρει, καὶ παρὰ
B δύναμιν ἐπείχθητι· θεάσασθαι γάρ σε πάλαι τε
εὔχομαι νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ νῦν εὐμενέστατα ὅτι
διεσώθης ἀκηκοώς, ἥκειν παρακελεύομαι.

¹ Hertlein 23.

² *μειλιχίους* ? Cumont suggests.

³ Asmus suggests *ἐλπίδα σέ*.

¹ Hermogenes had been Prefect of Egypt before 328, since his name does not occur in the list of prefects after that year, which is extant complete.

TO HERMOGENES

you are away I cannot be said to be alive, except in so far as I am able to read what you have written.

13

To Hermogenes, formerly Prefect of Egypt¹

Suffer me to say, in the language of the poetical rhetoricians, O how little hope had I of safety! O how little hope had I of hearing that you had escaped the three-headed hydra! Zeus be my witness that I do not mean my brother Constantius²—nay, he was what he was—but the wild beasts who surrounded him and cast their baleful eyes on all men; for they made him even harsher than he was by nature, though on his own account he was by no means of a mild disposition, although he seemed so to many. But since he is now one of the blessed dead, may the earth lie lightly on him, as the saying is! Nor should I wish, Zeus be my witness, that these others should be punished unjustly; but since many accusers are rising up against them, I have appointed a court³ to judge them. Do you, my friend, come hither, and hasten, even if it task your strength. For, by the gods, I have long desired to see you, and, now that I have learned to my great joy that you are safe and sound, I bid you come.

361
Decem-
ber?
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ Cf. for Julian's attitude to Constantius, *Misopogon* 357B.

² The special commission appointed by Julian to try his enemies sat at Chalcedon in Dec. 361. Its work is described by Ammianus 22. 3; Libanius, *Oration* 18. 152. Among the judges were Mamertinus the rhetorician and Nevitta the Goth, who were the Consuls designate for 362, and Sallust.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

14

Προαιρεσίῳ¹

- 373 Τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἐγὼ Προαιρέσιον τὸν καλὸν
 D προσαγορεύειν, ἄνδρα ἐπαφιέντα τοῖς νέοις λόγους,
 ὥσπερ οἱ ποταμοὶ τοῖς πεδίοις ἐπαφιᾷσι τὰ ρεύ-
 • ματα, καὶ ζηλοῦντα τὸν Περικλέα κατὰ τοὺς
 374 λόγους ἔξω τοῦ συνταράττειν καὶ ξυγκυκᾶν τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα; θαυμάζειν δ' οὐ χρή τὴν Λακωνικὴν εἰ
 πρὸς σὲ βραχυλογίαν ἐμιμησάμην. ὑμῖν γὰρ
 πρέπει τοῖς σοφοῖς μακροὺς πάνυ καὶ μεγάλους
 ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὰ βραχέα
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἴσθι δῆτά μοι πολλὰ πανταχόθεν
 κύκλῳ πράγματα ἐπιρρεῖν. τῆς καθόδου τὰς
 αἰτίας, εἰ μὲν ἱστορίαν γράψεις,² ἀκριβέστατα
 B ἀπαγγελῶ σοι, δούς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδείξεις
 ἐγγράφους· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ταῖς μελέταις καὶ τοῖς
 γυμνάσμασιν εἰς τέλος ἄχρη γήρως προσκαρτερεῖν,
 οὐδὲν ἴσως μου τὴν σιωπὴν μέμψῃ.

15

Ἀετίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ³

- 401 Κοινῶς μὲν ἅπασιν τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακα-
 B ρίτου Κωνσταντίου πεφυγαδευμένοις ἔνεκεν τῆς

¹ Hertlein 2.

² Cobet, γράφεις MSS. Hertlein.

³ Hertlein 31.

¹ The Armenian sophist, a Christian, who taught at Athens. For his *Life* see Eunapius, *Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers*, pp. 477-515 (Wright). See Introduction.

² Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 531, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

TO BISHOP AETIUS

14

To Prohaeresius¹

WHY should I not address the excellent Prohaeresius, a man who has poured forth his eloquence on the young as rivers pour their floods over the plain; who rivals Pericles in his discourses, except that he does not agitate and embroil Greece?² But you must not be surprised that I have imitated Spartan brevity in writing to you. For though it becomes sages like you to compose very long and impressive discourses, from me to you even a few words are enough. Moreover you must know that from all quarters at once I am inundated by affairs. As for the causes of my return,³ if you are going to write an historical account I will make a very precise report for you, and will hand over to you the letters,⁴ as written evidence. But if you have resolved to devote your energies to the last, till old age,⁵ to your rhetorical studies and exercises, you will perhaps not reproach me for my silence.

End of
361 (or
early
in 362)
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

15

To Bishop Aetius⁶

I HAVE remitted their sentence of exile for all in common who were banished in whatever fashion by Constantius of blessed memory, on account of the

362 Jan.
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

³ *i. e.* from Gaul, when he marched against the Emperor Constantius, in 361. This letter was probably written after his triumphal entry into Constantinople on December 11th.

⁴ For the correspondence between Julian and Constantius cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 20. 8. 5.

⁵ Prohaeresius was already in the late eighties.

⁶ See Introduction under Aetius.

35

D 2

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

C τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἀπονοίας ἀνῆκα τὴν φυγὴν, σοὶ ¹ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίημι μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ παλαιᾶς γνώσεώς τε καὶ συνηθείας μεμνημένος ἀφικέσθαι προτρέπω μέχρις ἡμῶν. χρήσῃ δὲ ὁχήματι δημοσίῳ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐνὶ παράπῳ.

16

Θεοδώρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ.²

Δεξάμενός σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥσθη μὲν, ὡς εἰκός· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἄνδρα ἐταῖρον ἐμοὶ καὶ φίλων φίλτατον σὼν εἶναι πυνθανόμενος; ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀφελὼν τὸν ἐπικείμενον δεσμὸν ἐπήειν πολ-
λάκις, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παραστήσαι τῷ λόγῳ δυναίμην, τίς καὶ ὁποῖος ἐγενόμην· γαλήνης ἐμπιπλάμενος καὶ θυμηδίας, ὥσπερ εἰκόνα τινὰ τοῦ γενναίου σου καθορῶν τρόπου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡσπαζόμενην· ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ μὲν καθέκαστα γράφειν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ περιττῆς ἴσως ἀδολεσχίας οὐκ ἔξω. ἃ δ' οὖν ἐπήνεσα διαφερόντως, ταῦτα εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιομι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τὴν ³ παροιμίαν ἦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ⁴ ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ⁵ ἡγεμὼν πεπαρώνηκεν, εἴ γε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡγεμόνα χρὴ καλεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τύραννον, οὐπω βαρέως ⁶ ἡνεγκας, οὐδὲν ἡγού-

¹ σοὶ Hertlein suggests, σὲ MSS.

² Papadopoulos 3* in *Rheinisches Museum* 42. 1887; not in Hertlein.

³ τὴν παροιμίαν—Νέρων is quoted by Suidas, *Musonius*; he omits εἴ γε—τύραννον. Hertlein, who gives this extract as *frag.* 3, follows Suidas.

⁴ ἡμᾶς MS., ὑμᾶς Maas, see Introduction under Theodorus.

⁵ Asinus suggests Ἑλλησπόντου, but this is too violent a change.

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

folly of the Galilaeans.¹ But in your case, I not only remit your exile, but also, since I am mindful of our old acquaintance and intercourse, I invite you to come to me. You will use a public conveyance² as far as my headquarters, and one extra horse.

16

To the High-priest Theodorus³

WHEN I received your letter I was delighted, of course. How could I feel otherwise on learning that my comrade and dearest friend is safe? And when I had removed the fastening from it and perused it many times, I cannot convey to you in words my feelings and state of mind. I was filled with serenity and felicity and welcomed the letter as though I beheld in it an image, so to speak, of your noble disposition. To try to answer it point by point would take too long and perhaps I could not avoid excessive garrulity; but at any rate I shall not hesitate to say what it was that I especially approved. In the first place, the fact that the insolent behaviour to you of the Governor of Greece, if indeed a man of that sort can be called a Governor and not a tyrant, did not provoke your resentment,

362 Jan.
(or end
of 361)
From
Con-
stanti-
nople.

¹ Julian always scoffed at the disputes of the Arians with the various other sects of the Church.

² *i.e.* he was given the privilege of using an official carriage, provided by the state.

³ For the question of the authenticity of this letter see Introduction, on Theodorus.

⁶ MS. *οὕτω βαθέως*, Weil *οὕτω σταθερῶς*, Hercher, Hertlein *οὕτοι βαρέως*, Papadopoulos *οὕτω βαρέως*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μενος τούτων εἰς σέ γεγονέναι. τό γε μὴν τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν ἐκείνῃ βούλεσθαι καὶ προθυμείσθαι, περὶ ἣν ἐποιήσω τὰς διατριβάς, ἐναργές¹ ἐστὶ φιλοσόφου γνώμης² τεκμήριον· ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν πρότερον Σωκράτει προσήκειν, τὸ δεύτερον δέ, οἶμαι, Μουσωνίῳ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔφη, ὅτι μὴ θεμιτὸν ἄνδρα σπουδαῖον πρὸς τοῦ τῶν χειρόνων καὶ φαύλων βλαβῆναι, ὁ δὲ ἐπεμέλετο Γυάρων³ ἡνίκα⁴ φεύγειν αὐτὸν ἐπέταττε Νέρων. ταῦτα ἐγὼ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς σῆς ἐπαινέσας, τὸ τρίτον οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινα τρόπον ἀποδέξομαι· γράφεις γὰρ κελεύων σημαίνειν ὃ τι ἂν μοι παρὰ μέλος πράττειν αὐτὸς ἢ λέγειν δοκῆς· ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτι μὲν πλέον ἐμαυτῷ νῦν ἢ σοὶ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖν ὑπολαμβάνω παραινέσεων, πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν; ἐς αὐθις ἀναβαλοῦμαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν αἴτημα τυχόν οὐδὲ σοὶ προσήκει· περίεστι⁵ γάρ σοι καὶ σχολή, καὶ φύσεως ἔχεις εὖ, καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐρᾶς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν πώποτε. τρία δὲ ἅμα ταῦτα ξυνελθόντα ἤρκεσεν ἀποφῆναι τὸν Ἀμφίονα τῆς παλαιᾶς μουσικῆς εὐρετήν, χρόνος,

¹ ἐναργές is omitted by Suidas in his quotation of the passage.

² ψυχῆς Suidas.

³ βαρῶν Suidas, quoting from a faulty MS.

⁴ ἡνίκα Suidas; MS. ὀπηνίκα, not Julianic.

⁵ περίεστι—δεόμενοι quoted from a more complete text by Suidas, *Amphion*; given by Hertlein as *frag.* 1; τὸ μὲν—προσῆκει omitted by Papadopoulos Y.

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

because you considered that none of these things had to do with you. Then again, that you are willing and eager to aid that city¹ in which you had spent your time is a clear proof of the philosophic mind; so that in my opinion the former course is worthy of Socrates, the latter, I should say, of Musonius. For Socrates declared² that heaven would not permit a righteous man to be harmed by anyone inferior to him and worthless, while Musonius concerned himself with the welfare of Gyara³ when Nero decreed his exile. These two points in your letter I approve, but I am at a loss how to take the third. For you write to urge me to warn you whenever I think that you yourself do or say anything out of tune. For my part I could give you many proofs that I believe myself to be more in need than you are of such advice at the present time, but I will put that off till later. However the request is perhaps not even suitable for you to make; for you have abundant leisure, excellent natural gifts, and you love philosophy as much as any man who ever lived. And these three things combined sufficed to make Amphion known as the inventor of ancient music, namely, leisure, divine inspiration

¹ We cannot identify this city. Theodorus may have improved its water supply, which would give point to the allusion to Musonius at Gyara below.

² Plato, *Apology* 30D, Julian, *Oration* 2. 69B.

³ The Emperors banished offenders to this barren island, one of the Cyclades. For the discovery of water there by Musonius see Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 7. 16. The *Nero* of Philostratus is an imaginary dialogue with Musonius at Corinth, where he is supposed to have been set by Nero to dig the Corinthian canal; Julian praises Musonius in Vol. 2, *To Themistius* 265C, D.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

θεοῦ πνεῦμα,¹ ἔρως τε² ὑμνωδίας· οὐδὲ³ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ὀργάνων ἔνδεια πρὸς ταῦτα πέφυκεν ἀντιτάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ῥαδίως ἂν ὁ τῶν τριῶν τούτων μέτοχος ἐξεύροι. ἡ γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀκοῇ παραδεδέγμεθα οὐ τὰς ἀρμονίας μόνον, αὐτὴν δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐξευρεῖν τὴν λύραν, εἴτε δαιμονιωτέρα χρησάμενον ἐπινοία, εἴτε τινὶ θεία δόσει διὰ τина συμμαχίαν ἀμήχανον; καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ πλείστοι τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις εἰκόασι μάλιστα προσσχόντες οὔτι πλαστικῶς φιλοσοφῆσαι, οὐδενὸς ἄλλου δεόμενοι. χρὴ οὖν σε παρίστασθαι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὰ πρακτέα καὶ τὰ μὴ παραινεῖν ἡμῖν⁴ προθύμως· ὀρώμεν γὰρ καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων οὐ τοὺς εἰρηνεύοντας συμμαχίας δεομένους, τοὺς πονομένους δέ, οἶμαι, τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν οὐχ οἱ μὴ πλέοντες τοὺς πλέοντας παρακαλοῦσιν, οἱ ναυτιλλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς σχολὴν ἄγοντας. οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς δίκαιον ἐφάνη τοὺς σχολὴν ἄγοντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀμύνειν καὶ παρεστάναι καὶ τὸ πρακτέον ὑφηγεῖσθαι, ἐπειδάν, οἶμαι, τὰ αὐτὰ πρεσβεύωσι. ταῦτα διανοούμενόν σε προσήκει τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἀξιοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς σὲ γίνεσθαι, δρᾶν, καὶ εἴ σοι φίλον, ταυτὶ ξυνθώμεθα, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ τι ἂν μοι φαίνεται περὶ τῶν σῶν ἀπάντων,

¹ θεοῦ πνεῦμα Suidas, Hertlein; πνεῦμα θεῶν MSS. The former is more Julianic.

² τε Suidas omits. After ὑμνωδίας Suidas gives eight verses not found in the MSS.

³ οὐδὲ—δεόμενοι Suidas quotes; omitted by Papadopoulos MSS.

⁴ ἡμῖν Buecheler adds.

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

and a love of minstrelsy.¹ For not even the lack of instruments avails to offset these gifts, but one who had these three for his portion could easily invent instruments also. Indeed, have we not received the tradition by hearsay that this very Amphion invented not only harmonies, but besides these the lyre itself, by employing either an almost godlike intelligence or some gift² of the gods in a sort of extraordinary co-operation with them? And most of the great ones of old seem to have attained to genuine philosophy³ by setting their hearts on these three things above all, and not to have needed anything else. Therefore it is you who ought to stand by me and in your letters show your willingness to advise me what I ought to do and what not. For we observe in the case of soldiers that it is not those of them who are at peace who need allies, but, I should say, those who are hard pressed in war, and in the case of pilots those who are not at sea do not call to their aid those who are at sea, but those who are navigating call on those who are at leisure. Thus it has from the very first seemed right that men who are at leisure should help and stand by those who are occupied with tasks, and should suggest the right course of action, that is whenever they represent the same interests. It is well, then, that you should bear this in mind and act towards me as you think I should act towards you, and, if you like, let us make

¹ Possibly an echo of the lost play of Euripides, *Amphion frag.* 192 Nauck; cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 7. 34, for a similar passage.

² Apollo son of Zeus is said to have given the lyre to Amphion.

³ An echo of Plato, *Sophist* 216c and *Laws* 642c; cf. Julian, Vol. 1, *Oration* 2. 82B, 92B.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

πρὸς σέ σημαίνω,¹ σὺ δὲ αὖθις πρὸς ἐμέ περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων· ταύτης γάρ, οἶμαι, τῆς ἀμοιβῆς οὐδέν ἂν ἡμῖν γένοιτο κάλλιον. ἐρρωμένον σε ἡ θεία πρόνοια διαφυλάξαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀδελφὲ ποθεινότατε. ἴδοιμί σε διὰ ταχέων, ὡς εὐχομαι.

17

Ζήνωνι.²

426 Πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα σοι μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τῆς ἱατρικῆς τέχνης εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκειν, καὶ ἥθους καὶ ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ βίου σωφροσύνης συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν τέχνην ἔχειν, νῦν δὲ προσῆλθε τὸ
 B κεφάλαιον τῆς μαρτυρίας· τὴν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλιν ἀπὼν ἐπιστρέφεις εἰς σεαυτὸν· τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ κέντρον ὥσπερ μέλιττα ἐγκαταλέλοιπας.³ εἰκότως· καλῶς γὰρ εἰρήσθαι καὶ Ὀμήρῳ δοκεῖ τὸ

Εἰς ἱητρὸς ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων.

σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἱατρὸς ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῖς βουλομένοις τῆς τέχνης, ὥστε σχεδὸν ὃ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰσιν οἱ ἱατροί, τοῦτο ἐκείνοις σύ.
 C λυεῖ δέ σοι τὴν φυγὴν καὶ ἡ πρόφασις αὐτή, καὶ μάλα λαμπρῶς. εἰ γὰρ διὰ Γεώργιον μετέστης

¹ Weil ; MS. ἐμμένω.

² Hertlein 45 ; ἀρχιητρῷ is added to the title in χ.

³ Wytttenbach, καταλέλοιπας MSS. Hertlein.

¹ Zeno had been exiled by George, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, in 360. He was a friend and correspondent of

TO ZENO

this compact, that I am to point out to you what are my views concerning all your affairs, and you in return are to do the same for me concerning my sayings and doings. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more valuable for us than this reciprocity. May divine Providence keep you in good health for long to come, my well-beloved brother! May I see you soon, as I pray to do!

17

To Zeno¹

THERE is indeed abundant evidence of other kinds that you have attained to the first rank in the art of medicine and that your morals, uprightness and temperate life are in harmony with your professional skill. But now has been added the crowning evidence. Though absent, you are winning to your cause the whole city of Alexandria. So keen a sting, like a bee's, have you left in her.² This is natural; for I think that Homer was right when he said "One physician is worth many other men."³ And you are not simply a physician, but also a teacher of that art for those who desire to learn, so that I might almost say that what physicians are as compared with the mass of men, you are, compared with other physicians. This is the reason for putting an end to your exile, and with very great distinction for yourself. For if it was owing to George that you were removed

362
early
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

Libanius. George had been murdered by the mob on December 24th, 361.

² For this echo of Eupolis, a sophistic commonplace, cf. Vol. I. *Oration* I. 33A.

³ *Iliad* II. 514; in our texts the line begins *ἡτρὸς γάρ*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, οὐ δικαίως μετέστης, καὶ
δικαιότατα ἂν ὀπίσω κατέλθοις. κάτιθι τοίνυν
ἐπίτιμος καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, καὶ
ἡμῖν κοινὴ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις χάρις ἀποκείσθω,
Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μὲν Ζήνωνα, σοὶ δὲ ἀποδοῦσα τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

18¹

- 450 τοῦθ' ὅπερ ὑπάρχει τοῖς ξύλοις, οὐκ ἄξιόν
B ἐστὶ νέμειν ἀνθρώποις; ὑποκείσθω γὰρ ἄνθρωπον
ἱερωσύνης ἀντειληφθαι. τυχὸν οὐκ ἄξιον· οὐ χρὴ
φείδεσθαι μέχρι τοσούτου, μέχρις ἂν ἐπιγνόντες
ὥς πονηρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτὸν
εἵρξαντες τὸ προπετῶς ἴσως προστεθὲν ὄνομα
τοῦ ἱερέως ὑπεύθυνον ἀποδείξωμεν ὕβρει καὶ
C κολάσει καὶ ζημίας; ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἀγνοεῖς, οὐδὲ
τῶν ἄλλων ἔοικας εἰδέναι τι τῶν μετρίων. ἐπεὶ
σοὶ ποῦ μέτεστιν ἐμπειρίας ὅλως τῶν δικαίων,
ὃς οὐκ οἶσθα τί μὲν ἱερεὺς, τί δὲ ἰδιώτης; ποῦ δέ
σοι μέτεστι σωφροσύνης, ὅσπερ² ἠκίσω τοῦτον,
ὦ καὶ θώκων ἐχρῆν ἐξανίστασθαι; ὃ αἰσχιστον³

¹ Hertlein 62. The title is lost.

² ὅσπερ for εἴπερ Reiske, Hertlein.

³ ὃ αἰσχιστον Hertlein suggests; MSS., Hertlein τὸ
αἰσχρόν.

¹ Julian writes as supreme pontiff, to whom a high-priest, perhaps Theodorus, had appealed for protection for a priest who had been assaulted. There is no evidence that this priest was the Pegasus of *Letter 19*, as Asmus thinks.

² The first part of the letter with the title is lost.

TO AN OFFICIAL .

from Alexandria, you were removed unjustly, and it would be most just that you should return from exile. Do you, therefore, return in all honour, and in possession of your former dignity. And let the favour that I bestow be credited to me by both parties in common, since it restores Zeno to the Alexandrians and Alexandria to you.

18

To an Official¹

. . .² is it not right to pay to human beings this respect that we feel for things made of wood?³ For let us suppose that a man who has obtained the office of priest is perhaps unworthy of it. Ought we not to show forbearance until we have actually decided that he is wicked, and only then by excluding him from his official functions show that it was the overhasty bestowal of the title of "priest" that was subject to punishment by obloquy and chastisement and a fine? If you do not know this you are not likely to have any proper sense at all of what is fitting. What experience can you have of the rights of men in general if you do not know the difference between a priest and a layman? And what sort of self-control can you have when you maltreated one at whose approach you ought to have risen from your seat? For this is the most

362
Before
May
12th
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ *i. e.* images of the gods. In Vol. 2, *Fragment of a Letter* 297A, Julian says that we must respect priests no less than the stones of which altars are made. There are several close resemblances between these two pastoral letters. Reiske translated ξύλοις "trees," *i. e.* we allow them time to recover before cutting them down.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἀπάντων καὶ σοι μάλιστα μήτε πρὸς θεοὺς
μήτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχον καλῶς. οἱ μὲν τῶν
Γαλιλαίων ἴσως ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι
συγκαθίζουσί σοι, καὶ εἰ μὴ δημοσίᾳ¹ δι' ἐμέ,
D λάθρα καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ· διὰ σέ δὲ τέτυπται ὁ
ἱερεὺς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτην ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν
ἀρχιερεὺς μὰ Δία τὴν δέησιν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ σοι
πέφηνε μυθώδη τὰ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, τῶν τοῦ Διδυμαίου
δεσπότου χρησμῶν ἐπάκουσον, εἴ σοι φανείη
πάλαι μὲν ἔργῳ νουθετήσας καλῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς οὐ² σωφρονοῦντας διδάσκων τοῖς
λόγοις·

- 451 Ὅσσοι ἐς ἀρητῆρας ἀτασθαλίῃσι νόοιο
Ἀθανάτων ῥέξουσ' ἀποφώλια, καὶ γεράεσσιν
Ἀντία βουλεύουσιν ἀδαισιθέοισι λογισμοῖς,
Οὐκέθ' ὅλην βιότοιο διεκπερώσιν ἀταρπόν,
Ὅσσοι περ μακάρεσσιν ἐλωβήσαντο θεοῖσιν
B Ὡν κεῖνοι θεόσεπτον ἔλον θεραπήϊδα τιμὴν.

ὁ μὲν οὖν θεὸς οὐ τοὺς τύπτοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζ-
οντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀποστεροῦντας τῶν τιμῶν εἶναι
φησί³ θεοῖς ἐχθρούς· ὁ δὲ τυπτήσας ἱερόσυλος ἂν
εἴη. ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ περ εἰμὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰ πάτρια
μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς, ἔλαχον δὲ νῦν καὶ τοῦ Διδυμαίου
C προφητεύειν, ἀπαγορεύω σοι τρεῖς περιόδους σε-

¹ δημοσίᾳ Cobet, δημοσίως Hertlein, MSS.

² οὐ Cobet adds.

³ For the lacuna after εἶναι Spanheim suggests φησί.

TO AN OFFICIAL

disgraceful thing of all, and for it in the eyes of gods and men alike you are peculiarly to blame. Perhaps the bishops and elders of the Galilaeans sit with you, though not in public because of me, yet secretly and in the house; and the priest has actually been beaten by your order, for otherwise your high-priest would not, by Zeus, have come to make this appeal. But since what happened in Homer¹ seems to you merely mythical, listen to the oracular words of the Lord of Didymus,² that you may see clearly that, even as in bygone days he nobly exhorted the Hellenes in very deed, so too in later times he admonished the intemperate in these words: "Who-soever with reckless mind works wickedness against the priests of the deathless gods and plots against their honours with plans that fear not the gods, never shall he travel life's path to the end, seeing that he has sinned against the blessed gods whose honour and holy service those priests have in charge." Thus, then, the god declares that those who even deprive priests of their honours are detested by the gods, not to mention those who beat and insult them! But a man who strikes a priest has committed sacrilege. Wherefore, since by the laws of our fathers I am supreme pontiff, and moreover have but now received the function of prophecy from the god of Didymus,³ I forbid you for three revolutions

¹ Probably Julian refers to the wrong done to the priest Chryses which was avenged by Apollo in *Iliad* 1.

² Apollo. For this oracle cf. Vol. 2, *Fragment of a Letter* 297cd, where it is also quoted.

³ The oracle of the Didymaeon Apollo was at Didyma, Miletus, where an inscription on a column in honour of Julian has been discovered; cf. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1877.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

λήνης μὴ τοι τῶν εἰς ἱερέα μὴδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φανείης ἄξιος, ἐπιστείλαντός μοι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέως, εἰ παραδεκτός εἴης ἡμῖν, ἐσαῦθις μετὰ τῶν θεῶν βουλευέσομαι. ταύτην ἐγὼ σοι τῆς προπετείας ἐπιτίθημι ζημίαν. τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἀρὰς πάλαι μὲν εἰώθεσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, οὐ μὴν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται καλῶς ἔχειν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πεποιηκότες οἱ θεοὶ φαίνονται. καὶ ἄλλως εὐχῶν εἶναι δεῖ διακόνους ἡμᾶς. ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ συνεύχομαί σοι πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀδείας τυχεῖν ὧν ἐπλημμέλησας.

19¹

Πηγάσιον ἡμεῖς οὐποτ' ἂν προσήκαμεν ῥαδίως, εἰ μὴ σαφῶς ἐπεπέισμεθα, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον εἶναι δοκῶν τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἐπίσκοπος ἠπίστατο σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς. οὐκ ἀκοὴν ἐγὼ σοι ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλω τῶν πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν λέγειν εἰωθότων, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ πάννυ διετεθρύλητο τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὧμην οὕτω χρῆναι μισεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς οὐδένα τῶν πονηροτάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ κληθεῖς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον

¹ Hertlein 78; first published from *Harleianus* 5610 by Henning in *Hermes*, 1875. The title is lost.

¹ We do not know the name of this city and cannot identify the official who is in disgrace.

TO A PRIEST

of the moon to meddle in anything that concerns a priest. But if during this period you appear to be worthy, and the high-priest of the city¹ so writes to me, I will thereupon take counsel with the gods whether you may be received by us once more. This is the penalty that I award for your rash conduct. / As for curses from the gods, men of old in days of old used to utter them and write them, but I do not think that this was well done; for there is no evidence at all that the gods themselves devised those curses. And besides, we ought to be the ministers of prayers, not curses. Therefore I believe and join my prayers to yours that after earnest supplication to the gods you may obtain pardon for your errors.

19

To a Priest²

I SHOULD never have favoured Pegasius unhesitatingly if I had not had clear proofs that even in former days, when he had the title of Bishop of the Galilaeans, he was wise enough to revere and honour the gods. This I do not report to you on hearsay from men whose words are always adapted to their personal dislikes and friendships, for much current gossip of this sort about him has reached me, and the gods know that I once thought I ought to detest him above all other depraved persons.³ But when I

362 or
early
in 363

¹ Asmus is positive that this is the high-priest Theodorus, but there is no evidence for this. He dates the letter from Constantinople early in 362. Pegasius is otherwise unknown.

³ *i. e.* Christians, whom Julian often calls *πονηροί*, "depraved."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίου ταύτην ἐπο-
 ρευόμην τὴν ὁδόν, ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος ὄρθρου βαθέος
 διαναστὰς ἦλθον εἰς τὸ Ἴλιον περὶ πλήθουσιν
 ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὴντησέ μοι¹ καὶ βουλομένῳ τὴν
 πόλιν ἱστορεῖν—ἦν γάρ μοι τοῦτο πρόσχημα τοῦ
 φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ ἱερά—περιγηγητῆς τε ἐγένετο καὶ
 ἐξενάγησέ με πανταχοῦ. ἄκουε τοίνυν ἔργα καὶ
 λόγους, ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν οὐκ ἀγνώμονα τὰ
 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτόν.

Ἡρῶν ἐστὶν Ἑκτορος, ὅπου χαλκοὺς ἔστηκεν
 ἀνδριάς ἐν ναῖσκῳ βραχεῖ. τούτῳ τὸν μέγαν
 ἀντέστησαν Ἀχιλλέα κατὰ τὸ ὑπαιθρον. εἰ τὸν
 τόπον ἐθεάσω, γνωρίζεις δῆπουθεν ὃ λέγω. τὴν
 μὲν οὖν ἱστορίαν, δι' ἣν ὁ μέγας Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀντι-
 τεταγμένος αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ ὑπαιθρον κατείληφεν,
 ἔξεστί σοι τῶν περιγηγητῶν ἀκούειν. ἐγὼ δὲ
 καταλαβὼν ἐμπύρους ἔτι, μικροῦ δέω φάναι
 λαμπροὺς ἔτι τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ λιπαρῶς ἀληγιμ-
 μένην τὴν τοῦ Ἑκτορος εἰκόνα, πρὸς Πηγάσιον
 ἀπιδὼν “Τί ταῦτα”; εἶπον, “Ἰλιεῖς θύουσιν”;
 ἀποπειρώμενος ἡρέμα, πῶς ἔχει γνώμης· ὁ δὲ
 “Καὶ τί τοῦτο ἄτοπον, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἑαυτῶν
 πολίτην, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μάρτυρας, εἰ
 θεραπεύουσιν”; ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰκὼν οὐχ ὑγιής· ἡ δὲ
 προαίρεσις ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐξεταζομένη τοῖς καιροῖς
 ἀστεία. τί δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο; “Βαδίσωμεν,”
 ἔφην, “ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰλιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς τέμενος.”

¹ μοι Hertlein would add.

TO A PRIEST

was summoned¹ to his headquarters by Constantius of blessed memory I was travelling by this route, and after rising at early dawn I came from Troas to Ilios about the middle of the morning. Pegasus came to meet me, as I wished to explore the city,—this was my excuse for visiting the temples,—and he was my guide and showed me all the sights. So now let me tell you what he did and said, and from it one may guess that he was not lacking in right sentiments towards the gods.

Hector has a hero's shrine there and his bronze statue stands in a tiny little temple. Opposite this they have set up a figure of the great Achilles in the unroofed court. If you have seen the spot you will certainly recognise my description of it. You can learn from the guides the story that accounts for the fact that great Achilles was set up opposite to him and takes up the whole of the unroofed court. Now I found that the altars were still alight, I might almost say still blazing, and that the statue of Hector had been anointed till it shone. So I looked at Pegasus and said: "What does this mean? Do the people of Ilios offer sacrifices?" This was to test him cautiously to find out his own views. He replied: "Is it not natural that they should worship a brave man who was their own citizen, just as we worship the martyrs?" Now the analogy was far from sound; but his point of view and intentions were those of a man of culture, if you consider the times in which we then lived. Observe what followed. "Let us go," said he, "to the shrine of Athene of

¹ In the winter of 354, when he was on his way from Nicomedia to the court at Milan, after the death of Gallus; first he came to Alexandria Troas, and then to New Ilios.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλα προθύμως ἀπήγαγέ με καὶ ἀνέωξε τὸν νεών, καὶ ὥσπερ μαρτυρόμενος ἐπέδειξέ μοι πάντα ἀκριβῶς σῶα τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ ἔπραξεν οὐδὲν ὧν εἰώθασιν οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ἐκεῖνοι πράττειν, ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τὸ ὑπόμνημα σκιαγραφοῦντες, οὐδὲ ἐσύριττεν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτόν· ἡ γὰρ ἄκρα θεολογία παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι δύο ταῦτα, συρίττειν τε πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ σκιαγραφεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρόν.

Δύο ταῦτα ἐπηγγειλάμην εἰπεῖν σοι· τρίτον δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ νοῦν οὐκ οἶμαι χρῆναι σιωπᾶν. ἠκολούθησέ μοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀχίλλειον ὁ αὐτός, καὶ ἀπέδειξε τὸν τάφον σῶον· ἐπεπύσμην δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεσκάφθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλα σεβόμενος αὐτῷ προσήει. ταῦτα εἶδον αὐτός. ἀκήκοα δὲ παρὰ τῶν νῦν ἐχθρῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι καὶ προσεύχοιτο λάθρα καὶ προσκυνοίη τὸν Ἥλιον. ἄρα οὐκ ἂν ἐδέξω με καὶ ιδιώτην μαρτυροῦντα; τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς διαθέσεως ἐκάστου τίνες ἂν εἶεν ἀξιοπιστότεροι μάρτυρες αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν; ἡμεῖς ἂν ἱερέα Πηγάσιον ἐποιούμεεν, εἰ συνεγνώκειμεν αὐτῷ τι περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δυσσεβές; εἰ δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις εἴτε δυναστείας ὀρεγόμενος, εἴθ', ὅπερ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφη πολλάκις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἔδη τὰ ράκια ταῦτα περιамπέσχετο¹ καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν

¹ περιамπίσχετο? Hertlein.

TO A PRIEST

Ilios." Thereupon with the greatest eagerness he led me there and opened the temple, and as though he were producing evidence he showed me all the statues in perfect preservation, nor did he behave at all as those impious men do usually, I mean when they make the sign on their impious foreheads, nor did he hiss¹ to himself as they do. For these two things are the quintessence of their theology, to hiss at demons and make the sign of the cross on their foreheads.

These are the two things that I promised to tell you. But a third occurs to me which I think I must not fail to mention. This same Pegasius went with me to the temple of Achilles as well and showed me the tomb in good repair; yet I had been informed that this also had been pulled to pieces by him. But he approached it with great reverence; I saw this with my own eyes. And I have heard from those who are now his enemies that he also used to offer prayers to Helios and worship him in secret. Would you not have accepted me as a witness even if I had been merely a private citizen? Of each man's attitude towards the gods who could be more trustworthy witnesses than the gods themselves? Should I have appointed Pegasius a priest if I had any evidence of impiety towards the gods on his part? And if in those past days, whether because he was ambitious for power, or, as he has often asserted to me, he clad himself in those rags in order to save the temples of the gods, and only pretended to be irreligious so far as the name

¹ Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 40, 221, discusses the practice in magic, and especially in the ritual of Mithras, of hissing and whistling.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μέχρις ὀνόματος ὑπεκρίνατο· πέφηνε γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡδίκηκὸς πλὴν ὀλίγων παντά-
 πασι λίθων ἐκ καλύμματος,¹ ἵνα αὐτῷ σώζειν
 ἐξῇ τὰ λοιπά· τοῦτο ἐν λόγῳ ποιούμεθα καὶ
 οὐκ αἰσχυρόμεθα ταῦτα περὶ αὐτὸν πράττοντες
 ὅσα περ Ἀφόβιος ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πάντες
 προσεύχονται πάσχοντα ἰδεῖν αὐτόν; εἴ τί μοι
 προσέχεις, οὐ τοῦτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους, οὓς μετατέθενται, τιμήσεις, ἵν' οἱ μὲν
 ῥᾶον ὑπακούσωσιν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ προ-
 καλουμένοις, οἱ δ' ἦττον χαίρωσιν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς
 αὐτομάτους ἰόντας ἀπελαύνοιμεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπακού-
 σεται ῥαδίως παρακαλοῦσιν.

20

Ἰουλιανὸς Θεοδώρῳ ἀρχιερεῖ.²

452 Ἐμοὶ πρὸς σὲ πεποιήται παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἰδιαίτερον ἐπιστολῆς εἶδος, ὅτι σοι καὶ πλεον
 μέτεστι τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας ἥπερ οἶμαι τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις· ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ κοινὸς καθηγεμὼν οὐ μικρά,
 καὶ μέμνησαι δήπου. χρόνος δὲ οὐ βραχὺς ὅτε
 B διατρίβων ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἐπειδὴ σε λίαν
 ἀρέσκειν ἐπυθόμην αὐτῷ, φίλον ἐνόμισα· καίτοι
 δοκεῖν³ ἔχον ἐκείνο καλῶς εἶωθεν ἐμοὶ διὰ περιτ-
 τὴν εὐλάβειαν τὸ οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἦν τησ' οὐδὲ ἶδον, καὶ

¹ For *καταλύματος* MSS. Hertlein suggests *καλύμματος*.

² Hertlein 63. Before Θεοδώρῳ Hertlein, following Heyler, brackets *Καίσαρ* the reading of *Vossianus*.

³ *δοκεῖν* so Capps for a lacuna here; Spanheim *συμβαίνειν*.

¹ See Introduction. Those who date this letter early in 363, following Reiske, regard it as part of the *Letter to a Priest*, Vol. 2, written after the burning of the temple of

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

of the thing went—indeed it is clear that he never injured any temple anywhere except for what amounted to a few stones, and that was as a blind, that he might be able to save the rest—well then we are taking this into account and are we not ashamed to behave to him as Aphobius did, and as the Galilaeans all pray to see him treated? If you care at all for my wishes you will honour not him only but any others who are converted, in order that they may the more readily heed me when I summon them to good works, and those others may have less cause to rejoice. But if we drive away those who come to us of their own free will, no one will be ready to heed when we summon.

20

To the High-priest Theodorus¹

I HAVE written you a more familiar sort of letter than to the others, because you, I believe, have more friendly feelings than others towards me. For it means much that we had the same guide,² and I am sure you remember him. A long time ago, when I was still living in the west,³ I learned that he had the highest regard for you, and for that reason I counted you my friend, and yet because of their excessive caution, I have usually thought these words well said,

862
Before
May
12th
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

“For I never met or saw him”;⁴

Apollo at Daphne in October 362. It seems more likely that that fragment contains the general instructions for priests promised by Julian in this letter.

¹ Maximus of Ephesus, who had initiated Julian and perhaps Theodorus also into the Mysteries of Mithras.

² i.e. in Gaul. ³ *Iliad* 4. 374; *Odyssey* 4. 200.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καλῶς¹ ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ φιλίας μὲν γινῶσιν, γνώσεως δὲ πείραν. ἀλλ' ἦν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἐλάχιστος
 C παρ' ἐμοὶ λόγος καὶ τοῦ Αὐτὸς ἔφα. διόπερ ἐγὼ καὶ τότε σε τοῖς γνωρίμοις ᾧμην δεῖν ἐγκαταλέγειν, καὶ νῦν ἐπιτρέπω πρᾶγμα ἐμοὶ μὲν φίλον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ πᾶσι πανταχοῦ λυσιτελέστατον. σὺ δὲ εἰ καλῶς, ὥσπερ οὖν ἄξιον ἐλπίζειν, αὐτὸ μεταχειρίσαιο, ἴσθι πολλὴν μὲν εὐφροσύνην ἐνταῦθα παρέξων, ἐλπίδα δὲ ἀγαθὴν μείζονα τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τῶν πεπει-
 D σμένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἥτοι προαπόλλυσθαι τῶν σωμάτων ἢ συναπόλλυσθαι, πειθόμεθα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί, τοῖς θεοῖς δὲ μόνον, οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ταῦτα εἰκὸς εἰδέναι μόνους, εἴ γε χρὴ καλεῖν εἰκὸς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον· ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόζει περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζειν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνάγκη.

Τί τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ φημί σοι νῦν ἐπιτρέπειν ;
 453 ἄρχειν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων αἵρου-
 μένω² τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἱερέας καὶ ἀπο-
 νέμονται τὸ πρέπον ἐκάστω. πρέπει δὲ ἐπιείκεια μὲν πρῶτον ἄρχοντι χρηστότης τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ φιλανθρωπία πρὸς τοὺς ἀξιόους αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν. ὡς ὅστις γε ἀδικεῖ μὲν ἀνθρώπους, ἀνόσιος δ' ἐστὶ πρὸς θεοὺς, θρασὺς δὲ πρὸς πάντας, ἡ διδακτέος μετὰ παρρησίας ἐστὶν ἢ μετ' ἐμβριθείας κολαστέος. ὅσα μὲν οὖν χρὴ κοινῇ συντάξαι περὶ τῶν ἱερέων³

¹ καὶ καλῶς Capps ; ὡς MSS., Hertlein.

² . . . ουμενω Vossianus ; ἐπισκοπουμένω Hertlein ; αἵρουμένω Cobet.

³ Hertlein, MSS. ἱερῶν.

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

and well said is "Before we love we must know, and before we can know we must test by experience." But it seems that after all a certain other saying has most weight with me, namely, "The Master has spoken."¹ That is why I thought even then that I ought to count you among my friends, and now I entrust to you a task that is dear to my heart, while to all men everywhere it is of the greatest benefit. And if, as I have the right to expect, you administer the office well, be assured that you will rejoice me greatly now and give me still greater good hope for the future life. For I certainly am not one of those who believe that the soul perishes before the body or along with it, nor do I believe any human being but only the gods; since it is likely that they alone have the most perfect knowledge of these matters, if indeed we ought to use the word "likely" of what is inevitably true; since it is fitting for men to conjecture about such matters, but the gods must have complete knowledge.

What then is this office which I say I now entrust to you? It is the government of all the temples in Asia, with power to appoint the priests in every city and to assign to each what is fitting. Now the qualities that befit one in this high office are, in the first place, fairness, and next, goodness and benevolence towards those who deserve to be treated thus. For any priest who behaves unjustly to his fellow men and impiously towards the gods, or is overbearing to all, must either be admonished with plain speaking or chastised with great severity. As for the regulations which I must make more complete for the guidance of priests in general, you

¹ This Pythagorean phrase is the original of *Ipse dixit*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- ἀπάντων ἐντελέστερον, αὐτίκα μάλα σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴσει, μικρὰ δὲ τέως ὑποθέσθαι σοι βούλομαι.
- B** δίκαιος δὲ εἰ πείθεσθαι μοι τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀποσχεδιάζω τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὥς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἀλλὰ, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, εὐλαβῆς εἰμι καὶ φεύγω τὴν καινοτομίαν ἐν ἅπασιν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, οἰόμενος χρῆναι τοὺς πατρίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλάττεσθαι νόμους, οὓς ὅτι μὲν ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοί, φανερόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν οὕτω καλοὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπλῶς γενόμενοι.
- C** συμβὰν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἐπικρατησάντων, οἶμαι δεῖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τοιούτων. ὁρῶν οὖν πολλὴν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν οὖσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἅπασαν δὲ εὐλάβειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς κρείττους ἀπεληλαμένην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκαθάρτου καὶ χυδαίας ¹ τρυφῆς, αἰὲ μὲν ὠδυράμην ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοὺς μὲν τῇ Ἰουδαίων ² εὐσεβείας σχολῇ προσέχοντας
- D** οὕτω διαπύρους, ὥς αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θάνατον, ἀνέχεσθαι δὲ πᾶσαν ἔνδειαν καὶ λιμόν, υἱέων ὅπως μὴ γεύσαιντο μηδὲ πνικτοῦ ³ μηδ' ἄρα τοῦ ἀποθλιβέντος· ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτω ῥαθύμως τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διακειμένους, ὥστε ἐπιλελῆσθαι μὲν τῶν πατρίων, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ λοιπόν, εἰ καὶ ἐτάχθη

¹ καὶ χυδαίας Hertlein suggests for lacuna ; ταύτης Cobet.

² τῇ Ἰουδαίων Hertlein suggests for lacuna μὲν . . . ων.

³ . . . τοῦ MS. πνικτοῦ Spanheim.

¹ Literally "from the hearth," i.e. from their origin, a proverb.

² For Julian's tolerant attitude to the Jewish religion, cf. *To the Jews*, p. 177.

TO THE HIGH-PRIEST THEODORUS

as well as the others will soon learn them from me, but meanwhile I wish to make a few suggestions to you. You have good reason to obey me in such matters. Indeed in such a case I very seldom act offhand, as all the gods know, and no one could be more circumspect; and I avoid innovations in all things, so to speak, but more peculiarly in what concerns the gods. For I hold that we ought to observe the laws that we have inherited from our forefathers, since it is evident that the gods gave them to us. For they would not be as perfect as they are if they had been derived from mere men. Now since it has come to pass that they have been neglected and corrupted, and wealth and luxury have become supreme, I think that I ought to consider them carefully as though from their cradle.¹ Therefore, when I saw that there is among us great indifference about the gods and that all reverence for the heavenly powers has been driven out by impure and vulgar luxury, I always secretly lamented this state of things. For I saw that those whose minds were turned to the doctrines of the Jewish religion² are so ardent in their belief that they would choose to die for it, and to endure utter want and starvation rather than taste pork or any animal that has been strangled³ or had the life squeezed out of it; whereas we are in such a state of apathy about religious matters that we have forgotten the customs of our forefathers, and therefore we actually do not know whether any such rule has

¹ This is not directly prohibited in the Old Testament, but cf. *Deuteronomy* 12. 23, where it is implied; and, for the New Testament, *Acts* 15. 29 "That ye abstain from things strangled."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- πώποτε τι τοιοῦτον. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐν μέρει
 θεοσεβεῖς ὄντες, ἐπέπερ θεὸν¹ τιμῶσι τὸν ὡς²
 454 ἀληθῶς ὄντα δυνατώτατον καὶ ἀγαθώτατον, ὃς
 ἐπιτροπεύει τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον, ὃν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄλλοις θεραπεύομεν ὀνόμασιν, εἰκότα
 μοι δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν, τοὺς νόμους μὴ παραβαίνοντες,
 ἐκείνο δὲ³ μόνον ἀμαρτάνειν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους θεοὺς, ἀρέσκοντες τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ θεῷ,
 θεραπεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οἴονται τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπο-
 B κεκληρῶσθαι μόνοις αὐτοῦς, ἀλαζονείᾳ βαρβαρικῇ
 πρὸς ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐπαρθέντες· οἱ δὲ ἐκ
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας⁴ δυσσεβείας ὥσπερ τι νόσημα τῷ
 βίῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν . . .

21

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Ἰουλιανὸς Μέγιστος
 Σεβαστὸς Ἀλεξανδρέων τῷ δήμῳ⁵

- 378 Εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν οἰκιστὴν ὑμῶν καὶ
 πρὸ γε τούτου τὸν θεὸν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἀγιώτατον
 D Σάραπιν αἰδεῖσθε, τοῦ κοινοῦ γοῦν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνθρω-
 πίνου καὶ πρέποντος πῶς οὐκ εἰσῆλθε λόγος οὐδεὶς;
 προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι⁶ καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἐν

¹ θεὸν Cobet suggests, ὃν MSS.

² τὸν ὡς Cobet suggests τιμῶσι . . . ἀλλ' MSS. οὐ νεκρὸν ἀλλ' Heyler suggests.

³ δὲ Reiske adds.

⁴ Γαλιλαίων Hercher.

⁵ Hertlein 10. Asmus thinks that before Μέγιστος the word Ἀρχιερεὺς, "high priest," has fallen out; cf. Vol. 2, *Fragment of a Letter*, 298 D. The phrase would then mean "Pontifex Maximus."

⁶ Hertlein suggests ἔτι.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ALEXANDRIA

ever been prescribed. But these Jews are in part god-fearing, seeing that they revere a god who is truly most powerful and most good and governs this world of sense, and, as I well know, is worshipped by us also under other names.¹ They act as is right and seemly, in my opinion, if they do not transgress the laws; but in this one thing they err in that, while reserving their deepest devotion for their own god, they do not conciliate the other gods also; but the other gods they think have been allotted to us Gentiles only, to such a pitch of folly have they been brought by their barbaric conceit. But those who belong to the impious sect of the Galilaeans, as if some disease . . .²

21

The Emperor Julian Caesar, most Mighty Augustus,
to the People of Alexandria³

If you do not revere the memory of Alexander, your founder, and yet more than him the great god, the most holy Serapis, how is it that you took no thought at least for the welfare of your community, for humanity, for decency? Furthermore, I will add that you took no thought for me either, though all

362
January
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ Cf. *Against the Galilaeans* 354B, where Julian says that he always worships the God of Abraham, who is gracious to those that do him reverence μέγας τε ὢν πᾶν καὶ δυνατός, "for he is very great and powerful."

² The conclusion of the sentence is lost, and was probably deleted by a Christian because of some disrespectful reference to Christ.

³ Quoted entire by Socrates, *History of the Church* 3. 3; cited by Sozomen, 5. 7. 9; for the murder of Bishop George to which it refers, see Introduction, under Athanasius.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- πρώτοις δὲ ὁ μέγας Σάραπισ ἄρχειν ἐδικαίωσαν
 τῆς οἰκουμένης· οἷς πρέπον ἦν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδι-
 κηκότων ὑμᾶς φυλάξαι διάγνωσιν. ἀλλ' ὀργὴ
 τυχὸν ἴσως ὑμᾶς ἐξηπάτησε καὶ θυμός, ὅσπερ οὖν
 εἴωθε "τὰ δεινὰ πράττειν, τὰς φρένας μετοικίσας,"
 οἷ τὰ¹ τῆς ὀρμῆς ἀναστείλαντες τοῖς παραχρῆμα
 379 βεβουλευμένοις καλῶς ὕστερον ἐπηγάγετε τὴν
 παρανομίαν, οὐδὲ ἡσχύνθητε δῆμος ὄντες τολμή-
 σαι ταυτά, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκείνους ἐμισήσατε δικαίως.
 εἶπατε γάρ μοι πρὸς τοῦ Σαράπιδος, ὑπὲρ ποίων
 ἀδικημάτων ἐχαλεπήνατε Γεωργίῳ; τὸν μακαρί-
 την² Κωνστάντιον, ἐρεῖτε δήπουθεν, ὅτι καθ' ὑμῶν
 παρώξυνεν, εἶτα εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν
 B Αἰγύπτου τὸ ἀγιώτατον τοῦ θεοῦ τέμενος, ἀποσυ-
 λήσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰκόνας καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὸν ἐν
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς κόσμον. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀγανακτούντων εἰκό-
 τως καὶ πειρωμένων ἀμύνειν τῷ θεῷ, μᾶλλον δὲ
 τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κτήμασιν, ὁ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ὑμῖν
 ἐπιπέμψαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀδίκως καὶ παρανόμως
 καὶ ἀσεβῶς, ἴσως Γεώργιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Κωνστάν-
 τιον δεδοικώς, ὃς αὐτὸν παρεφύλαττεν, εἰ μετριώ-
 C κώτερον πόρρωθεν προσφέροίτο. τούτων οὖν
 ἔνεκεν ὀργιζόμενοι τῷ θεοῖς ἐχθρῷ Γεωργίῳ τὴν

¹ οἷ τὰ Hertlein suggests; εἰ τὰ Heyler; εἶτα MSS.

² Cobet; μακαριώτατον MSS., Hertlein.

¹ Plutarch, *On the Restraint of Anger* 453; quoted from Melanthius the tragic poet; *frag.* 1, Nauck. This is the only extant fragment of Melanthius and is often quoted.

² Artemius, military prefect of Egypt; he was executed

TO THE PEOPLE OF ALEXANDRIA

the gods, and, above all, the great Serapis, judged it right that I should rule over the world. The proper course was for you to reserve for me the decision concerning the offenders. But perhaps your anger and rage led you astray, since it often "turns reason out of doors and then does terrible things"¹; for after you had restrained your original impulse, you later introduced lawlessness to mar the wise resolutions which you had at the first adopted, and were not ashamed, as a community, to commit the same rash acts as those for which you rightly detested your adversaries. For tell me, in the name of Serapis, what were the crimes for which you were incensed against George? You will doubtless answer: He exasperated against you Constantius of blessed memory; then he brought an army into the holy city, and the general² in command of Egypt seized the most sacred shrine of the god and stripped it of its statues and offerings and of all the ornaments in the temples. And when you were justly provoked and tried to succour the god, or rather the treasures of the god,³ Artemius dared to send his soldiers against you, unjustly, illegally and impiously, perhaps because he was more afraid of George than of Constantius; for the former was keeping a close watch on him to prevent his behaving to you too moderately and constitutionally, but not to prevent his acting far more like a tyrant. Accordingly you will say it was because you were angered for these reasons against George, the enemy of the by Julian at the request of the Alexandrians, in the summer of 362; Ammianus 22. 11.

¹ Serapis; the Serapeum according to Ammianus 22. 16, was, next to the Capitol at Rome, the most splendid temple in the world. For this incident see Sozomen 4. 30. 2.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἱερὰν αὐθις ἐμίανατε πόλιν, ἐξὸν ὑποβάλλειν αὐ-
 τὸν ταῖς τῶν δικαστῶν ψήφοις· οὕτω γὰρ ἐγένετο
 ἂν οὐ φόνος οὐδὲ παρανομία τὸ πρᾶγμα, δίκη δὲ
 ἐμμελής, ὑμᾶς μὲν ἀθώους πάντη φυλάττουσα,
 τιμωρουμένη μευ¹ τὸν ἀνίατα δυσσεβήσαντα, σω-
 D φρονίζουσά δὲ² τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὅσοι τῶν
 θεῶν ὀλιγωροῦσι καὶ προσέτι τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις
 καὶ τοὺς ἀνθοῦντας δήμους ἐν οὐδενὶ τίθενται, τῆς
 ἑαυτῶν δὲ ποιοῦνται πάρεργον δυναστείας τὴν
 κατ' ἐκείνων ὠμότητα.

Παραβάλλετε τοίνυν ταύτην μου τὴν ἐπιστο-
 λὴν ἢ μικρῷ πρῶην ἐπέστειλα, καὶ τὸ διάφορον
 κατανοήσατε. πόσους μὲν ὑμῶν ἐπαίνους ἔγρα-
 φον τότε; νυνὶ δὲ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐθέλων ὑμᾶς
 ἐπαινεῖν οὐ δύναμαι διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν. τολμᾷ
 380 δῆμος ὥσπερ οἱ κύνες λύκον³ ἄνθρωπον σπαράτ-
 τειν, εἴτα οὐκ αἰσχύνεται τὰς χεῖρας προσάγειν
 τοῖς θεοῖς αἵματι ρεούσας. ἀλλὰ Γεώργιος ἄξιος
 ἦν τοῦ τοιαῦτα παθεῖν. καὶ τούτων ἴσως ἐγὼ
 φαίην ἂν χείρονα καὶ πικρότερα. καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς,
 ἐρεῖτε. σύμφημι καὶ αὐτός· παρ' ὑμῶν δὲ εἰ
 λέγοιτε, τοῦτο οὐκέτι συγχωρῶ. νόμοι γὰρ ὑμῖν
 εἰσὶν, οὓς χρὴ τιμᾶσθαι μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων
 B ἰδία καὶ στέργεσθαι. πλὴν ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει τῶν
 καθ' ἕκαστόν τινας παρανομεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ
 γοῦν εὐνομεῖσθαι χρὴ καὶ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς νόμοις

¹ Hertlein suggests δὲ from correction in margin.

² Hertlein suggests τε.

³ Asmus supplies; cf. Vol. 1, *Oration* 1. 48c.

¹ On the turbulence of the Alexandrians cf. Ammianus 22. 11. 4.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ALEXANDRIA

gods, that you once more¹ desecrated the holy city, when you might have subjected him to the votes of the judges. For in that case the affair would not have resulted in murder² and lawlessness but in a lawsuit in due form, which would have kept you wholly free from guilt, while it would have punished that impious man for his inextinguishable crimes, and would have checked all others who neglect the gods, and who moreover lightly esteem cities like yours and flourishing communities, since they think that cruel behaviour towards these is a perquisite of their own power.

Now compare this letter of mine with the one³ that I wrote to you a short time ago, and mark the difference well. What words of praise for you did I write then! But now, by the gods, though I wish to praise you, I cannot, because you have broken the law. Your citizens dare to tear a human being in pieces as dogs tear a wolf, and then are not ashamed to lift to the gods those hands still dripping with blood! But, you will say, George deserved to be treated in this fashion. Granted, and I might even admit that he deserved even worse and more cruel treatment. Yes, you will say, and on your account. To this I too agree; but if you say by your hands, I no longer agree. For you have laws which ought by all means to be honoured and cherished by you all, individually. Sometimes, no doubt, it happens that certain persons break one or other of these laws; but nevertheless the state as a whole ought to be well governed and you ought to obey the laws

¹ Ammianus 22. 11. 8 describes the murder by the mob of Bishop George and two officials of the Emperor Constantius on December 24th, 361.

² This letter is not extant.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- ὕμᾱς, καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ὅσαπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνομίσθη καλῶς. Εὐτύχημα γέγονεν ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πλημμελήσαι τοιοῦτό τι ὑμᾱς, ὃς αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν θεῖον
- C τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ ὁμώνυμον, ὃς ἤρξεν αὐτῆς τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, ἀδελφικὴν εὖνοιαν ὑμῖν ἀποσώζω. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀκαταφρόνητον καὶ τὸ ἀπηνέστερον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐποτε ἂν δήμου περιίδοι τόλμημα μὴ οὐ καθάπερ νόσημα χαλεπὸν πικροτέρῳ διακαθῆραι φαρμάκῳ. προσφέρω δ' ἐγὼ ὑμῖν δι' ἃσπερ ἑναγχος ἔφην αἰτίας τὸ προσηνέστατον, παραίνεσιν καὶ λόγους,
- D ὑφ' ὧν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πείσεσθε μᾶλλον, εἴπερ ἐστέ, καθάπερ ἀκούω, τό τε ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνες καὶ τὰ νῦν ἔτι τῆς εὐγενείας ἐκείνης ὑπεστὶν ὑμῖν ἀξιόλογος καὶ γενναῖος ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὁ χαρακτήρ.

Προτεθήτω τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολίταις Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν.

22

Ἀρσακίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαλατίας.¹

429

- C Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς οὐπω πρᾶττει κατὰ λόγον ἡμῶν ἕνεκα τῶν μετιόντων αὐτόν· τὰ γὰρ τῶν θεῶν λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, κρείττονα πάσης μὲν εὐχῆς, πάσης δὲ ἐλπίδος. Ἰλεως δὲ ἔστω τοῖς
- D λόγοις ἡμῶν Ἀδράστεια· τὴν γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοιαύ-

¹ Hertlein 49. This letter is quoted in full by Sozomen 5. 16, and is not extant in any MS. of Julian.

TO ARSACIUS, HIGH-PRIEST OF GALATIA

and not transgress those that from the beginning were wisely established.

It is a fortunate thing for you, men of Alexandria, that this transgression of yours occurred in my reign, since by reason of my reverence for the god and out of regard for my uncle¹ and namesake, who governed the whole of Egypt and your city also, I preserve for you the affection of a brother. For power that would be respected and a really strict and unswerving government would never overlook an outrageous action of a people, but would rather purge it away by bitter medicine, like a serious disease. But, for the reasons I have just mentioned, I administer to you the very mildest remedy, namely admonition and arguments, by which I am very sure that you will be the more convinced if you really are, as I am told, originally Greeks, and even to this day there remains in your dispositions and habits a notable and honourable impress of that illustrious descent.

Let this be publicly proclaimed to my citizens of Alexandria.

22

To Arsacius, High-priest of Galatia

THE Hellenic religion does not yet prosper as I desire, and it is the fault of those who profess it; for the worship of the gods is on a splendid and magnificent scale, surpassing every prayer and every hope. May Adrasteia² pardon my words, for indeed

362
On his
way to
Antioch
in June?

¹ Julian, Count of the East; cf. *Misopogon* 365c; he had held some high office in Egypt, under Constantius.

² The goddess "whom none may escape" is a variant of Nemesis, often invoked in a saving clause, cf. *To Alypius*, p. 17.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

την καὶ τηλικαύτην μεταβολὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὔξασθαί
 τις ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐτόλμα. τί οὖν ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα
 ταῦτα ἀρκεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀποβλέπομεν, ὥς μάλιστα τὴν
 ἀθεότητα συνηύξησεν ἡ περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλαν-
 θρωπία καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προ-
 μήθεια καὶ ἡ πεπλασμένη σεμνότης κατὰ τὸν
 430 βίον; ὧν ἕκαστον οἶομαι χρῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀλη-
 θῶς ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπόχρη τὸ σὲ μόνον
 εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀπαξαπλῶς ὅσοι
 περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν εἰσὶν ἱερεῖς· οὐς ἡ δυσώπησον
 ἢ πείσον εἶναι σπουδαίους, ἢ τῆς ἱερατικῆς λει-
 τουργίας ἀποστήσον, εἰ μὴ προσέρχονται μετὰ γυ-
 ναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ θεραπόντων τοῖς θεοῖς,
 B ἀλλὰ ἀνέχονται τῶν οἰκετῶν ἢ υἱέων ἢ τῶν γαμε-
 τῶν ἀσεβούντων μὲν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀθεότητα δὲ
 θεοσεβείας προτιμώντων. ἔπειτα παραίνεσον ἱερέα
 μήτε θεάτρῳ παραβύλλειν μήτε ἐν καπηλείῳ πί-
 νειν ἢ τέχνης τινὸς καὶ ἐργασίας αἰσχρᾶς καὶ
 ἐπονειδίστου προΐστασθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πειθομέ-
 νους τίμα, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἐξώθει. ξενοδο-
 κεία καθ' ἑκάστην πόλιν κατὰστησον πυκνά, ἵν'
 C ἀπολαύσωσιν οἱ ξένοι τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν φιλανθρω-
 πίας, οὐ τῶν ἡμετέρων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων
 ὅστις ἂν δεθῇ¹ χρημάτων. ὅθεν δὲ εὐπορήσεις,
 ἐπινενόηταί μοι τέως. ἑκάστου γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῦ τρισ-
 μυρίους μοδίους κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐκέ-
 λυσσα δοθῆναι σίτου καὶ ἑξακισμυρίους οἶνον

¹ ἐνδεθῇ Hertlein, not necessary.

¹ Julian often calls Christianity "atheism."

² In the *Fragment of a Letter*, Vol. 2, Julian admonishes priests to imitate Christian virtues, cf. especially 289-290; it is the favourite theme of his pastoral letters; for a fuller

TO ARSACIUS, HIGH-PRIEST OF GALATIA

no one, a little while ago, would have ventured even to pray for a change of such a sort or so complete within so short a time. Why, then, do we think that this is enough, why do we not observe that it is their benevolence to strangers, their care for the graves of the dead and the pretended holiness of their lives that have done most to increase atheism?¹ I believe that we ought really and truly to practise every one of these virtues.² And it is not enough for you alone to practise them, but so must all the priests in Galatia, without exception. Either shame or persuade them into righteousness or else remove them from their priestly office, if they do not, together with their wives, children and servants, attend the worship of the gods but allow their servants or sons or wives to show impiety towards the gods and honour atheism more than piety. In the second place, admonish them that no priest may enter a theatre or drink in a tavern or control any craft or trade that is base and not respectable. Honour those who obey you, but those who disobey, expel from office. In every city establish frequent hostels in order that strangers may profit by our benevolence; I do not mean for our own people only, but for others also who are in need of money. I have but now made a plan by which you may be well provided for this; for I have given directions that 30,000 modii of corn shall be assigned every year for the whole of Galatia, and 60,000 pints³ of

account of his attempt to graft Christian discipline on paganism, see Gregory Nazianzen, *Against Julian*, *Oration 3*, and *Sozomen 5. 16*.

¹ *Modius*, "peck," and *sextarius*, "pint," are Latin words; cf. use in the *Letters* of *πριβάτοις*, *privatis*, *βρέβια*, *brevia*, *σκρινίους*, *scriiniis*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ξέστας· ὦν τὸ μὲν πέμπτον εἰς τοὺς πένητας τοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑπηρετουμένους ἀναλίσκεσθαι φημι χρῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς μεταιτου-
D σιν ἐπινέμεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν. αἰσχρὸν γάρ, εἰ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς μεταιτεῖ, τρέφουσι δὲ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπικουρίας ἐνδεεῖς φαίνονται. δίδασκε δὲ καὶ συνεισφέρειν τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργίας
431 καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς κώμας ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν καρπῶν, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ταῖς τοιαύταις εὐποιαῖς προσέθιζε, διδάσκων αὐτούς, ὡς τοῦτο πάλαι ἦν ἡμέτερον ἔργον. "Ομηρος γοῦν τοῦτο¹ πεποίηκεν Εὐμαιον λέγοντα·

ξείν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
B ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε. δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε.

μὴ δὴ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ παραζηλοῦν ἄλλοις συγχωροῦντες αὐτοὶ τῇ ῥαθυμίᾳ καταισχύνωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταπροώμεθα τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐλάβειαν. εἰ ταῦτα πυθοίμην ἐγὼ σε πράττοντα, μεστὸς εὐφροσύνης ἔσομαι.

C Τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὀλιγάκις ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ὄρα, τὰ πλείστα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίστελλε. εἰσιοῦσι δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπαντάτω μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἱερέων, ἀλλ', ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶσι τῶν θεῶν, εἴσω τῶν προθύρων. ἡγείσθω δὲ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν εἴσω στρατιώτης, ἐπέσθω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος· ἅμα γὰρ εἰς τὸν οὐδὸν ἦλθε τοῦ

¹ Klimek ; αὐτὸ MSS., Hertlein.

TO ARSACIUS, HIGH-PRIEST OF GALATIA

wine. I order that one-fifth of this be used for the poor who serve the priests, and the remainder be distributed by us to strangers and beggars. For it is disgraceful that, when no Jew ever has to beg, and the impious Galilaeans support not only their own poor but ours as well, all men see that our people lack aid from us.¹ Teach those of the Hellenic faith to contribute to public service of this sort, and the Hellenic villages to offer their first fruits to the gods; and accustom those who love the Hellenic religion to these good works by teaching them that this was our practice of old. At any rate Homer makes Eumaeus say: "Stranger, it is not lawful for me, not even though a baser man than you should come, to dishonour a stranger. For from Zeus come all strangers and beggars. And a gift, though small, is precious."² Then let us not, by allowing others to outdo us in good works, disgrace by such remissness, or rather, utterly abandon, the reverence due to the gods. If I hear that you are carrying out these orders I shall be filled with joy.

As for the government officials, do not interview them often at their homes, but write to them frequently. And when they enter the city no priest must go to meet them, but only meet them within the vestibule when they visit the temples of the gods. Let no soldier march before them into the temple, but any who will may follow them; for the moment that one of them passes over the threshold of the sacred

¹ For a comparison of the charity of the Galilaeans with Pagan illiberality, cf. Vol. 2, *Misopogon* 363A, B.

² *Odyssey* 14. 56; cf. *Fragment of a Letter* 291B, where it is quoted in a similar context.

D τεμένους καὶ γέγονεν ιδιώτης. ἄρχεις γὰρ αὐτός, ὡς οἶσθα, τῶν ἔνδον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα ἀπαιτεῖ θεσμός. καὶ οἱ μὲν πειθόμενοι κατὰ ἀλήθειάν εἰσι θεοσεβεῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντεχόμενοι τοῦ τύφου δοξοκόποι καὶ κενόδοξοι.

Τῇ Πεσσινούντι βοηθεῖν ἔτοιμός εἰμι, εἰ τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ἴλεων καταστήσουσιν ἑαυτοῖς· ἀμελοῦντες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἄμεμπτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ, μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, μὴ καὶ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπολαύσωσι δυσμενείας.

432 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἐλαίρειν ἀνέρας, οἳ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθωντ' ἀθανάτοισιν. πείθε τοίνυν αὐτούς, εἰ τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ κηδεμονίας ἀντέχονται, πανδημεὶ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἰκέτας γενέσθαι.

23

377 Ἐκδικίῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου ¹

D Ἄλλοι μὲν ἵππων, ἄλλοι δὲ ὀρνέων, ἄλλοι δὲ ²

378 θηρίων ἐρώσιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ βιβλίων κτήσεως ἐκ παιδαρίου δεινὸς ἐντέτηκε πόθος. ἄτοπον οὖν, εἰ ταῦτα περιῖδοιμι σφετερισμένους ἀνθρώπους, οἷς οὐκ ἄρκεῖ τὸ χρυσίον μόνον ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν πολὺν ἔρωτα τοῦ πλούτου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑφαι-

¹ Hertlein 9.

² Doehner suggests; Hertlein suggests ἄλλων.

¹ This letter was probably written after Julian's visit to Pessinus on his way to Antioch. The probable date for his arrival at Antioch is the first half of July.

TO ECDICIUS, PREFECT OF EGYPT

precinct he becomes a private citizen. For you yourself, as you are aware, have authority over what is within, since this is the bidding of the divine ordinance. Those who obey it are in very truth god-fearing, while those who oppose it with arrogance are vainglorious and empty-headed.

I am ready to assist Pessinus¹ if her people succeed in winning the favour of the Mother of the Gods. But, if they neglect her, they are not only not free from blame, but, not to speak harshly, let them beware of reaping my enmity also. "For it is not lawful for me to cherish or to pity men who are the enemies of the immortal gods."² Therefore persuade them, if they claim my patronage, that the whole community must become suppliants of the Mother of the Gods.

23

To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt ³

SOME men have a passion for horses, others for birds, others, again, for wild beasts; but I, from childhood, have been penetrated by a passionate longing⁴ to acquire books. It would therefore be absurd if I should suffer these to be appropriated by men whose inordinate desire for wealth gold alone

362
End of
January
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ *Odyssey* 10. 73; Julian alters the original which is said by Aeolus to Odysseus:

οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν
ἄνδρα τὸν δὲ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθεται μακάρεσσιν.

² See Introduction, under Ecdicius.

³ A proverbial phrase; cf. Vol. 1, *Oration* 4. 130c, Vol. 2, *Oration* 8. 251d; Plato, *Menexenus* 245d. For Julian's love of books, Vol. 1, *Oration* 3. 123d. foll.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- ρείσθαι ῥαδίως διανοουμένους. ταύτην οὖν ἰδιωτικὴν μοι δὸς τὴν χάριν, ὅπως ἀνευρεθῇ πάντα τὰ
- B Γεωργίου βιβλία. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν φιλόσοφα παρ' αὐτῷ, πολλὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, πολλὰ δὲ ἦν καὶ τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν Γαλιλαίων διδασκαλίας· ἃ βουλοίμην μὲν ἠφανίσθαι πάντῃ, τοῦ δὲ μὴ σὺν τούτοις ὑφαιρεθῆναι τὰ χρησιμώτερα, ζητείσθω κακῆϊνα μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα. ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς ζητήσεως ἔστω σοι ταύτης ὁ νοτάριος Γεωργίου, ὃς μετὰ πίστεως μὲν ἀνιχνεύσας αὐτὰ γέρωσ ἴστω τευξόμενος ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δ' ἀμωσγέπως γένοιτο
- C κακοῦργος περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, βασάνων εἰς πείραν ἤξων. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ ἐγὼ τὰ Γεωργίου βιβλία, καὶ εἰ μὴ πάντα, πολλὰ μέντοι· μετέδωκε γάρ μοι περὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ὄντι πρὸς μεταγραφὴν τινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἔλαβε πάλιν.

24

398

Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι διάταγμα¹

- C Ἐχρῆν τὸν ἐξελαθέντα βασιλικοῖς πολλοῖς πάνυ καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοκρατόρων προστάγμασιν
- D ἐν γοῦν ἐπίταγμα περιμεῖναι βασιλικόν, εἴθ' οὕτως εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατιέναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τόλμῃ μηδ' ἀπονοία χρησάμενον ὥς οὐκ οὖσιν ἐνυβρίζειν τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ τὸ νῦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις τοῖς

¹ Hertlein 26.

¹ Perhaps to be identified with Porphyrius, to whom Julian wrote the threatening *Letter* 38, p. 123.

² i.e. when he was interned for six years by Constantius at

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS, AN EDICT

cannot satiate, and who unscrupulously design to steal these also. Do you therefore grant me this personal favour, that all the books which belonged to George be sought out. For there were in his house many on philosophy, and many on rhetoric; many also on the teachings of the impious Galilaeans. These latter I should wish to be utterly annihilated, but for fear that along with them more useful works may be destroyed by mistake, let all these also be sought for with the greatest care. Let George's secretary¹ take charge of this search for you, and if he hunts for them faithfully let him know that he will obtain his freedom as a reward, but that if he prove in any way whatever dishonest in the business he will be put to the test of torture. And I know what books George had, many of them, at any rate, if not all; for he lent me some of them to copy, when I was in Cappadocia,² and these he received back.

24

To the Alexandrians, an Edict³

ONE who had been banished by so many imperial decrees issued by many Emperors ought to have waited for at least one imperial edict, and then on the strength of that returned to his own country, and not displayed rashness and folly, and insulted the laws as though they did not exist. For we have not, even now, granted to the Galilaeans who

362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

Macellum in Cappadocia. George was then at Caesarea near Macellum.

¹ See Introduction, under Athanasius.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

φυγαδευθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίου
οὐ κάθοδον εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
εἰς τὰς πατρίδας συνεχωρήσαμεν. Ἀθανάσιον δὲ
πυνθάνομαι τὸν τολμηρότατον ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους
ἐπαρθέντα θράσους ἀντιλαβέσθαι τοῦ λεγομένου
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνου, τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι καὶ
τῷ θεοσεβεῖ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμῳ οὐ μετρίως
399 ἀηδές. ὅθεν αὐτῷ προαγορεύομεν ἀπιέναι τῆς πό-
λεως, ἐξ ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότη-
τος γράμματα δέξηται παραχρήμα· μένοντι δ'
αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως εἰσω μείζους πολὺ καὶ χαλεπω-
τέρας προαγορεύομεν τιμωρίας.

25

426

Εὐαγρίῳ¹

D

Συγκτησείδιον μικρὸν ἀγρῶν τεττάρων δοθέν-
των μοι παρὰ τῆς τήθης ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ τῇ σῇ
διαθέσει δῶρον δίδωμι, ἔλαττον μὲν ἢ ὥστε ἄνδρα
εἰς περιουσίαν ὀνῆσαι τι μέγα καὶ ἀποφῆναι ὅλ-
427 βιον, ἔχον δὲ οὐδὲ ὥς παντάπασιν ἀτερπῆ τὴν
δόσιν, εἴ σοι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα περὶ αὐτοῦ διέλθοι-
μι. παίζειν δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει πρὸς σὲ χαρίτων
γέμοντα καὶ εὐμουσίας. ἀπώκισται μὲν τῆς θα-

¹ Hertlein 46. In the codex found at Chalke, *ρήτορι* is added to the title.

¹ Constantius was an Arian and had appointed Bishop George of Cappadocia to the see of Alexandria. Athanasius was then in exile by the decree of Constantius.

² Athanasius had installed himself in his church on February 21st, 362.

TO EVAGRIUS

were exiled by Constantius¹ of blessed memory to return to their churches, but only to their own countries. Yet I learn that the most audacious Athanasius, elated by his accustomed insolence, has again seized what is called among them the episcopal throne,² and that this is not a little displeasing to the God-fearing citizens³ of Alexandria. Wherefore we publicly warn him to depart from the city forthwith, on the very day that he shall receive this letter of our clemency. But if he remain within the city, we publicly warn him that he will receive a much greater and more severe punishment.⁴

25

To Evagrius⁵

A SMALL estate of four fields, in Bithynia, was given to me by my grandmother,⁶ and this I give as an offering to your affection for me. It is too small to bring a man any great benefit on the score of wealth or to make him appear opulent, but even so it is a gift that cannot wholly fail to please you, as you will see if I describe its features to you one by one. And there is no reason why I should not write in a light vein to you who are so full of the graces and amenities of culture. It is situated not more

362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ *i.e.* the Pagans.

² Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria, but not from Egypt, in consequence of this edict. For a second edict banishing him from Egypt, see p. 151.

³ For Evagrius see above, p. 25.

⁴ Cf. Vol. 2. 290D; and 251D for his childhood's associations with this coast.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- λάττης σταδίου οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι, καὶ οὔτε ἔμπορος οὔτε ναύτης ἐνοχλεῖ λάλος καὶ ὑβριστὴς τῷ χωρίῳ.
- B** οὐ μὴν ἀφήρηται τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Νηρέως χάριτας παντελῶς, ἔχει δὲ ἰχθὺν πρόσφατον αἰεὶ καὶ ἀσπαίροντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τινος ἀπὸ τῶν δωμάτων προελθὼν γηλόφου ὄψει τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὰς νήσους τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον πόλιν τοῦ γενναίου βασιλέως, οὐ φυκίοις ἐφεστῶς καὶ βρύοις, οὐδὲ ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκβαλλομένων εἰς τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ τὰς ψάμμους ἀτερπῶν πάνυ καὶ οὐδὲ ὀνομάζειν ἐπιτηδεῖων λυμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σμίλακος
- C** καὶ θύμου καὶ πόας εὐώδους. ἡσυχία δὲ πολλὴ κατακλινομένη καὶ εἰς τι¹ βιβλίον ἀφορῶντι, εἴτα διαναπαύονται τὴν ὄψιν ἡδιστον ἀπιδεῖν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν θάλατταν. τοῦτο ἐμοὶ μεираκίῳ κομιδῇ νέῳ θερίδιον ἐδόκει φίλτατον· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ πηγὰς οὐ φαύλας καὶ λουτρὸν οὐκ ἀναφρόδιτον καὶ κῆπον καὶ δένδρα. ἀνὴρ δ' ὢν ἤδη τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην ἐπόθουν δίαιταν, καὶ ἦλθον πολλῶν, καὶ γέγονεν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξω λόγων ἡ σύνοδος.
- D** ἔστι δ' ἐνταῦθα καὶ γεωργίας ἐμῆς μικρὸν ὑπόμνημα, φυταλία βραχεῖα, φέρουσα οἶνον εὐώδη τε καὶ ἡδύν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντά τι παρὰ τοῦ χρόνου προσλαβεῖν. τὸν Διόνυσον ὄψει καὶ τὰς Χάριτας. ὁ βότρυς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ληνοῦ θλιβόμενος ἀπόζει τῶν ῥόδων, τὸ γλεῦκος δὲ ἐν τοῖς πίθοις ἤδη νέκταρός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ 'Ομήρῳ
- 428** πιστεύοντι. τί δῆτα οὐ πολλὰ² γέγονεν οὐδ' ἐπὶ πλέθρα πάνυ πολλὰ ἢ τοιαύτη ἄμπελος; ³ τυχόν

¹ Hertlein suggests; MSS. εἰς τό.

² Hercher suggests; πολὺ MSS, Hertlein.

³ Hercher suggests; τοιούτων ἀμπέλων MSS., Hertlein.

TO EVAGRIUS

than twenty stades from the sea, so that no trader or sailor with his chatter and insolence disturbs the place. Yet it is not wholly deprived of the favours of Nereus, for it has a constant supply of fish, fresh and still gasping; and if you walk up on to a sort of hill away from the house, you will see the sea, the Propontis and the islands, and the city that bears the name of the noble Emperor;¹ nor will you have to stand meanwhile on seaweed and brambles, or be annoyed by the filth that is always thrown out on to seabeaches and sands, which is so very unpleasant and even unmentionable; but you will stand on smilax and thyme and fragrant herbage. Very peaceful it is to lie down there and glance into some book, and then, while resting one's eyes, it is very agreeable to gaze at the ships and the sea. When I was still hardly more than a boy I thought that this was the most delightful summer place, for it has, moreover, excellent springs and a charming bath and garden and trees. When I had grown to manhood I used to long for my old manner of life there and visited it often, and our meetings there did not lack talks about literature. Moreover there is there, as a humble monument of my husbandry, a small vineyard that produces a fragrant, sweet wine, which does not have to wait for time to improve its flavour. You will have a vision of Dionysus and the Graces. The grapes on the vine, and when they are being crushed in the press, smell of roses, and the new-made wine in the jars is a "rill of nectar," if one may trust Homer.² Then why is not such a vine as this abundant and growing over very many acres?

¹ Constantinople, named after Constantine.

² *Odyssey* 9. 359 νέκταρός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μὲν οὐδὲ ἐγὼ γεωργὸς γέγονα πρόθυμος· ἀλλὰ
ἐπεὶ ἐμοὶ νηφάλιος ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου κρατὴρ καὶ
ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν νυμφῶν δεῖται, ὅσον εἰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ
τοὺς φίλους· ὀλίγον δέ ἐστι τὸ χρῆμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν
παρεσκευασάμην. νῦν δὴ σοι δῶρον, ὦ φίλη
B κεφαλὴ, δίδωμι μικρὸν μὲν ὅπερ ἐστί, χαρίεν δὲ
φίλω παρὰ φίλου, οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν
ποιητὴν Πίνδαρον. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπισύρων πρὸς
λύχνον γέγραφα, ὥστε, εἴ τι ἡμάρτηται, μὴ
πικρῶς ἐξέταξε μηδ' ὡς ῥήτωρ ῥήτορα.

26

Βασιλείῳ¹

381 Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησὶν Οὐ πόλεμον ἀγγέλλεις,
ἐγὼ δὲ προσθείην ἐκ τῆς κωμῳδίας Ὡ χρυσὸν
ἀγγείλας ἐπῶν. ἴθι οὖν ἔργοις αὐτὸ δεῖξον, καὶ
B σπεῦδε παρ' ἡμᾶς· ἀφίξη γὰρ φίλος παρὰ φίλον.
ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰ πράγματα κοινὴ καὶ συνεχὴς ἀσχολία
δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναί πως τοῖς μὴ πάρεργον αὐτὰ ποιου-
σιν ἐπαχθής, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας κοινωνοῦντές
εἰσιν ἐπιεικεῖς, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, καὶ συνετοὶ καὶ
πάντως ἱκανοὶ πρὸς πάντα. διδοῦσιν οὖν μοι
ῥαστώνην, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μηδὲν ὀλιγωροῦντι καὶ
ἀναπαύεσθαι· σύνεσμεν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις οὐ μετὰ
τῆς αὐλικῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἧς μόνῃς οἶμαί σε μέχρι

¹ Hertlein 12.

¹ i. e. of water.

² *Olympian Ode* 6. 99; 7. 5.

³ For Basil, see Introduction.

TO BASIL

Perhaps I was not a very industrious gardener. But since my mixing bowl of Dionysus is inclined to soberness and calls for a large proportion of the nymphs,¹ I only provided enough for myself and my friends—and they are very few. Well then, I now give this to you as a present, dear heart, and though it be small, as indeed it is, yet it is precious as coming from a friend to a friend, “from home, homeward bound,” in the words of the wise poet Pindar.² I have written this letter in haste, by lamplight, so that, if I have made any mistakes, do not criticise them severely or as one rhetorician would another.

26

To Basil ³

“Not of war is thy report,”⁴ says the proverb, but I would add, from comedy, “O thou whose words bring tidings of gold!”⁵ Come then, show it by your deeds and hasten to me, for you will come as friend to friend.⁶ It is true that continuous attention to public business is thought to be a heavy burden on men who pursue it with all their energy; but those who share the task of administration with me are, I am convinced, honest and reasonable men, intelligent and entirely capable for all they have to do. So they give me leisure and the opportunity of resting without neglecting anything. For our intercourse with one another is free from that hypocrisy of courts of which alone you have

Early
in 362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus* 242B, *Laws* 102D, cf. *paroles de paix*.

² Aristophanes, *Plutus* 268. ³ Plato, *Menexenus* 247B.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- C τοῦ δεῦρο πεπειρᾶσθαι, καθ' ἣν ἐπαινούντες μισοῦσι τηλικούτον μῖσος ἡλίκον οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀλλήλοις ἐλευθερίας ἐξελέγχοντές τε ὅταν δέῃ καὶ ἐπιτιμῶντες οὐκ ἔλαττον φιλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους τῶν σφόδρα ἐταίρων· ἔνθεν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ἀπείη δὲ φθόνος· ἀνειμένοις τε σπουδάξειν καὶ σπουδάξουσιν μὴ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, καθεύδειν δὲ ἀδεῶς. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγρηγορῶς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ μᾶλλον
- D ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὡς εἰκός, ἐγρήγορα.

Ταῦτα ἴσως κατηдолέσχισά σου καὶ κατελήρησα, παθὼν τι βλακῶδες· ἐπήνεσα γὰρ ἑμαυτὸν ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας. ἀλλ' ἵνα σε πείσω προὔργου τι μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν παρουσίαν ἅτε ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος ποιήσῃ ἢ παραιρήσεσθαι τι τοῦ καιροῦ,

382 ταῦτα ἐπέστειλα. σπεῦδε οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, δημοσίῳ χρησάμενος δρόμῳ· συνδιατρίψας δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφ' ὅσον σοι φίλον, οἷπερ ἂν θέλῃς ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεμπόμενος, ὡς προσῆκόν ἐστι, βαδιεῖ.

27

Θραξίν¹

- 428 Βασιλεῖ μὲν πρὸς κέρδος ὀρῶντι χαλεπὸν ἂν
- C ὑμῶν ἐφάνη τὸ αἶτημα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ᾤηθη δεῖν τὴν δημοσίαν εὐπορίαν βλάπτειν τῇ πρὸς τινὰς ἰδίᾳ

¹ Hertlein 47.

¹ A proverb derived from Philemon, *frag.* 190; for the whole verse, see below, p. 159.

² *i. e.* the *cursus publicus*; cf. *To Eustathius*, p. 139.

TO THE THRACIANS

hitherto, I think, had experience, that hypocrisy which leads men to praise one another even while they hate with a hatred more deadly than they feel for their worst enemies in war. But we, though we refute and criticise one another with appropriate frankness, whenever it is necessary, love one another as much as the most devoted friends. Hence it is that I am able—if I may say so without odium—to work and yet enjoy relaxation, and when at work to be free from strain and sleep securely. For when I have kept vigil it was less on my own behalf probably than on behalf of all my subjects.

But perhaps I have been wearying you with my chatter and nonsense, displaying stupid conceit, for I have praised myself, like Astydamos.¹ However, I have despatched this letter to you to convince you that your presence, wise man that you are, will be serviceable to me rather than any waste of my time. Make haste then, as I said, and use the state post.² And when you have stayed with me as long as you desire you shall go your way whithersoever you please, with an escort furnished by me, as is proper.

27

To the Thracians³

To an Emperor who had an eye solely to gain, your request would have appeared hard to grant, and he would not have thought that he ought to injure the public prosperity by granting a particular

362
Before
May
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ An answer to a petition. For Julian's remission of arrears, *ἐλλείματα*, Latin *reliqua*, of taxes at Antioch, cf. *Misopogon*, 365B. For his popularity with the provincials due to this liberality, cf. Ammianus 25. 4. 15.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

χάριτι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὅ, τι πλείστα παρὰ τῶν
 ὑπηκόων ἀθροίζειν πεποιήμεθα σκοπόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἵτιοι γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο
 καὶ ὑμῖν ἀπολύσει τὰ ὀφλήματα. ἀπολύσει δὲ
 D οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα, ἀλλὰ μερισθήσεται τὸ πρᾶγ-
 μα, τὸ μὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν χρεῖαν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ἐλάχιστα καὶ αὐτοὶ δῆπου
 φέρεσθε, τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τοιγαρ-
 οῦν μέχρι μὲν τῆς τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀφίεμεν
 ὑμῖν πάντα, ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ φθάνοντος ἐλλείπει χρό-
 νου· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰσοίσετε κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. ὑμῖν
 429 τε γὰρ τὰ ἀφιέμενα χάρις ἱκανή, καὶ ἡμῖν τῶν
 κοινῶν οὐκ ἀμελητέον. περὶ τούτου καὶ τοῖς
 ἐπάρχοις ἐπέσταλκα, ἵν' ἡ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰς ἔργον
 προχωρήσῃ. ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ σώζοιεν
 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

28

407 Ἀνεπίγραφος ὑπὲρ Ἀργείων¹

B Ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις
 εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, σεμνύνειν αὐτὴν ἐθέλων, παλαιὰ καὶ
 νέα πράγματα. τοῦ τε γὰρ Τρωικοῦ, καθάπερ

¹ Hertlein 35.

¹ Apparently he means that the arrears are remitted down to the year 359, but they must pay what is due from that date.

² If the date is correct, this was probably a private communication to the newly-appointed Proconsul of Achaia, Praetextatus. Under the Roman dominion, Greek cities to settle their disputes had recourse to lawsuits which were often long and tedious. Seven years before Julian's accession, Corinth had successfully claimed the right to tax Argos.

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

indulgence to any. But since I have not made it my aim to collect the greatest possible sums from my subjects, but rather to be the source of the greatest possible blessings to them, this fact shall for you too cancel your debts. Nevertheless it will not cancel the whole sum absolutely, but there shall be a division of the amount, and part shall be remitted to you, part shall be used for the needs of the army; since from it you yourselves assuredly gain no slight advantages, namely, peace and security. Accordingly I remit for you, down to the third assessment,¹ the whole sum that is in arrears for the period preceding. But thereafter you will contribute as usual. For the amount remitted is sufficient indulgence for you, while for my part I must not neglect the public interest. Concerning this I have sent orders to the prefects also, in order that your indulgence may be carried into effect. May the gods keep you prosperous for all time!

28

On behalf of the Argives; unaddressed²

ON behalf of the city of Argos, if one wished to recount her honours, many are the glorious deeds both old and new that one might relate. For instance, in the achievements of the Trojan War

362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

The money was spent on wild beast shows and similar entertainments at Corinth. The Argives appealed to Julian for a revision of the case, and he now writes to the Proconsul of Achaia, leaving the decision to him, but strongly supporting the claim of Argos. As this letter is the only evidence for the Corinthian exaction or the Argive appeal, we do not know the result. Nor can we determine whether Julian is writing in 362 or 363. It seems unlikely that the Argives appealed to him when he was a student at Athens in 355, as some scholars have maintained. See Introduction.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- C ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῦ Περσικου,¹ προσήκει τὸ πλεον ἐκείνοις ἔργου. δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄμφω κοινῇ πραχθῆναι παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἄξιον δὲ ὥσπερ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῆς φροντίδος, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὸ πλεον μετέχειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρχαῖά πως εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἧ τε Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος καὶ ὡς τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ γέρας ἐξηρέθη, ἧ τε εἰς
- D Μακεδόνας ἐκείθεν ἀποικία, καὶ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις οὕτω πλησίον παροικούντας ἀδούλωτον ἀεὶ καὶ ἐλευθέραν φυλάξαι τὴν πόλιν, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ τῆς τυχεύσης ἀνδρείας ἦν. ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοσαῦτα περὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων γενόμενα ταύτῃ προσήκειν τῇ πόλει δικαίως ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι· Φιλίππου τε γὰρ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου
- 408 τῶν πάνυ τῶν προγόνων πατὴρ ἦν αὕτη. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὕστερον οὐχ ἀλούσα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυμμαχίαν ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ οἶμαι μετεῖχε καὶ αὐτὴ καθάπερ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαίων, ὅποσα νέμονται ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεσιν οἱ κρατοῦντες ἀεὶ.
- Κορίνθιοι δὲ νῦν αὐτὴν προσνενομένην² αὐτοῖς· οὕτω γὰρ εἰπεῖν εὐπρεπέστερον· ὑπὸ³ τῆς βασι-

¹ Duebner suggests ; lacuna Hertlein, MSS.

² Hertlein suggests ; MSS. προσγενομένην.

³ Hertlein suggests ; ἀπὸ MSS.

¹ Temenus the Heraclid received Argos as his share ; his descendants were expelled and colonised Macedonia ; cf. Julian, *Oration* 3. 106D ; Herodotus 8. 137.

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

they may claim to have played the chief part even as did the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, in later times, in the Persian War. For though both wars are held to have been waged by all Greece in common, yet it is fitting that the leaders, just as they had the larger share of toils and anxiety, should have also a larger share of the praise. These events, however, may seem somewhat antiquated. But those that followed, I mean the return of the Heracleidae, the taking of his birthright from the eldest,¹ the sending from Argos of the colony to Macedonia, and the fact that, though they were such near neighbours to the Lacedaemonians, they always preserved their city unenslaved and free, are proofs of no slight or common fortitude. But, furthermore, all those great deeds accomplished by the Macedonians against the Persians might with justice be considered to belong to this city; for this was the native land of the ancestors of Philip and Alexander,² those illustrious men. And in later days Argos obeyed the Romans, not so much because she was conquered as in the character of an ally, and, as I think, she too, like the other states, shared in the independence and the other rights which our rulers always bestow on the cities of Greece.

But now the Corinthians, since Argos has been assigned to their territory—for this is the less invidious way of expressing it—by the sovereign city,³

¹ Alexander claimed to be an Argive. For the colonisation of Macedonia cf. Herodotus 5. 22.

² Rome, cf. *Oration* 4. 131D. Corinth had been made a Roman colony by Augustus, and claimed authority over certain other cities that were not colonies; the Roman Proconsul regularly resided at Corinth.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- λενούσης πόλεως εἰς κακίαν ἐπαρθέντες συντελεῖν
- B** αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι, καὶ ταύτης ἥρξαν, ὥς φασι, τῆς καινοτομίας ἑβδομος οὗτος ἐνιαυτός, οὔτε τὴν Δελφῶν οὔτε τὴν Ἑλίων ἀτέλειαν, ἧς ἡξιώθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ διατιθέναι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας, αἰδεσθέντες. τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων, ὡς ἴσμεν, τῶν μεγίστων καὶ λαμπροτάτων ἀγώνων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἑλεῖοι μὲν Ὀλύμπια, Δελφοὶ δὲ Πύθια, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Κορίνθιοι, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τὴν τῶν
- C** Νεμέων συγκροτοῦσι πανήγυριν. πῶς οὖν εὐλογον ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἀτέλειαν τὴν πάλαι δοθεῖσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις δαπανήμασιν ἀφεθέντας πάλαι, τυχὸν δὲ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπαχθέντας νῦν ἀφηρῆσθαι τὴν προνομίαν ἧς ἡξιώθησαν; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἑλεῖοι μὲν καὶ Δελφοὶ διὰ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου πενταετηρίδος ἅπαξ ἐπιτελεῖν εἰώθασι, διττὰ δ' ἐστὶ Νέμεα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργείοις, καθάπερ Ἰσθμια παρὰ Κορινθίοις. ἐν μέντοι τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ δύο πρόκεινται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἀγῶνες ἕτεροι τοιοῦδε, ὥστε εἶναι
- D** τέσσαρας τοὺς πάντας ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς τέσσαρσι. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπράγμονας εἶναι λειτουργοῦντας ἅπαξ, τούτους δὲ ὑπάγεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρων συντέλειαν ἐπὶ τετραπλασίοις τοῖς οἴκοι λειτουργήμασιν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὴν οὐδὲ παλαιὰν πανήγυριν; οὐ γὰρ ἐς χορηγίαν ἀγώνων γυμνικῶν ἢ μουσικῶν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν πολλῶν
- 409 δέονται χρημάτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια τὰ πολ-

¹ i. e. the Corinthians ought to have allowed similar immunity to Argos.

² One of these festivals was the Heraean games.

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

have grown insolent in ill-doing and are compelling the Argives to pay them tribute; it is seven years, as I am told, since they began this innovation, and they were not abashed by the immunity of Delphi or of the Eleans,¹ which was granted to them so that they might administer their sacred games. For there are, as we know, four very important and splendid games in Greece; the Eleans celebrate the Olympian games, the Delphians the Pythian, the Corinthians those at the Isthmus, and the Argives the Nemean festival. How then can it be reasonable that those others should retain the immunity that was granted to them in the past, whereas the Argives, who, in consideration of a similar outlay, had their tribute remitted in the past, or perhaps were not even subject to tribute originally, should now be deprived of the privilege of which they were deemed worthy? Moreover, Elis and Delphi are accustomed to contribute only once in the course of their far-famed four-year cycles, but in that period there are two celebrations of the Nemean games among the Argives, and likewise of the Isthmian among the Corinthians. And besides, in these days two other games² of this sort have been established among the Argives, so that there are in all in four years four games. How then is it reasonable that those others who bear the burden of this function only once should be left free from the tax, whereas the Argives are obliged to contribute to yet other games in addition to their fourfold expenditure at home; especially as the contribution is for a festival that is neither Hellenic nor of ancient date? For it is not to furnish gymnastic or musical contests that the Corinthians need so much money, but they

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- λακίς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιτελούμενα ἄρκτους καὶ παρδάλεις ὠνοῦνται. ἀτὰρ αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰκότως φέρουσι διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλῶν πόλεων, ὥς εἰκός, αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο συναιρομένων, ὥστε ὠνοῦνται τὴν τέρψιν τοῦ φρονήματος.¹ Ἀργεῖοι δὲ χρημάτων τε ἔχοντες ἐνδεέστερον καὶ ξενικῇ θέᾳ καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις
- B** ἐπιδουλεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πῶς οὐκ ἄδικα μὲν καὶ παράνομα, τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀρχαίας δυνάμεώς τε καὶ δόξης ἀνάξια πείσονται, ὄντες γ' αὐτοῖς ἄστυγείτονες, οὓς προσῆκον ἦν ἀγαπᾶσθαι μᾶλλον, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ "οὐδ' ἂν βοῦς ἀπόλοιτο, εἰ μὴ διὰ κακίαν γειτόνων". Ἀργεῖοι δὲ εἰκότας οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς πολυπραγμονούμενοι βοιδίου ταῦτα τοὺς Κορινθίους αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων, οἷς οὐ δικαίως εἰσὶν ὑπεύθυνοι.
- C** Καίτοι πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους εἰκότως ἂν τις καὶ τοῦτο προσθῇ, πότερον αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς τῆς παλαιᾶς Ἑλλάδος ἔπεσθαι νομίμοις ἢ μᾶλλον οἷς ἑναγχος δοκοῦσι παρὰ τῆς βασιλευούσης προσειληφέναι πόλεως; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν νομίμων ἀγαπῶσι σεμνότητα, οὐκ Ἀργείοις μᾶλλον εἰς Κόρινθον ἢ Κορινθίοις εἰς Ἄργος συντελεῖν προσήκει· εἰ δὲ τοῖς νῦν ὑπάρ-

¹ ὥστε Bidez suggests; ὦν Reiske; ὠνοῦνται—φρόνηματος Hertlein, following Horkel. would delete; ὠνοῦνται οὖν Capps suggests; ὠνούμενων Keil.

I follow Heyler in interpreting φρόνημα as the pleasure-

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

buy bears and panthers for the hunting shows which they often exhibit in their theatres. And they themselves by reason of their wealth are naturally able to support these great expenses,—especially as many other cities, as is to be expected, help by contributing for this purpose,—so that they purchase the pleasure of indulging their temperaments.¹ But the Argives are not so well off for money, and compelled as they are to slave for a foreign spectacle held in the country of others, will they not be suffering unjust and illegal treatment and moreover unworthy of the ancient power and renown of their city being, as they are, near neighbours of Corinth, who therefore ought to be the more kindly treated, if indeed the saying is true, “Not so much as an ox would perish² except through the wrongdoing of one’s neighbours”? But it appears that when the Argives bring these charges against the Corinthians they are not raising a dispute about a single paltry ox, but about many heavy expenses to which they are not fairly liable.

And yet one might put this question also to the Corinthians, whether they think it right to abide by the laws and customs of ancient Greece, or rather by those which it seems they recently took over from the sovereign city? For if they respect the high authority of ancient laws and customs, it is no more fitting for the Argives to pay tribute to Corinth than for the Corinthians to pay it to Argos. If, on

loving “temperament,” *genius*, of the Corinthians. Others translate “pride.”

² A paraphrase of Hesiod, *Works and Days* 348, οὐδ’ ἂν βοῖς ἀπόλοιτ, εἰ μὴ γείτων κακὸς εἴη; cf. Plautus, *Mercator* 4. 4. 31.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- D ξασι τῇ πόλει,¹ ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀποικίαν ἐδέξαντο, ἰσχυριζόμενοι πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιούσι, παραιτησόμεθα μετρίως αὐτοὺς μὴ τῶν πατέρων φρονεῖν μεῖζον, μηδὲ ὅσα καλῶς ἐκεῖνοι κρίναντες ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διεφύλαξαν πόλεσιν ἔθιμα, ταῦτα καταλύειν καὶ καινοτομεῖν ἐπὶ βλάβῃ καὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεωτέρα χρωμένους τῇ ψήφῳ καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην τοῦ λαχόντος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν ἔρμαιον ἔχοντας τῆς πλεονεξίας. εἰ γὰρ ἐφῆκεν ἔξω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάγων τὴν δίκην, οἱ
- 410 Κορίνθιοι ἔλαττον τε ἰσχύειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἐξεταζόμενον κακῶς φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων τούτων συνηγόρων, ὃν εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τὸν δικαστὴν, προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀξιώματος, δυσωπούμενον ταύτην τὴν ψήφον ἐξενεγκεῖν.
- Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια καὶ τῶν
- B ῥητόρων, εἰ μόνον ἀκούειν ἐθέλοις καὶ λέγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτραπείῃ τὴν δίκην, ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς πεύσῃ, καὶ τὸ παραστὰν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὀρθῶς κριθήσεται. ὅτι δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοῖς τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην προσάγουσι δι' ἡμῶν πεισθῆναι, μικρὰ προσθεῖναι χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν. Διογένης μὲν τοι καὶ Λαμπρίας φιλοσοφοῦσι μὲν, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς,

¹ Hertlein suggests ; εἰς τὴν πόλιν Reiske ; τὴν πόλιν MSS.

¹ i.e. the present embassy led by Diogenes and Lamprias ; see below, 410r.

² Julian now addresses the Proconsul directly. If 355 is the

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

the other hand, in reliance on the laws they now have, they claim that their city has gained advantages since they received the colony from Rome, then we will exhort them in moderate language not to be more arrogant than their fathers and not to break up the customs which their fathers with sound judgment maintained for the cities of Greece, or remodel them to the injury and detriment of their neighbours; especially since they are relying on a recent decision, and, in their avarice, regard as a piece of luck the inefficiency of the man who was appointed to represent the case of the city of Argos. For if he had appealed and taken the suit outside of the jurisdiction of Greece, the Corinthians would have had less influence; their rights, would have been shown to be weak, when investigated by these numerous and upright advocates,¹ and, swayed by these, it is likely that the judge would have been awed into giving the proper decision, especially as the renown of Argos would also have had weight.

But as for the rights of the case with respect to the city you² will learn them from the beginning from the orators if only you will consent to hear them and they are permitted to present their case, and then the situation will be correctly judged from their arguments. But in order to show that we ought to place confidence in those who have come on this embassy, I must add a few words concerning them. Diogenes and Lamprias³ are indeed philosophers equal to any in our time, and they have

correct date the Proconsul may be the insolent person referred to in *To Theodorus*, p. 37, as having slighted Julian's wishes.

³ These men are otherwise unknown.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τῆς πολιτείας δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔντιμα¹ καὶ κερδαλέα
 διαπεφεύγασιν· τῇ πατρίδι δὲ ἐπαρκεῖν αἰεὶ κατὰ
 δύναμιν προθυμούμενοι, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἐν χρεΐα
 C μεγάλῃ γένηται, τότε ῥητορεύουσι καὶ πολιτεύ-
 ονται καὶ πρεσβεύουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων προθύμως, ἔργοις ἀπολογούμενοι τὰ
 φιλοσοφίας ὀνειδῆ καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἀχρήστους εἶναι
 ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς μετιόντας φιλοσοφίαν ψεῦδος
 ἐλέγχοντες· χρήται γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ τε πατρίς εἰς
 ταῦτα, καὶ πειρῶνται βοηθεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ δίκαιον δι'
 ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖθις διὰ σοῦ. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ
 μόνον λείπεται τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι,
 D τὸ τυχεῖν δικαστοῦ κρίνειν τε ἐθέλοντος καὶ δυνα-
 μένου καλῶς· ὁπότερον² γὰρ ἂν ἀπῇ τούτων,
 ἐξαπατηθέντος ἢ καταπροδότος αὐτοῦ τὸ δίκαιον
 οἴχεσθαι πάντως ἀνάγκη. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ νῦν ἡμῖν
 τὰ μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπάρχει κατ' εὐχάς, λέγειν
 δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ τότε ἐφέντας, ἀξιούσι τοῦτο πρῶτον
 αὐτοῖς ἀνεθῆναι, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην τοῦ
 τότε συνειπόντος τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐπιτρο-
 πεύσαντος αἰτίαν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα
 αἰῶνα βλάβης τοσαύτης.

411 Ἄτοπον δὲ οὐ χρὴ νομίζειν τὸ τὴν δίκην αὖθις
 ἀνάδικον ποιεῖν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώταις ξυμφέρει
 τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ὀλίγον παριδεῖν,
 τὴν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀσφάλειαν ὠνουμένοις·
 ὄντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου βίου, ἡδὺ μὲν καὶ τὸ ἐπ'
 ὀλίγον ἡσυχίας ἀπολαῦσαι, φοβερὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ

¹ Hertlein suggests ; MSS., Hertlein *ἐννομα*.

² *ἢ τι* Hertlein suggests for lacuna, cf. *τίς* for *πότερος* *Caesars* 320 C ; *ὁπότερον* Aldine.

ON BEHALF OF THE ARGIVES

avoided the honours and lucrative offices of the state; but they are ever zealous to serve their country to the best of their ability, and whenever the city is in any great emergency, then they plead causes, assist in the government, go on embassies, and spend generously from their own resources. Thus by their actions they refute the reproaches brought against philosophy,¹ and disprove the common opinion that those who pursue philosophy are useless to the state. For their country employs them for these tasks and they are now endeavouring to aid her to obtain justice by my assistance, as I in turn by yours. For this is indeed the only hope of safety left for the oppressed, that they may obtain a judge who has both the will and ability to give a fair decision. For if either of these qualities be lacking, so that he is either imposed on or faithless to his trust, then there is no help for it—the right must perish. But now, since we have judges who are all that we could wish, and yet are not able to plead because they did not appeal at the time, they beg that this disability may first of all be removed for them, and that the lack of energy of the man who at that time was the city's advocate and had the suit in charge may not be the cause of so great detriment to her for all time to come.

And we ought not to think it irregular that the case should again be brought to trial. For, though in the affairs of private persons it is expedient to forego a little one's advantage and the more profitable course, and thereby purchase security for the future—since in their little life it is pleasant, even for a little, to enjoy peace and quiet; moreover it

¹ Cf. Plato, *Republic* 489A.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

B πρὸς τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀπολέσθαι κρινόμενον, καὶ παισὶ παραπέμψαι τὴν δίκην ἀτελῇ· ὥστε κινδυνεύει κρεῖσσον εἶναι τὸ καὶ ὅπως οὖν προσλαβεῖν ἡμῖς ἢ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγωνιζόμενον ἀποθανεῖν· τὰς πόλεις δὲ ἀθανάτους οὕσας εἰ μὴ τις δικαίως κρίνας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλας φιλονεικίας ἀπαλλάξει, ἀθάνατον ἔχειν τὴν δύσνοιαν πάντως ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ τὸ μῖσος δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ χρόνῳ κρατυνόμενον. εἴρηται, φασὶν οἱ ῥήτορες, ὃ γ' ἐμὸς λόγος, κρίνοις δ' ἂν αὐτὸς τὰ δέοντα.

29

Ἰουλιανῷ θείῳ¹

Εἰ τὰς σὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐγὼ παρὰ φαῦλον ποιούμαι,

ἐξ ἄρα δὴ μοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τοῖς σοῖς καλόν; εὖνοια, πίστις, ἀλήθεια, καὶ τὸ πρὸ τούτων, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδέν ἐστι τᾶλλα, φρόνησις ἅπασι τοῖς ἑαυτῆς μέρεσιν, ἀγχινοία, συνέσει, εὐβουλία διαδεικνύμενη. ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀντιγράφω, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ κατεμέμψω, σχολὴν οὐκ ἄγω, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ μὴ νομίσης ἄκκισμὸν εἶναι μηδὲ παιδιὰν τὸ πρᾶγμα. μαρτύρομαι τοὺς λογίους θεοὺς, ὅτι πλὴν Ὁμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μοι πυκτίον οὔτε φιλόσοφον οὔτε ῥητορικὸν οὔτε γραμματικὸν οὔθ' ἱστορία τις τῶν ἐν κοινῇ χρείᾳ.

¹ Papadopoulos 1 * ; not in Hertlein.

TO HIS UNCLE JULIAN

is a terrible thought that one may die while one's case is on trial before the courts and hand down the lawsuit to one's heirs unsettled, so that it seems better to secure the half by any possible means than to die while struggling to gain the whole,—cities on the other hand do not die, and unless there be found someone to give a just decision that will free them from their quarrels with one another, they must inevitably maintain undying ill-will, and their hatred moreover is deep-rooted and gains strength with time.

I have said my say, as the orators express it. You must yourselves determine what is proper to do.

29

To his Uncle Julian

IF I set small store by your letters, "Then the gods themselves have destroyed my wits."¹ For all the virtues are displayed in them: goodwill, loyalty, truth, and what is more than all these, since without it the rest are nought, wisdom, displayed by you in all her several kinds, shrewdness, intelligence and good judgement. You reproached me for not answering them, but I have no time, heaven knows, and pray do not suppose that this is affectation or a jest. The gods of eloquence bear me witness that, except for Homer and Plato, I have with me not so much as a pamphlet² on philosophy, rhetoric, or grammar, or any historical work of the sort that is in general use. And even these that I have are

362
April
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

¹ *Iliad* 7. 360.

² Lit. "folding tablet;" the more usual form is *πτύκτιον*.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καὶ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὰ τοῖς περιήπτοις ἔοικε καὶ φυλακτηρίοις· δέδεται γὰρ αἰεὶ. ὀλίγα λοιπὸν καὶ εὐχομαι καίτοι δεόμενος, ὡς εἰκός, εἴ πέρ ποτε ἄλλοτε καὶ νῦν εὐχῶν πολλῶν πάνυ, καὶ μεγάλων. ἀλλ' ἄγχει πάντοθεν¹ περιεχόμενα τὰ πράγματα, ὅψει δὲ ἴσως καὶ αὐτός, ὅταν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν γένωμαι.

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐπέστειλās μοι, πάντα ἐπαινῶ, πάντα θαυμάζω ἃ ἐννοεῖς,² οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀπόβλητον ἐξ ἐκείνων.³ ἴσθι οὖν ὅτι καὶ πάντα πράξω σὺν θεοῖς.

τοὺς κίονας τοὺς Δαφναίους τοῦ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων· τοὺς ἐκ βασιλείων τῶν πανταχοῦ λαβὼν ἀποκόμισον, ὑπόστησον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐκείνων χώρας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐναγχοῦς κατειλημμένων οἰκιῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ κεῖθεν ἐπιλείποιεν, ὁπτῇ; πλύνθου καὶ κόνεως τέως⁴ ἔξωθεν μαρμαρώσαντες εὐτελεστέροις χρησώμεθα· τὸ δὲ ὅσιον⁵ ὅτι πολυτελείας ἐστὶ κρεῖττον καὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἡδονὴν ἐν βίῳ καὶ τῇ χρήσει ἔχον πολλήν, αὐτὸς οἶδας.

¹ Weil, πάντοτε MS.

² MS. ἐν οἷς; ἃ ἐννοεῖς Weil.

³ πάντα ἐπαινῶ—ἐκείνων Weil regards as quotation from the elder Julian's letter.

⁴ Capps; MS. ἔως, Bücheler deletes.

⁵ Asmus, cf. Vol. 2, 213D; MS. αἴσιον.

¹ For the use of such amulets in the Mithraic ritual to which Asmus here sees an allusion, see *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 20, Dieterich.

² Julian left Constantinople soon after May 12th for Antioch, where his uncle then was.

³ The temple of Apollo at Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, which was burned on October 22nd during Julian's visit,

TO HIS UNCLE JULIAN

like personal ornaments or amulets,¹ for they are always tied fast to me. For the rest I do not even offer up many prayers, though naturally I need now more than ever to pray very often and very long. But I am hemmed in and choked by public business, as you will perhaps see for yourself when I arrive in Syria.²

As for the business mentioned in your letter, I approve of everything and admire everything you propose, nothing of that must be rejected. Be assured, then, that with the aid of the gods I shall leave nothing undone.

First of all set up the pillars of the temple of Daphne ;³ take those that are in any palace anywhere, and convey them thence ; then set up in their places others taken from the recently occupied houses.⁴ And if there are not enough even from that source, let us use cheaper ones meanwhile, of baked brick and plaster, casing them with marble,⁵ for you are well aware that piety is to be preferred to splendour, and, when put in practice, secures much pleasure for the righteous in this life. Concerning the affair

had fallen into disrepair in the reign of Constantius, and columns had been removed by the Christians; cf. Zonaras 13. 12, who relates that at Tarsus, on his way to Persia, Julian learned that the Christians had robbed the temple of Asclepius at Aegae, on the coast, of its columns and used them to build a church. Julian ordered the columns to be restored to the temple at the expense of the Christians.

⁴ Perhaps he means the Christian church dedicated to St. Babylas, which his half-brother Gallus had erected opposite the temple.

⁵ *i.e.* a coat of stucco made with marble dust.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

Περὶ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λαυρίκιον¹ οὐθὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ἐπιστέλλειν σοι, πλὴν τοσοῦτον παραινῶ, πᾶσαν ὀργὴν ἄφες, ἐπίτρεψον ἅπαντα τῇ δίκῃ, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑφέξων αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις μετὰ πάσης πίστεως τῆς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον. καὶ οὐ φημι τοῦτο, ὥς οὐκ ἐπαχθῇ τὰ πρὸς σὲ γραφέντα καὶ πλήρη πάσης ὕβρεως καὶ ὑπεροψίας, ἀλλὰ χρὴ φέρειν· ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψύχου ἀκούειν μὲν κακῶς, λέγειν δὲ μὴ κακῶς. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ βαλλόμενα πρὸς τοὺς στερεοὺς καὶ γενναίους τοίχους ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐ προσιζάνει, οὐδὲ πλήττει, οὐδὲ ἐγκάθεται, σφοδρότερον δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς βάλλοντας ἀνακλᾶται, οὕτω πᾶσα λοιδορία καὶ βλασφημία καὶ ὕβρις ἄδικος ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καταχυθεῖσα θιγγάνει μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐκείνου, τρέπεται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν καταχέοντα. ταῦτά σοι παραινῶ, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔσται τῆς κρίσεως. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἃς φησὶ σε λαβόντα παρ' ἐμοῦ δημοσιεῦσαι, γελοῖον εἶναί μοι φαίνεται φέρειν εἰς κρίσιν· οὐθὲν γὰρ ἐγώ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, πρὸς σε πώποτε γέγραφα οὔτε πρὸς ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα, ὃ μὴ δημοσίᾳ τοῖς πᾶσι προκείσθαι βούλομαι· τίς γὰρ ἀσέλγεια, τίς ὕβρις, τίς προπηλακισμός, τίς λοιδορία, τίς αἰσχρορρημοσύνη ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνεγράφη ποτέ; ὅς γε, καὶ εἰ πρὸς τινα τραχύτερον εἶχον,² διδούσης μοι τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης

¹ Λαυράκιον MS., Λαυρίκιον Geffcken, to identify him with the correspondent of Libanius.

² Bücheler; MS. εἰ καὶ—ἐχων; καίπερ—ἐχων Papadopoulos suggests.

¹ Possibly to be identified with Bassidius Lauricius, governor of the province of Isauria in 359, a Christian

TO HIS UNCLE JULIAN

of Lauricius,¹ I do not think I need write you any instructions; but I give you just this word of advice: renounce all feeling of anger, trust all to justice, submitting your ears to his words with complete confidence in the right. Yet I do not deny that what he wrote to you was annoying and full of every kind of insolence and arrogance; but you must put up with it. For it becomes a good and great-souled man to make no counter charge when he is maligned. For, just as missiles that are hurled against hard, well-built walls, do not settle on them, or penetrate them, or stay where they strike, but rebound with increased force against the hand that throws them, just so every aspersion directed against an upright man, slander, calumny, or unmerited insolence, touches him not at all, but recoils on the head of him who made the aspersion. This is my advice to you, but the sequel will be for the law to decide. With regard, however, to the letters which he asserts you made public after receiving them from me, it seems to me ridiculous to bring them into court. For I call the gods to witness, I have never written to you or any other man a word that I am not willing to publish for all to see. Have I ever in my letters employed brutality or insolence, or abuse or slander, or said anything for which I need to blush? On the contrary, even when I have felt resentment against someone and my subject gave me a chance to use ribald language like a woman from a cart,² the sort

correspondent of Libanius; Ammianus 19. 13. 2; Libanius, *Letter* 585, Foerster. The little that we know about Lauricius gives no clue to what follows.

² A proverbial reference to the scurrilous language permitted to the women who rode in wagons in the Eleusinian processions; cf. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1014.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

εἰπεῖν, οἷα ψευδῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκάμβου¹ Ἀρχί-
 λοχος, σεμνότερον αὐτὰ² καὶ σωφρονέστερον
 ἐφθεγξάμην ἢ τις³ ἱερὰν ὑπόθεσιν μετῆει. εἰ
 δὲ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας
 ἔμφασιν εἶχε τὰ γράμματα, τοῦτο ἐγὼ λανθάνειν
 ἡβουλόμην ἢ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι ;⁴ διὰ τί ; μάρτυρας
 ἔχω τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ὅτι, καὶ
 ὅσα μοι πρὸς τὴν γαμετήν, οὐκ ἂν ἡχθέσθην, εἴ τις
 ἐδημοσίευσεν· οὕτως ἦν πάντα σωφροσύνης πλήρη.
 εἰ δέ, ἃ πρὸς τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ θεῖον ἐπέστειλα, ταῦτα
 καὶ ἄλλος τις ἀνέγνω καὶ δεύτερος, ὁ πικρῶς
 οὕτως ἀνιχνεύσας αὐτὰ δικαιότεραν ἂν ὑπόσχοι
 μέμψιν ἢ ὁ γράψας ἐγὼ ἢ σὺ ἢ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνα-
 γνούς. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο συγχώρει καὶ μὴ
 ταραττέτω σε, σκόπει δὲ ἐκείνο μόνον· πονηρός
 ἐστὶ Λαυρίκιος, ὑπέξελθε γενναίως αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ
 ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μέτριός ἐστι, καὶ ἡμαρτε περὶ σέ,
 δὸς αὐτῷ συγγνώμην· τοὺς γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς δημοσίᾳ,
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ καθήκοντες γένωνται,
 φιλεῖν χρή. τοὺς πονηροὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς, καὶ
 ἡμῖν κεχαρισμένοι διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, οὐ μισεῖν οὐδὲ
 ἐκτρέπεσθαί φημι, φυλακὴν δὲ προβεβλησθαί⁵
 τινα, ὅπως μὴ λήσωσι κακουργοῦντες, εἰ δὲ
 δυσφύλακτοι λίαν εἶεν, χρήσθαι πρὸς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς.
 ὑπὲρ οὗ γέγραφας καὶ αὐτός, ὅτι θρυλούμενος ἐπὶ
 πονηρίᾳ τὴν ἱατρικὴν ὑποκρίνεται, ἐκλήθη μὲν
 παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς σπουδαῖος, πρὶν δὲ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν

¹ Weil, MS. Λαυδακίδου.

² Bidez, MS. αὐτόν.

³ Bidez, ἢ τις Weil, ὡς εἴ τις Papadopoulos. . . εἴ τις MS.

⁴ ; Weil adds ; Papadopoulos inserts μὴ before λανθάνειν.

⁵ Bücheler ; MS. προβέβλησθαι.

TO HIS UNCLE JULIAN

of libels that Archilochus launched against Lycambes,¹ I have always expressed myself with more dignity and reserve than one observes even on a sacred subject. And if my letters did give emphatic proof of the kindly feeling that you and I have towards one another, did I wish this to be unknown or concealed? For what purpose? I call all the gods and goddesses to witness that I should not have resented it, even if someone had published abroad all that I ever wrote to my wife, so temperate was it in every respect. And if this or that person has read what I wrote to my own uncle, it would be fairer to blame the man who ferreted it out with such malevolence, rather than me, the writer, or you, or any other who read it. Nevertheless, concede this to me, do not let it disturb your peace of mind, only look at the matter thus—if Lauricius is really dishonest get rid of him in a dignified way. But if he is a well-meaning person of average honesty, and has treated you badly, forgive him. For when men are honest in public life we must be on good terms with them, even though they do not behave properly to us in their private capacity. On the other hand, when men are dishonest in public affairs, even though they have won our favour, we must keep them under control; I do not mean that we must hate or avoid them, but keep careful watch on them, so that we may not fail to detect them when they misbehave, though if they are too hard to control in this way, we must not employ them at all. As for what you, as well as others, have written, that though notorious for bad conduct he masquerades as a physician, I did send for him, thinking that he was trustworthy, but before he had an interview with me

¹ Cf. Horace, *Epode* 6. 13.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

φωραθεῖς ὅστις ἦν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταμηνυθεῖς· τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τίνος αὐτὸς ἐντυχὼν φράσω σοι· κατεφρονήθη· σοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου χάριν οἶδα.

Τῶν αἰτηθέντων ἀγρῶν ἐπειδήπερ ἔφθην ἐκείνους δεδωκώς· εἰσὶ δέ μοι μάρτυρες ὁμόγνιοι καὶ φίλιοι¹ θεοί· δώσω μακρῷ λυσιτελεστέρους, αἰσθήσῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτός.

30

Ἰουλιανὸς Φιλίππῳ²

Ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔτι καῖσαρ ὦν ἐπέστειλά σοι, καὶ νομίζω πλέον ἢ ἅπαξ. ὥρμησα μέντοι πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἐκώλυσαν ἄλλοτε ἄλλαι προφάσεις, εἴτα ἡ γενομένη διὰ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ μακαρίτῃ Κωνσταντίῳ λυκοφιλία· παντάπασιν γὰρ ἐφυλαττόμην ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἐπιστεῖλαί τι, μὴ πραγμάτων αὐτῷ χαλεπὼν αἴτιος γένωμαι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι³ ποιοῦ τῆς εὐνοίας τὸ μὴ γράφειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει πολλάκις ὁμολογεῖν ἢ γλῶττα τῇ διανοίᾳ. καὶ ἴσως ἔχει μὲν τι πρὸς τὸ γαυριᾶν καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἢ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπίδειξις, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσυνήθεις, ὥσπερ δακτύλιοί τινες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπειροκάλων φερόμενοι, κομίζονται. φιλία δὲ

¹ φίλοι MS., φίλιοι Weil.

² Hertlein 68.

³ μοι ποιοῦ τοῦτο—γράφειν MSS.; μὴ—γράφειν Reiske, Hertlein; μοι—μὴ γράφειν Cobet.

¹ Schwarz wrongly suspects this letter on stylistic grounds. Philip was perhaps the Cappadocian to whom Libanius wrote several extant letters, e.g. *Letter* 1190. For his zeal in aiding

TO PHILIP

his true character was detected, or rather he was denounced to me—when I meet you I will tell you by whom—and he was treated with contempt. For this too I have to thank you.

Instead of the estates that you asked for, since I have already given those away—I call to witness the gods of our family and of friendship—I will give you some that pay far better, as you shall yourself discover.

30

To Philip¹

I CALL the gods to witness that, when I was still Caesar I wrote to you, and I think it was more than once. However, I started to do so many times, but there were reasons that prevented me, now of one kind, now another, and then followed that wolf's friendship that arose between myself and Constantius of blessed memory, in consequence of the proclamation.² I was exceedingly careful not to write to anyone beyond the Alps for fear of getting him into serious trouble. So consider the fact that I did not write a proof of my goodwill. For it is often impracticable to make one's language harmonise with one's real sentiments. Then, too, letters from the Emperor to private persons might well lead to their display for bragging and making false pretences when they come into the hands of persons with no sense of propriety, who carry them about like seal-rings and show them to the inexperienced. Nay, genuine

362
Spring
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

Julian to restore paganism he suffered persecution after the Emperor's death.

² i.e. of himself as Augustus by the army in Gaul, early in 360; cf. Vol. 2, *Letter to the Athenians* 283-286; he was Caesar 355-360.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἀληθινὴ γίνεται μάλιστα μὲν δι' ὁμοιότητος, ἢ δευτέρα δέ, ὅταν τις ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλαστῶς θαυμάξῃ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ τύχῃ καὶ συνέσει κρείττονος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέτριος καὶ σώφρων ἀγαπηθῇ. τὰ γραμματεῖα δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῦ τύφου καὶ πολλῆς φλυαρίας ἐστὶ μεστά, καὶ ἔγωγε πολλάκις ἐμαυτῷ μέμφομαι μακρότερα ποιούμενος αὐτὰ καὶ λαλίστερος ὢν, ἐξὸν Πυθαγόρειον διδάσκειν τὴν γλῶτταν.

ἽΠεδεξάμην μέντοι τὰ σύμβολα, φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν, ἔλκουσαν μίαν μνᾶν, καὶ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα. καλέσαι δέ σε πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐπέστειλας, ἐβουλόμην. ἤδη δὲ ἔαρ ὑποφαίνει καὶ τὰ δένδρα βλαστάνει, χελιδόνες δὲ ὅσον οὐπω προσδοκώμεναι τοὺς συστρατευομένους ἡμᾶς, ὅταν ἐπείσθωσιν, ἐξελαύνουσι τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ φασὶ δεῖν ὑπερορίους εἶναι. πορευσόμεθα δὲ δι' ὑμῶν, ὥστε μοι βέλτιον ἂν ἐντύχοις, ἐθελόντων θεῶν, ἐν τοῖς σαιτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι ταχέως ἔσεσθαι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον γένοιτο κῶλυμα. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμεθα.

31

ἽΙουλιανοῦ νόμος περὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν.¹

398 Τὴν ἱατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην σωτηριώδη τοῖς
B ἀνθρώποις τυγχάνειν τὸ ἐναργές τῆς χρείας

¹ Hertlein 25 b. In the MSS. this document has no title; it was placed by Hertlein after *Letter 25* in his edition.

¹ Such tokens were often sent to friends; cf. *To Hecebolius*, p. 219.

A DECREE CONCERNING PHYSICIANS

friendship is produced first and foremost by similarity of disposition, but a second kind is, when one feels true and not pretended admiration, and a humane, moderate and virtuous man is cherished by one who is his superior in fortune and intelligence. Moreover letters of this sort are full of conceit and nonsense, and, for my part, I often blame myself for making mine too long, and for being too loquacious when I might discipline my tongue to Pythagorean silence.

Yes, I received the tokens, namely, a silver bowl weighing one mina and a gold coin.¹ I should be very glad to invite you to visit me as you suggest in your letter. But the first signs of spring are here already, the trees are in bud, and the swallows, which are expected almost immediately, as soon as they come drive our band of campaigners out of doors, and remind us that we ought to be over the border. We shall travel through your part of the country,² so that you would have a better chance of seeing me, if the gods so will it, in your own home. This will, I think, be soon, unless some sign from heaven should forbid it. For this same meeting I am praying to the gods.

31

A decree concerning Physicians³

THAT the science of medicine is salutary for mankind is plainly testified by experience. Hence the

² Julian set out for Antioch about May 12th, 362, and expected to see Philip in Cappadocia.

³ This edict, preserved more briefly in *Codex Theodosianus* 13. 3. 4, was Julian's last known legislative act before he left Constantinople. It confirmed the immunity granted to physicians by Constantine, and was probably meant to apply only to the heads of the medical faculties, *archiatri*, since the Latin edict is addressed to them.

362
May
12th
From
Con-
stanti-
nople

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μαρτυρεῖ. διὸ καὶ ταύτην ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεφοιτη-
κέναι δικαίως φιλοσόφων παῖδες κηρύττουσι.
τὸ γὰρ ἀσθενὲς τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως καὶ τὰ
τῶν ἐπισυμβαινόντων ἀρρωστημάτων ἐπανορ-
θοῦται διὰ ταύτης. ὅθεν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου
λογισμὸν συνωδὰ τοῖς ἄνωθεν βασιλεῦσι θεσπί-
ζοντες ἡμετέρα φιλανθρωπία κελεύομεν τῶν
βουλευτικῶν λειτουργημάτων ἀνενοχλήτους ὑμᾶς
τοὺς λοιποὺς χρόνους διάγειν.

32

Θεοδώρα.¹

Τὸ βιβλίον, ὅπερ ἀπέστειλας διὰ Μυγδονίου,
δεδέγμεθα, καὶ προσέτι πάντα ὅσα σύμβολα διὰ
τῆς ἐορτῆς ἡμῖν ἐπέμπετο. ἔστι μὲν οὖν μοι καὶ
τούτων ἕκαστον ἡδὺ,² παντὸς δὲ ἡδίων, εὖ ἴσθι, τὸ
πεπύσθαι με περὶ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, ὅτι σὺν θεοῖς
ἔρρωταί σοι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐπιμελέστερον ἅμα καὶ συντονώτερον σπουδά-
ζεται παρὰ σοῦ. περὶ δὲ ὧν πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον
Μάξιμον ἔγραψας, ὡς τοῦ φίλου μου Σελεύκου
διαφόρως ἔχοντος πρὸς σέ, πέπεισο μὴθὲν αὐτὸν
παρ' ἐμοὶ τοιοῦτον πράττειν ἢ λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν σε

¹ Papadopoulos 2* ; not in Hertlein.

² Weil ; MS. ἰδεῖν.

¹ For Mygdonius cf. *Letter 33*, and Libanius, *Letters* 471, 518 written in 357.

² Literally "tokens," *tesserae*, probably the same as the *συνθήματα* mentioned by Sozomen 5. 16 ; they were letters of recommendation for the use of Christian travellers ; Sozomen says that Julian wished to establish this custom among the pagans.

TO THE PRIESTESS THEODORA

sons of the philosophers are right in proclaiming that this science also is descended from heaven. For by its means the infirmity of our nature and the disorders that attack us are corrected. Therefore, in accordance with reason and justice, we decree what is in harmony with the acts of former Emperors, and of our benevolence ordain that for the future ye may live free from the burdens attaching to senators.

32

To the priestess Theodora

I HAVE received through Mygdonius¹ the books that you sent me, and besides, all the letters of recommendation² that you forwarded to me throughout the festival. Every one of these gives me pleasure, but you may be sure that more pleasant than anything else is the news about your excellent self,³ that by the grace of the gods you are in good physical health, and are devoting yourself to the service of the gods more earnestly and energetically. As regards what you wrote to the philosopher Maximus, that my friend Seleucus⁴ is ill-disposed towards you, believe me that he neither does nor says in my presence anything that he could possibly intend as

362
Jan-
May?
From
Con-
stanti-
nople
or from
Antioch
in the
Autumn

³ Literally "your Goodness"; with this use of ἀγαθότης cf. Oribasius, Introduction to his *ιατρικαὶ συναγωγαὶ* l. παρὰ τῆς σῆς θειότητος, αὐτόκρατορ Ἰουλιανὲ = "by your god-like self," literally "your Divinity"; see above, p. 3.

⁴ Of Cilicia. He was an old friend of the Emperor's and accompanied him on the Persian campaign. From the letters of Libanius it seems that Julian had appointed Seleucus to some high priestly office in 362.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μάλιστα δ.αβύλλοι· τούναντίον δὲ πάντα εὔφημα
 διεξέρχεται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ οὐπω λέγω τοῦθ' ὅτι
 καὶ διάκειται περὶ σέ καλῶς· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς
 ἂν εἰδείη καὶ οἱ πάντα ὁρῶντες θεοί· τὸ δὲ ὅτι
 πάντων ἀπέχεται τῶν τοιούτων ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, λίαν
 ἀληθεύων φημί. γελοῖον οὖν εἶναί μοι φαίνεται,
 μὴ τὰ πραττόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ
 τὰ κρυπτόμενα, καὶ ὧν οὐδέν ἐστί μοι φανερόν
 τεκμήριον ἐξετάζειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέδραμες αὐτοῦ
 πολλὰ πάννυ, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐδήλωσάς τινα, τὴν
 αἰτίαν μοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθείας φανεράν
 ποιούσα, τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ φημι πρὸς σε διαρρήδην,
 ὥς, εἴ τινα ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἢ ἐλευθέρων ἢ
 δούλων ἀγαπᾷς οὔτε νῦν σέβοντα θεοὺς οὔτε
 ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πείσειν αὐτὸν ἔχουσα, ἁμαρτάνεις.
 ἐννόησον γὰρ ὥς ἐπὶ σαυτῆς πρῶτον, εἴ τις οἰκετῶν
 τῶν φιλουμένων ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῖς λοιδορουμένοις καὶ
 βλασφημοῦσί σε συμπράττοι καὶ θεραπεύοι
 πλέον ἐκείνους, ἀποστρέφοιτο δὲ καὶ βδελύττοιτο
 τοὺς σοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτον αὐτίκα
 ἂν ἀπολέσθαι ἐθέλοις,¹ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ
 τιμωρήσαιο; τί οὖν; οἱ θεοὶ τῶν φίλων εἰσὶν
 ἀτιμότεροι; λόγισαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦτο,
 δεσπότης μὲν ἐκείνους ὑπολαβοῦσα, δούλους
 δὲ ἡμᾶς. εἴ τις οὖν ἡμῶν, οἷ φαμεν εἶναι θερά-
 ποντες θεῶν, οἰκέτην στέργοι τὸν βδελυττόμενον
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν θρησκείαν,
 ἄρ' οὐ δίκαιον ἢ πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ σώζειν, ἢ τῆς
 οἰκίας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ πιπράσκειν, εἴ τῳ μὴ

¹ Weil; MS. ἐθέλεις.

TO THE PRIESTESS THEODORA

slandering. On the contrary, all that he tells me about you is favourable; and while I do not go so far as to say that he actually feels friendly to you—only he himself and the all-seeing gods can know the truth as to that—still I can say with perfect sincerity that he does refrain from any such calumny in my presence. Therefore it seems absurd to scrutinise what is thus concealed rather than what he actually does, and to search for proof of actions of which I have no shred of evidence. But since you have made so many accusations against him, and have plainly revealed to me a definite cause for your own hostility towards him, I do say this much to you frankly; if you are showing favour to any person, man or woman, slave or free, who neither worships the gods as yet, nor inspires in you any hope that you may persuade him to do so, you are wrong. For do but consider first how you would feel about your own household. Suppose that some slave for whom you feel affection should conspire with those who slandered and spoke ill of you, and showed deference to them, but abhorred and detested us who are your friends, would you not wish for his speedy destruction, or rather would you not punish him yourself? ¹ Well then, are the gods to be less honoured than our friends? You must use the same argument with reference to them, you must consider that they are our masters and we their slaves. It follows, does it not, that if one of us who call ourselves servants of the gods has a favourite slave who abominates the gods and turns from their worship, we must in justice either convert him and keep him, or dismiss him from the house and sell him, in case some one does not

¹ An echo of Plato, *Euthyphro* 13D; cf. Vol. 2, 289B.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ῥάδιον ὑπερορᾶν οἰκέτου κτήσεως; ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ φιλούντων θεοὺς ἀγαπᾶσθαι· ὃ δὴ καὶ σὲ καὶ πάντας φημὶ δεῖν τοὺς ἱερατικῶν¹ ἀντιποιουμένους ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη διανοθεύοντας ἄψασθαι συντονώτερον τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγιστείας· ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκίας δὲ σεβασμὸν² εὖλογον παρέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ πρώτην αὐτὴν ὅλην δι' ὅλης ἀποφῆναι καθαρὰν τῶν τηλικούτων νοσημάτων.

33

Θεοδώρα τῇ αἰδεσιμωτάτῃ.³

375 Τὰ πεμφθέντα παρὰ σοῦ βιβλία πάντα
D ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἄσμενος διὰ τοῦ βελτίστου Μυγδονίου. καὶ μόγις ἄγων σχολήν, ὥς ἴσασιν οἱ θεοί, οὐκ ἀκκιζόμενος λέγω,⁴ ταῦτα ἀντέγραψα πρὸς σε. σὺ δὲ εὖ πράττοις καὶ γράφοις αἰεὶ τοιαῦτα.

34

Ἐδεξάμην⁵ ὅσα ἐπέστειλεν ἡ σὴ φρόνησις ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ἐπαγγέλματα καὶ δῶρα· καὶ πολλὴν ὁμολογήσας

¹ Bücheler, Weil; Papadopoulos ἱερατικῆς (λειτουργίας); MS. ἱερατικῶς.

² Weil; MS. ἑκαστον.

³ Hertlein 5.

⁴ Cobet; οὐ κακιζομένην λόγῳ MSS., Hertlein; οὐκ ἀκκιζομένην Reiske.

⁵ Papadopoulos 6*. Not in Hertlein.

TO THEODORA

find it easy to dispense with owning a slave? For my part I would not consent to be loved by those who do not love the gods; wherefore I now say plainly that you and all who aspire to priestly offices must bear this in mind, and engage with greater energy in the temple worship of the gods. And it is reasonable to expect that a priest should begin with his own household in showing reverence, and first of all prove that it is wholly and throughout pure of such grave distempers.

33

To the most reverend Theodora¹

I WAS glad to receive all the books that you sent me, and your letters through the excellent Mygdonius.² And since I have hardly any leisure,—as the gods know, I speak without affectation,—I have written you these few lines. And now farewell, and may you always write me letters of the same sort!

362
About
the
same
date as
Letter
32

34

To Theodora?³

I HAVE received from you who are wisdom itself³⁶² your letter telling me of the fair and blessed promises and gifts of the gods to us. First I

¹ The epithet as well as the preceding letter show that she was a priestess.

² Mygdonius protected Libanius in Constantinople in 343. There is nothing to show whether Julian was at Antioch or Constantinople when he wrote these letters to Theodora.

³ This unaddressed letter must have been written to a priestess, who was almost certainly Theodora.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

χάριν τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς ἐν δευτέρῳ τῇ σῇ
μεγαλοψυχίᾳ χάριν ἔσχον, ὅτι καὶ προσλιπαρεῖν
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα προθυμῇ
καὶ τὰ φανέντα παρ' αὐτῇ ἀγαθὰ διὰ ταχέων
ἡμῖν καταμηνύειν σπουδάξεις.

35

Ἀριστοξένῳ φιλοσόφῳ.¹

- 375 Ἀρά γε χρὴ περιμένειν κλήσιν, καὶ τὸ ἀκλητὶ
προτιμᾶν μηδαμοῦ; ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ χαλεπὴν ταύτην
εἰσαγάγωμεν νομοθεσίαν, εἰ ταῦτα χρὴ παρὰ τῶν
φίλων περιμένειν, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ
B ὥς ἔτυχε γνωρίμων. ἀπορήσει τις ἐνταῦθα, πῶς
οὐκ ἰδόντες² ἀλλήλους ἐσμέν φίλοι; πῶς δὲ τοῖς
πρὸ χιλίων ἐτῶν γεγονόσι καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία
δισχιλίων; ὅτι σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἦσαν καὶ τὸν
τρόπον καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί. ἐπιθυμοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς
εἶναι τοιοῦτοι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ εἶναι, τό γε εἰς ἐμέ,
πάμπληθες ἀπολειπόμεθα. πλὴν ἀλλ' ἢ γε ἐπι-
θυμία τάττει πῶς ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις
μερίδα. καὶ τί ταῦτα ἐγὼ ληρῶ μακρότερον;
C εἴτε γὰρ ἄκλητον ἵεναι χρὴ, ἥξεις δὴπουθεν· εἴτε
καὶ κλήσιν περιμένεις, ἰδοὺ σοὶ καὶ παράκλησις
ἦκει παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔντυχε οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τὰ Τύανα
πρὸς Διὸς φιλίου, καὶ δεῖξον ἡμῖν ἄνδρα ἐν Καπ-

¹ Hertlein 4.

² Wyttenbach, Cobet from *Parisinus*; εἰδότες MSS., Hertlein.

TO ARISTOXENUS, A PHILOSOPHER

acknowledged the great gratitude that I owed to the heavenly gods, and in the second place I rendered thanks to your generosity of soul, in that you are zealous, no one more so, in entreating the gods on my behalf, and moreover you lose no time but inform me without delay of the blessings that have been revealed where you are.

35

To Aristoxenus, a Philosopher¹

MUST you then really wait for an invitation and never prefer to come uninvited? Nay, see to it that you and I do not introduce this tiresome convention of expecting the same ceremony from our friends as from mere chance acquaintances. At this point will somebody or other raise the question how we come to be friends when we have never seen one another? I answer: How are we the friends of those who lived a thousand, or, by Zeus, even two thousand years ago? It is because they were all virtuous, of upright and noble character. And we, likewise, desire to be such as they, even though, to speak for myself, we completely fail in that aspiration. But, at any rate, this ambition does in some degree rank us in the same category as those persons. But why do I talk at length about these trifles? For if it is right that you should come without an invitation you will certainly come; if, on the other hand, you are really waiting for an invitation, herewith you have from me an urgent summons. Therefore meet me at Tyana, in the name of Zeus the god of friendship, and show me

362
June
On the
way to
Antioch

¹ This Hellenised Cappadocian is otherwise unknown.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

παδόκαις καθαρώς Ἑλληνα. τέως γὰρ τοὺς μὲν
οὐ βουλομένους, ὀλίγους δέ τινας ἐθέλοντας μὲν,
οὐκ εἰδότας δὲ θύειν ὀρώ.

36

- 422 Παιδείαν¹ ὀρθὴν εἶναι νομίζομεν οὐ τὴν ἐν
τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πραγματευομένην²
εὐρυθμίαν, ἀλλὰ διάθεσιν ὑγιῇ νοῦν ἐχούσης
διανοίας καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ
κακῶν, ἐσθλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν. ὅστις οὖν ἕτερα
B μὲν φρονεῖ, διδάσκει δὲ ἕτερα τοὺς πλησιάζοντας,
οὗτος ἀπολελεῖσθαι τοσούτῳ δοκεῖ τῆς παιδείας,
ὅσῳ καὶ τοῦ χρηστοῦ ἀνὴρ εἶναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ
σμικροῖς εἴη τὸ διάφορον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὴν
γλῶτταν, κακὸν μὲν οἶστόν δὲ ὅμως ὁπωσοῦν
γίνεται· εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἄλλα μὲν φρονοίη
τις, ἐπ' ἐναντίον δὲ ὧν φρονεῖ διδάσκει, πῶς οὐ
τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο καπήλων ἐστίν, οὔτι χρηστῶν, ἀλλὰ
C παμπονήρων ἀνθρώπων, οἳ μάλιστα³ ἐπαινοῦσιν⁴
ὅσα μάλιστα φαῦλα νομίζουσιν, ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ
δελεάζοντες τοῖς ἐπαίνοις εἰς οὓς μετατιθέναι⁵ τὰ
σφέτερα ἐθέλουσιν, οἶμαι, κακά. πάντας μὲν οὖν
χρὴ τοὺς καὶ ὅτιοῦν διδάσκειν ἐπαγγελλομένους
εἶναι τὸν τρόπον ἐπεικεῖς καὶ μὴ μαχόμενα οἷς

¹ Hertlein 42. Suidas quotes the first three sentences.

² πραγματευομένην Asmus; πολιτευομένην Suidas, Hertlein;
πολυτελῇ MSS. ("expensive") may be defended.

³ μάλιστα Klimek would delete.

⁴ ἐπαινοῦσιν Naber because of ἐπαίνοις below; παιδεύουσιν
Hertlein, MSS.

⁵ διατίθεσθαι? Hertlein.

RESCRIPT ON CHRISTIAN TEACHERS

a genuine Hellene among the Cappadocians.¹ For I observe that, as yet, some refuse to sacrifice, and that, though some few are zealous, they lack knowledge.

36

Rescript on Christian Teachers²

I HOLD that a proper education results, not in laboriously acquired symmetry of phrases and language, but in a healthy condition of mind, I mean a mind that has understanding and true opinions about things good and evil, honourable and base. Therefore, when a man thinks one thing and teaches his pupils another, in my opinion he fails to educate exactly in proportion as he fails to be an honest man. And if the divergence between a man's convictions and his utterances is merely in trivial matters, that can be tolerated somehow, though it is wrong. But if in matters of the greatest importance a man has certain opinions and teaches the contrary, what is that but the conduct of hucksters, and not honest but thoroughly dissolute men in that they praise most highly the things that they believe to be most worthless, thus cheating and enticing by their praises those to whom they desire to transfer their worthless wares. Now all who profess to teach anything whatever ought to be men of upright character, and ought

362
After
June
17th
From
Antioch

¹ The Cappadocians were, for the most part, Christians; Julian visited Tyana in June on his way to Antioch.

² For this law see Introduction; Zonaras 13. 12; Sozomen 5. 18; Socrates 3. 16. 1; Theodoret 3. 8. This version is, no doubt, incomplete.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- δημοσίᾳ μεταχειρίζονται¹ τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν
 δοξάσματα, πολὺ δὲ πλεον ἅπάντων οἶμαι δεῖν
 εἶναι τοιούτους ὅσοι ἐπὶ λόγοις τοῖς νέοις συγ-
 γίνονται, τῶν παλαιῶν ἐξηγηταὶ γιγνόμενοι
 D συγγραμμάτων, εἴτε ῥήτορες εἴτε γραμματικοί,
 καὶ ἔτι πλεον οἱ σοφισταί. βούλονται γὰρ πρὸς
 τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ λέξεων μόνον, ἡθῶν δὲ εἶναι διδά-
 σκαλοι, καὶ² κατὰ σφᾶς εἶναί φασι τὴν πολιτικὴν
 φιλοσοφίαν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀληθὲς ἢ μή, τοῦτο
 ἀφείσθω τὰ³ νῦν. ἐπαινῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὕτως
 ἐπαγγελλμάτων καλῶν ὀρεγομένους ἐπαινέσαιμ'
 ἂν ἔτι πλεον, εἰ μὴ ψεύδοντο μὴδ' ἐξελέγχοιεν
 αὐτοὺς ἕτερα μὲν φρονούντας, διδάσκοντας δὲ
 423 τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἕτερα. τί οὖν; Ὀμήρω
 μέντοι καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Δημοσθένει καὶ Ἡροδότῳ
 καὶ Θουκυδίδῃ καὶ, Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Λυσία θεοὶ
 πάσης ἡγούνται παιδείας. οὐχ οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ
 σφᾶς ἱερούς, οἱ δὲ Μουσῶν ἐνόμιζον; ἄτοπον μὲν
 οὖν⁴ οἶμαι τοὺς ἐξηγουμένους τὰ τούτων ἀτιμάζειν
 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τιμηθέντας θεούς. οὐ μὲν ἐπειδὴ
 τοῦτο ἄτοπον οἶμαι, φημὶ δεῖν αὐτοὺς μετα-
 θεμένους τοῖς νέοις συνεῖναι· δίδωμι δὲ αἴρεσιν
 μὴ διδάσκειν ἢ μὴ νομίζουσι σπουδαῖα, βουλο-
 B μένους δὲ διδάσκειν ἔργῳ πρῶτον⁵ πείθειν τοὺς
 μαθητὰς ὥς οὔτε Ὀμηρος οὔτε Ἡσιόδος οὔτε
 τούτων τις, οὓς ἐξηγοῦνται καὶ ὧν κατεγνώκοτες

¹ οἷς—μεταχειρίζονται Bidez; τοῖς δημοσίῃς [μεταχαρακτη-
 ρίζοντας] Hertlein.

² καὶ τὸ κατὰ Hertlein MSS; τὸ Asmus deletes.

³ τὰ Asmus adds.

⁴ μὲν MSS., Hertlein; μέντοι Reiske; μὲν οὖν Hertlein suggests.

⁵ καὶ after πρῶτον MSS.; Hertlein would delete.

RESCRIPT ON CHRISTIAN TEACHERS

not to harbour in their souls opinions irreconcilable with what they publicly profess; and, above all, I believe it is necessary that those who associate with the young and teach them rhetoric should be of that upright character; for they expound the writings of the ancients, whether they be rhetoricians or grammarians, and still more if they are sophists. For these claim to teach, in addition to other things, not only the use of words, but morals also, and they assert that political philosophy is their peculiar field. Let us leave aside, for the moment, the question whether this is true or not. But while I applaud them for aspiring to such high pretensions, I should applaud them still more if they did not utter falsehoods and convict themselves of thinking one thing and teaching their pupils another. What! Was it not the gods who revealed all their learning to Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates and Lysias?¹ Did not these men think that they were consecrated, some to Hermes,² others to the Muses? I think it is absurd that men who expound the works of these writers should dishonour the gods whom they used to honour. Yet, though I think this absurd, I do not say that they ought to change their opinions and then instruct the young. But I give them this choice; either not to teach what they do not think admirable, or, if they wish to teach, let them first really persuade their pupils that neither Homer nor Hesiod nor any of these writers whom they expound and have

¹ So too in *Oration* 7. 236-237c. Julian compares the impiety of the Cynics, who in his opinion had much in common with the Christians, with Plato's and Aristotle's reverence for religion.

² Hermes was the god of eloquence.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- εἰσὶν ἀσέβειαν ἄνοιάν τε καὶ πλάνην εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνοι γεγράφασι παρατρέφονται μισθαρνοῦντες, εἶναι ὁμολογοῦσιν αἰσχροκερδέστατοι καὶ δραχμῶν ὀλίγων ἔνεκα πάντα ὑπομένειν. ἕως μὲν οὖν τούτου πολλὰ ἦν τὰ αἷτια τοῦ μὴ φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ
- C **ιερά**, καὶ ὁ πανταχόθεν ἐπικρεμάμενος φόβος ἐδίδου συγγνώμην ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰς ἀληθεστάτας ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν δόξας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔδοσαν, ἄτοπον εἶναί μοι φαίνεται διδάσκειν ἐκείνα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσα μὴ νομίζουσιν εὖ ἔχειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οἴονται σοφοὺς ὧν εἰσιν ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ὧν ὥσπερ προφήται
- D **κάθηνται**, ζηλούντων αὐτῶν πρῶτοι¹ τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν· εἰ δὲ εἰς τοὺς τιμιωτάτους ὑπολαμβάνουσι πεπλανῆσθαι, βαδιζόντων εἰς τὰς τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐξηγησόμενοι **Ματθαῖον** καὶ **Λουκᾶν**, οἷς πεισθέντες ἱερείων ὑμεῖς ἀπέχεσθαι νομοθετεῖτε. βούλομαι ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι,² ὡς ἂν ὑμεῖς εἴποιτε, καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν τούτων, ὧν ἔμοιγε εἴη μετέχειν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ φίλα νοεῖ τε καὶ πράττει. τοῖς μὲν καθηγεμόσι καὶ διδασκάλοις
- 424 οὕτως δὲ κοινὸς κεῖται νόμος· ὁ βουλόμενος δὲ τῶν νέων φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἀποκέκλεισται. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ εὐλογον ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τοὺς παῖδας, ἐφ' ὃ

¹ πρῶτοι Hertlein suggests for πρῶτον MSS.

² ἐξαναγεννηθῆναι follows γλῶτταν in MSS. Hertlein; transposed by Cobet as a peculiarly Christian word.

¹ i. e. under the Christian Emperors Constantine and Constantius it was dangerous to worship the gods openly.

² i. e. the beliefs of the poets about the gods.

RESCRIPT ON CHRISTIAN TEACHERS

declared to be guilty of impiety, folly and error in regard to the gods, is such as they declare. For since they make a livelihood and receive pay from the works of those writers, they thereby confess that they are most shamefully greedy of gain, and that, for the sake of a few drachmae, they would put up with anything. It is true that, until now, there were many excuses for not attending the temples, and the terror that threatened on all sides absolved men for concealing the truest beliefs about the gods.¹ But since the gods have granted us liberty, it seems to me absurd that men should teach what they do not believe to be sound. But if they believe that those whose interpreters they are and for whom they sit, so to speak, in the seat of the prophets, were wise men, let them be the first to emulate their piety towards the gods. If, however, they think that those writers were in error with respect to the most honoured gods, then let them betake themselves to the churches of the Galilaeans to expound Matthew and Luke, since you Galilaeans are obeying them when you ordain that men shall refrain from temple-worship. For my part, I wish that your ears and your tongues might be "born anew," as you would say, as regards these things² in which may I ever have part, and all who think and act as is pleasing to me.

For religious³ and secular teachers let there be a general ordinance to this effect: Any youth who wishes to attend the schools is not excluded; nor indeed would it be reasonable to shut out from the best way⁴ boys who are still too ignorant to know

¹ Καθηγεμὼν in Julian has this implication; cf. *To Theodorus*, p. 55. ² Cf. *To the Alexandrians*, p. 149.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τι τρέπωνται, τῆς βελτίστης ἀποκλείειν ὁδοῦ, φόβῳ δὲ καὶ ἄκοντας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια. καίτοι δίκαιον ἦν, ὥσπερ τοὺς φρενιτίζοντας, οὕτω καὶ τούτους ἄκοντας ἰᾶσθαι, πλὴν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ὑπάρχειν ἅπασι τῆς τοιαύτης νόσου. καὶ γὰρ, οἶμαι, διδάσκειν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κολάζειν χρὴ τοὺς ἀνοήτους.

37

Ἀταρβίῳ¹

- 376 C Ἐγὼ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε κτείνεσθαι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους οὔτε τύπτεσθαι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον οὔτε ἄλλο τι πάσχειν κακὸν βούλομαι, προτιμᾶσθαι μέντοι τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ πάνυ φημὶ δεῖν· διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Γαλιλαίων μωρίαν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπαντα ἀνε-
D τράπη, διὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὐμένειαν σωζόμεθα πάντες. ὅθεν χρὴ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρας τε καὶ πόλεις.

38

Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου πρὸς Πορφύριον²

- 411 C Πολλή τις ἦν πάνυ καὶ μεγάλῃ βιβλιοθήκῃ Γεωργίου παντοδαπῶν μὲν φιλοσόφων, πολλῶν

¹ Hertlein 7. According to Cumont, *ιδιόγραφον* should be added to the title, and this was one of the few letters that Julian wrote with his own hand.

² Hertlein 36. This is the title in Suidas, from whose Lexicon the letter was copied into the MSS. *καθολικόν*, "revenue official" is added in Suidas, but is almost certainly an error. Hertlein's title *Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτοκράτωρ Πορφυρίῳ χαίρειν* is derived from *Parisinus* 2131; Hertlein deleted *Γεωργίῳ* before *Πορφυρίῳ*.

¹ For Christianity a disease cf. *To Libanius*, p. 207; for
122

TO ATARBIUS

which way to turn, and to overawe them into being led against their will to the beliefs of their ancestors. Though indeed it might be proper to cure these, even against their will, as one cures the insane, except that we concede indulgence to all for this sort of disease.¹ For we ought, I think, to teach, but not punish, the demented.

37

To Atarbius²

I AFFIRM by the gods that I do not wish the Galilaeans to be either put to death or unjustly beaten, or to suffer any other injury; but nevertheless I do assert absolutely that the god-fearing must be preferred to them. For through the folly of the Galilaeans almost everything has been overturned, whereas through the grace of the gods are we all preserved. Wherefore we ought to honour the gods and the god-fearing, both men and cities.³

362
From
Con-
stanti-
nople
or
Antioch

38

Julian the Apostate to Porphyrius⁴

THE library of George was very large and complete and contained philosophers of every school and many indulgence to be shown to persons so afflicted, cf. *To the Citizens of Bostra* 438B, p. 135.

² This is probably Atarbius (so spelled in the *Letters* of Libanius) a native of Ancyra and at this time administrator of the district of the Euphrates. In 364 he held high office in Macedonia.

³ For other letters on the same subject cf. *To the Citizens of Byzantium*, p. 125, and *To Hecebolius*, p. 127.

⁴ Perhaps this is George's secretary mentioned in the *Letter to Ecdicius*, p. 73. Geffcken thinks this letter was a Christian forgery because it seems to ignore the earlier order to Ecdicius. Probably the books had not arrived, and Julian became impatient.

362
After
the
middle
of July
From
Antioch

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

D δὲ ὑπομνηματογράφων, οὐκ ἐλάχιστα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς
καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ
βιβλία. πᾶσαν οὖν ἀθρόως ταύτην τὴν βιβλιο-
θήκην ἀναζητήσας φρόντισον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν
ἀποστεῖλαι, γινώσκων ὅτι μεγίστη δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς
περιβληθήσῃ ζημία, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας
ἀνιχνεύσειας, καὶ τοὺς ὁπωσοῦν ὑπονοίας ἔχοντας
ὑφηρῆσθαι τῶν βιβλίων πᾶσι μὲν ἐλέγχους,
παντοδαποῖς δὲ ὄρκοις, πλείονι δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν
βασάνῳ, πείθειν εἰ μὴ δύναιο, καταναγκάσειας εἰς
μέσον πάντα προκομίσαι. ἔρρωσο.

39

380 D

Βυζακίοις ¹

Τοὺς βουλευτὰς πάντας ὑμῖν ἀποδεδώκαμεν καὶ
τοὺς πατροβούλους,² εἴτε τῇ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἑαυ-
381 τοὺς ἔδοσαν δεισιδαιμονία, εἴτε πως ἄλλως πραγ-
ματεύσαιντο διαδρᾶναι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔξω τῶν
ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει λελειτουργηκότων.

¹ Hertlein 11. Βυζαντίνοις MSS., Hertlein ; Βισανθηνοῖς Gibbon. For the Byzacians see *Codez Theodosianus* 12. l. 59.

² πατροβόλους *Parisinus*; πατροβούλους X, Ducange; πατροκό-
λους edd.; προβούλους Cobet. See Cumont, *Revue de Philologie*,
1902.

¹ Cumont thinks that a scribe added this inappropriate greeting.

² Byzacium was in the district of Tunis. This is Cumont's conjecture for MS. title Τοῖς Βυζαντίνοις, *To the Byzantines*. Julian never calls Constantinople Byzantium. Gibbon suspected the title and conjectured that it was addressed to the town Bisanthe (Rodosto) in Thrace.

³ The meaning of this word is not clear; Cumont translates

TO THE CITIZENS OF BYZACIUM

historians, especially, among these, numerous books of all kinds by the Galilaeans. Do you therefore make a thorough search for the whole library without exception and take care to send it to Antioch. You may be sure that you will yourself incur the severest penalty if you do not trace it with all diligence, and do not by every kind of enquiry, by every kind of sworn testimony and, further, by torture of the slaves, compel, if you cannot persuade, those who are in any way suspected of having stolen any of the books to bring them all forth. Farewell.¹

39

To the citizens of Byzacium ²

I HAVE restored to you all your senators and councillors³ whether they have abandoned themselves to the superstition of the Galilaeans or have devised some other method of escaping from the senate,⁴ and have excepted only those who have filled public offices in the capital.

362
Probably
from
Antioch

“patroni” i.e. protectors, but we cannot be certain as to the functions of these local dignitaries in Africa.

⁴ On the burden of being a Senator cf. Libanius, *Oration* 2; Ammianus 21. 12. 23; Julian, *Misopogon* 367D. It was one of Julian's most widespread reforms to enrol all wealthy men in the senates of their cities. By an edict of March 362 he deprived the Christian clerics of their immunities from such public offices which had been conferred on them by Constantine (cf. Sozomen 5. 5) and in the present case his edict is directed mainly against those who had become clerics in order to escape municipal service. Philostorgius 7. 4 says that this was part of Julian's malignant policy. The Emperor Valentinian restored their privileges to the clerics in 364.

Ἐκβολίῳ ¹

- 424 C Ἐγὼ μὲν κέχρημαι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἅπασιν οὕτω πρῶως καὶ φιλανθρώπως, ὥστε μηδένα μηδαμοῦ βίαν ὑπομένειν μηδὲ εἰς ἱερὸν ἔλκεσθαι μηδ' εἰς ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηρεάζεσθαι παρὰ τὴν οἰκείαν πρόθεσιν. οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλούτου τρυφῶντες ἐπεχείρησαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ τετολμήκασι τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν, οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐν εὐνομουμένῃ πόλει γένοιτ' ἂν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου νόμου προείρηται πωλῆσαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δοῦναι πτωχοῖς ² ἵν' εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὐκοπώτερον ³ πορευθῶσι, πρὸς τοῦτο συναγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αὐτῶν τὰ χρήματα τῆς Ἑδεσσηνῶν ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα ἐκελεύσαμεν ἀναληφθῆναι δοθησόμενα τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὰ κτήματα τοῖς ἡμετέροις προστεθῆναι πριβάτοις, ἵνα πενόμενοι σωφρονῶσι καὶ μὴ στερηθῶσιν ἧς ἔτι ἐλπίζουσιν οὐρανίου βασιλείας. τοῖς
- D

¹ Hertlein 43.

² πωλῆσαι—πτωχοῖς Asinus supplies from *Luke* 12. 33 for lacuna in MSS.; Thomas suggests τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀφιέναι *Matthew* 19. 27. Hertlein suggests πένεσθαι "to embrace poverty."

³ Asinus suggests, from *Matthew* 19. 24; εὐδωώτερον Hertlein, MSS.

¹ This can hardly be the sophist to whom Julian addressed one of his most flowery and sophistic letters, for which see p. 217. Probably he was some leading official of Edessa, the capital of Osroene in Northern Mesopotamia. Constantius had favoured the Arians there and encouraged their fanatical sectarianism by handing over to them the great

TO HECEBOLIUS

40

To Heceboli¹

I HAVE behaved to all the Galilaeans with such kindness and benevolence that none of them has suffered violence anywhere or been dragged into a temple or threatened into anything else of the sort against his own will. But the followers of the Arian church, in the insolence bred by their wealth, have attacked the followers of Valentine² and have committed in Edessa such rash acts as could never occur in a well-ordered city. Therefore, since by their most admirable law they are bidden to sell all they have and give to the poor that so they may attain more easily to the kingdom of the skies, in order to aid those persons in that effort, I have ordered that all their funds, namely, that belong to the church of the people of Edessa, are to be taken over that they may be given to the soldiers, and that its property³ be confiscated to my private purse.⁴ This is in order that poverty may teach them to behave properly and that they may not be deprived of that heavenly kingdom for which they still hope. And I publicly

End of
362 or
early
in 363
From
Antioch

basilica of St. Thomas. Sozomen 6. 1, says that on his way to Persia Julian hurried past Edessa because the city remained obstinately Christian; later he relates, 6. 18, that the Emperor Valens visited Edessa and persecuted the non-Arian Christians; cf. Socrates 4. 18.

² Valentine founded one of the sects of the Gnostics in the first century A.D.; by the fourth century the Valentinian heresy had very few adherents.

³ Probably Julian means the valuables such as Church plate belonging to the various churches in Edessa; for his spoliation of the churches cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Against Julian* 3. 86 D, and Sozomen 5. 5.

⁴ *πριβάτοις*=*privatis*; or "to lay uses."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν προαγορεύομεν ἀπέχεσθαι
πάσης στάσεως καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἵνα μὴ, τὴν ἡμετέ-
ραν φιланθρωπίαν κινήσαντες, καθ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἀταξίας ¹ δίκην τίσητε, ξίφει
καὶ φυγῇ καὶ πυρὶ ζημιωθέντες.

41

Βοστρονοῖς ²

Ἦμινη ἐγὼ τοὺς τῶν Γαλιλαίων προστάτας
136 ἔξειν μοι μείζονα χάριν ἢ τῷ φθάσαντι πρὸ ἐμοῦ
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτροπεῦσαι. συνέβη γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν
ἐκείνου τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ φυγαδευθῆναι
καὶ διωχθῆναι καὶ δεσμευθῆναι, πολλὰ δὲ ἤδη καὶ
σφαγῆναι πλήθη τῶν λεγομένων αἰρετικῶν, ὡς ἐν
Σαμοσάτοις καὶ Κυζίκῳ καὶ Παφλαγονίᾳ καὶ
Βιθυνίᾳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ³ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις
B ἔθνεσιν ἄρδην ἀνατραπῆναι πορθηθείσας κώμας, ⁴
ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦναντίον. οἳ τε γὰρ ἐξορισθέντες
ἀφείθησαν, καὶ οἱ δημευθέντες ἀπολαμβάνειν ⁵
τὰ σφέτερα ἅπαντα νόμῳ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔλαβον. οἱ
δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον λυσομανίας ἤκουσι καὶ ἀπονοίας,
ὥστε, ὅτι μὴ τυραννεῖν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ ἅ
ποτε ἔπραττον κατ' ἀλλήλων, ἔπειτα καὶ ἡμᾶς
τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς εἰργάζοντο, διατιθέναι, παροξυνό-

¹ Hertlein suggests *εὐταξίας* or *ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς ἀταξίας*.

² Hertlein 52. The only MS. that contains this edict is *Parisinus* 2964.

³ Hertlein adds.

⁴ For *κώμας* Cobet suggests *ἐκκλησίας*.

⁵ Hertlein would delete *ἀπολαμβάνειν* and read *ἀπέλαβον* for *ἔλαβον*.

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTRA

command you citizens of Edessa to abstain from all feuds and rivalries, else will you provoke even my benevolence against yourselves, and being sentenced to the sword and to exile and to fire pay the penalty for disturbing the good order of the commonwealth.

41

To the citizens of Bostra¹

I THOUGHT that the leaders of the Galilaeans would be more grateful to me than to my predecessor in the administration of the Empire. For in his reign it happened to the majority of them to be sent into exile, prosecuted, and cast into prison, and moreover, many whole communities of those who are called "heretics"² were actually butchered, as at Samosata and Cyzicus, in Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and Galatia, and among many other tribes also villages were sacked and completely devastated; whereas, during my reign, the contrary has happened. For those who had been exiled have had their exile remitted, and those whose property was confiscated have, by a law of mine received permission to recover all their possessions.³ Yet they have reached such a pitch of raving madness and folly that they are exasperated because they are not allowed to behave like tyrants or to persist in the conduct in which they at one time indulged against one another, and afterwards carried on towards us who revered

362
August
1st
From
Antioch

¹ This edict is cited by Sozomen 5. 15. Bostra, or Bosra, was one of the largest fortified cities in Arabia and is described by Ammianus 14. 8. 13 as *murorum firmitate cautissima*.

² Constantius persecuted Christians who did not belong to the Arian sect.

³ For this see Sozomen 5. 5.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- μενοι πάντα κινουῦσι λίθον καὶ συνταράττειν πολ-
 μῶσι τὰ πλήθη καὶ στασιάζειν, ἀσεβοῦντες μὲν
 εἰς τοὺς θεούς, ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις
 C προστάγμασι, καίπερ οὕτως οὐσι φιλανθρώποις.
 οὐδένα γοῦν αὐτῶν ἄκοντα πρὸς βωμοὺς ἐῷμεν
 ἔλκεσθαι, διαρρήδην δὲ αὐτοῖς προαγορεύομεν, εἴ
 τις ἐκὼν χερνίβων καὶ σπονδῶν ἡμῖν ἐθέλει κοινω-
 νεῖν, καθάρσια προσφέρεισθαι πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς
 ἀποτροπαίους ἰκετεύειν θεούς. οὕτω πόρρω τυγ-
 χάνομεν τοῦ τινα¹ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἐθελῆσαί ποτε
 D ἢ διανοηθῆναι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐαγῶν μετασχεῖν
 θυσιῶν, πρὶν τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ταῖς λιτανείαις πρὸς
 τοὺς θεούς, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῖς νομίμοις καθαρσίοις
 καθήρασθαι.

Τὰ γοῦν πλήθη τὰ παρὰ τῶν λεγομένων κληρι-
 κῶν ἐξηπατημένα πρόδηλον ὅτι ταύτης ἀφαιρε-
 θέισης στασιάζει τῆς ἀδείας. οἱ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο
 437 τετυραννηκότες οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν ὅτι μὴ τίνουσι
 δίκην ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔπραξαν κακῶν, ποθοῦντες δὲ τὴν
 προτέραν δυναστείαν, ὅτι μὴ δικάζειν ἔξεστιν
 αὐτοῖς καὶ γράφειν διαθήκας καὶ ἀλλοτρίους
 σφετερίζεσθαι κλήρους καὶ τὰ πάντα ἑαυτοῖς
 προσνέμειν, πάντα κινουῦσιν ἀκοσμίας κάλων καὶ,
 τὸ λεγόμενον, πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύουσι καὶ τοῖς
 προτέροις κακοῖς μείζονα ἐπιθεῖναι τολμῶσιν, εἰς
 διάστασιν ἄγοντες τὰ πλήθη. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι

¹ So Reiske for MS. τοῦ διὰ τινα ; Hertlein suggests νῆ Δία
 τοῦ τινα ; βία Heyler suggests.

¹ i. e. for others. Julian no longer allowed legacies to be
 left to churches ; cf. *Codex Theodos.* 3. 1. 3. The clergy and
 especially the bishops had exercised certain civil functions of

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTRA

the gods. They therefore leave no stone unturned, and have the audacity to incite the populace to disorder and revolt, whereby they both act with impiety towards the gods and disobey my edicts, humane though these are. At least I do not allow a single one of them to be dragged against his will to worship at the altars; nay, I proclaim in so many words that, if any man of his own free will choose to take part in our lustral rites and libations, he ought first of all to offer sacrifices of purification and supplicate the gods that avert evil. So far am I from ever having wished or intended that anyone of those sacrilegious men should partake in the sacrifices that we most revere, until he has purified his soul by supplications to the gods, and his body by the purifications that are customary.

It is, at any rate, evident that the populace who have been led into error by those who are called "clerics," are in revolt because this license has been taken from them. For those who have till now behaved like tyrants are not content that they are not punished for their former crimes, but, longing for the power they had before, because they are no longer allowed to sit as judges and draw up wills¹ and appropriate the inheritances of other men and assign everything to themselves, they pull every string² of disorder, and, as the proverb says, lead fire through a pipe to fire,³ and dare to add even greater crimes to their former wickedness by leading on the populace to disunion. Therefore I have

which Julian deprived them, and they lost the immunity from taxation that had been granted by Christian emperors. For this cf. Sozomen 5. 5.

¹ Literally "cable," a proverb. ² Cf. "add fuel to fire."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- B πᾶσι τοῖς δήμοις προαγορεῦσαι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ διατάγματος καὶ φανερόν καταστήσαι, μὴ συστασιάζειν τοῖς κληρικοῖς μηδὲ ἀναπείθεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν λίθους αἶρειν μηδὲ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ συνιέναι μὲν ἕως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, εὐχεσθαι δὲ ἅς νομίζουσιν εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀναπείθοιεν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν στασιάζειν, μηκέτι συνάδειν, ἵνα μὴ δίκην δῶσι.
- C Ταῦτα δέ μοι παρέστη τῇ Βοστρηνῶν ἰδία προαγορεῦσαι πόλει διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Τίτον καὶ τοὺς κληρικοὺς ἐξ ὧν ἐπέδοσαν βιβλίων τοῦ μετὰ σφῶν πλήθους κατηγορηκέναι, ὡς αὐτῶν μὲν παραινούντων τῷ πλήθει μὴ στασιάζειν, ὁρμωμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς ἀταξίαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ αὐτὴν ἣν ἐτόλμησεν ἐγγράψαι τὴν φωνὴν ὑπέταξά μου τῷδε τῷ διατάγματι.
- D “Καίτοι Χριστιανῶν ὄντων ἐφαμίλλων τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κατεχομένων δὲ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παραινέσει μηδένα μηδαμοῦ ἀτακτεῖν.” ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὰ ῥήματα. ὁρᾶτε ὅπως τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐταξίαν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εἰναί φησι γνώμης, οἷ γε ἄκουτες, ὡς γε
 438 εἶπε, κατέχεσθε διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ παραινέσεις. ὡς οὖν κατήγορον ὑμῶν ἐκόντες ¹ τῆς πόλεως διώξατε, τὰ πλήθη δὲ ὁμονοεῖτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐναντιούσθω μηδὲ ἀδικεῖτω· μήθ' οἱ πεπλανημένοι

¹ Klimek suggests ἐλόντες.

¹ So far the edict has a general character and may have been sent out broadcast. The last paragraph is apparently added as a special instruction to the citizens of Bostra, and especially to the Christians, whom he incites against their bishop.

TO THE CITIZENS OF BOSTRA

decided to proclaim to all communities of citizens, by means of this edict, and to make known to all, that they must not join in the feuds of the clerics or be induced by them to take stones in their hands or disobey those in authority; but they may hold meetings for as long as they please and may offer on their own behalf the prayers to which they are accustomed; that, on the other hand, if the clerics try to induce them to take sides on their behalf in quarrels, they must no longer consent to do so, if they would escape punishment.¹

I have been led to make this proclamation to the city of Bostra in particular, because their bishop Titus and the clerics, in the reports that they have issued, have made accusations against their own adherents, giving the impression that, when the populace were on the point of breaking the peace, they themselves admonished them not to cause sedition. Indeed, I have subjoined to this my decree the very words which he dared to write in his report: "Although the Christians are a match for the Hellenes in numbers, they are restrained by our admonition that no one disturb the peace in any place." For these are the very words of the bishop about you. You see how he says that your good behaviour was not of your own choice, since, as he at any rate alleged, you were restrained against your will by his admonitions! Therefore, of your own free will, seize your accuser and expel him from the city,² but do you, the populace, live in agreement with one another, and let no man be quarrelsome or act unjustly. Neither

¹ Julian's advice was not followed, since Socrates, *History of the Church* 3. 25, mentions Titus as bishop of Bostra under the Emperor Jovian in 363.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- τοῖς ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι
κατὰ τὰ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἡμῖν παραδεδομένα, μήθ' οἱ
θεραπευταὶ τῶν θεῶν λυμαίνεσθε ταῖς οἰκίαις ἢ
B διαρπάξετε τῶν ἀγνοία μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη πεπλανη-
μένων. λόγῳ δὲ πείθεσθαι χρὴ καὶ διδάσκεσθαι
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὐ πληγαῖς οὐδὲ ὕβρεσιν οὐδὲ
αἰκισμῷ τοῦ σώματος. αὐθις δὲ καὶ πολλάκις
παραίνῳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν ὀρμω-
μένοις μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὰ πλήθη,
μηδὲ ἐπιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ ὑβρίζειν εἰς αὐτούς. ἐλεεῖν
δὲ χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ μισεῖν τοὺς ἐν¹ τοῖς μεγίστοις
C πρῦπτοντας κακῶς· μέγιστον γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ὡς
ἀληθῶς ἢ θεοσέβεια, καὶ τοῦναντίον τῶν κακῶν
ἢ δυσσέβεια. συμβαίνει δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἐπὶ
τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ λείψανα μετατετραμμένους
ταύτην ἀποτίσαι τὴν ζημίαν·² ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἐνεχο-
μένοις νόσφ³ τινὶ συναλγοῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ ἀπο-
λυομένοις καὶ ἀφιεμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν συνηδό-
μεθα.
'Εδόθη τῇ τῶν Καλανδῶν Αὐγούστων ἐν
'Αντιοχείᾳ.

42

Καλλιξείνη⁴

- 388 Χρόνος δίκαιον ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν ὁμόνος,
C ὡς παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἔγνωμεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἂν φαίην

¹ ἐπὶ MSS. ἐν Hertlein suggests.

² After ζημίαν Hertlein thinks some words are lost.

³ νόσφ Hertlein would add ; Heyler κακῷ understood.

⁴ Hertlein 21.

¹ Sozomen 5. 5 and 15 seems to be an echo of Julian.

TO CALLIXEINE

let those of you who have strayed from the truth outrage those who worship the gods duly and justly, according to the beliefs that have been handed down to us from time immemorial; nor let those of you who worship the gods outrage or plunder the houses of those who have strayed rather from ignorance than of set purpose. It is by reason that we ought to persuade and instruct men, not by blows, or insults, or bodily violence. Wherefore, again and often I admonish those who are zealous for the true religion not to injure the communities of the Galilaeans or attack or insult them.¹ Nay, we ought to pity rather than hate men who in matters of the greatest importance are in such evil case. (For in very truth the greatest of all blessings is reverence for the gods, as, on the other hand, irreverence is the greatest of all evils. It follows that those who have turned aside from the gods to corpses² and relics pay this as their penalty.)³ Since we suffer in sympathy with those who are afflicted by disease,⁴ but rejoice with those who are being released and set free by the aid of the gods. Given at Antioch on the First of August.

42

To Callixeine⁵

"TIME alone proves the just man,"⁶ as we learn from men of old; but I would add the god-fearing

362
From
An-
tioch

² So Julian styles Christ and the martyrs; cf. *Against the Galilaeans* 335B; Vol. 2, *Misopogon* 361B.

³ *i. e.* that they are in evil case.

⁴ For Christianity a disease cf. Vol. 2, 229D, and below, p. 207.

⁵ Otherwise unknown. Julian visited Pessinus in Phrygia on his way to Antioch. See Introduction.

⁶ Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 614.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὅτι καὶ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν φιλόθεον. ἀλλ' ἔμαρτυρήθη, φῆς, καὶ ἡ Πηνελόπη φίλανδρος. εἴτα μετὰ τὸ φίλανδρον¹ τὸ φιλόθεον τίς ἐν γυναικὶ δεύτερον τίθησι, καὶ οὐ φαίνεται² πολλὴν πάνυ τὸν μανδραγόραν ἐκπεπωκώς; εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
D καιρούς τις ἐν νῶ λάβοι καὶ τὴν μὲν Πηνελόπην ἐπαινουμένην σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανδρίᾳ, κινδυνευούσας δὲ τὰς εὐσεβεῖς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον γυναῖκας, καὶ προσθήκην δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι καὶ διπλῆσις ὁ χρόνος, ἅρ' ἔστι σοὶ τὴν Πηνελόπην ἀξίως παραβάλλειν; ἀλλὰ μὴ μικροὺς ποιοῦ τοὺς ἐπαίνους· ἀνθ' ὧν ἀμείψονται μὲν σε
389 πάντες οἱ θεοί, τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ διπλῇ σε τιμήσομεν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ. πρὸς ἣ γὰρ πρότερον εἶχες τῆς ἀγιωτάτης θεοῦ Δήμητρος, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης Μητρὸς θεῶν τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν τῇ θεοφιλεῖ Πεσσινούντι τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐπιτρέπομέν σοι.

43

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ³

Μὴ λίαν ἡ κοινὸν τὸ προοίμιον Τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς οἶσθα δήπουθεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ

¹ Reiske suggests; Hertlein, MSS. τοῦ φίλανδρου.

² Klimek; φανείται Hertlein, MSS.

³ Hertlein 76. This letter is preserved in *Vaticanus* 1353 only.

¹ To drink mandragora (mandrake), is a proverb for sluggish wits; but mandrake was used also as a stimulus to love.

TO EUSTATHIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

and pious man also. However, you say, the love of Penelope for her husband was also witnessed to by time. Now who would rank a woman's piety second to her love for her husband without appearing to have drunk a very deep draught of mandragora? ¹ And if one takes into account the conditions of the times and compares Penelope, who is almost universally praised for loving her husband, with pious women who not long ago hazarded their lives; and if one considers also that the period was twice as long, which was an aggravation of their sufferings; then, I ask, is it possible to make any fair comparison between you and Penelope? Nay, do not belittle my praises. All the gods will requite you for your sufferings and for my part I shall honour you with a double priesthood. For besides that which you held before of priestess to the most venerable goddess Demeter, I entrust to you the office of priestess to the most mighty Mother of the gods in Phrygia at Pessinus, beloved of the gods.

43

To Eustathius the Philosopher ²

PERHAPS the proverb "An honest man" ³—is too hackneyed. I am sure you know the rest. More

362
From
Antioch

¹ See Introduction under Eustathius. He evidently accepted this invitation; see the next letter. He was a pagan and a friend of Libanius; cf. Ammianus 17. 5. 15; Eunapius, *Lives*, pp. 392 foll. (Wright).

² Euripides *frag.* 902, Nauck:

Τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐκὰς ναίη χθονός,
Κἂν μή ποτ' ὕσσοις εἰσίδω, κρίνω φίλον.

"An honest man, though he dwell far away and I never see him with my eyes, him I count a friend."

137

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἔχεις. οἶσθα μὲν γὰρ ἄτε λόγιος ὢν καὶ φιλόσοφος τὸ ἐπόμενον αὐτῷ, ἐμὲ δὲ ἔχεις φίλον, εἵπερ γοῦν¹ ἄμφω ἐσθλοί ἐσμεν. ὑπὲρ γὰρ σοῦ τοῦτο καὶ διατειναίμην, ὅτι τοιούτος εἶ, περὶ δὲ ἑμαντοῦ σιωπῶ· γένοιτο δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους αἰσθέσθαι καὶ ἐμοῦ τοιούτου. τί οὖν ὥσπερ ἄτοπόν τι λέξων² κύκλῳ περιέιμι δέον³ εἰπεῖν; ἦκε καὶ σπεῦδε καί, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἵπτασο. πορεύσει δέ σε θεὸς εὐμενὴς μετὰ τῆς Ἐνοδίας παρθένου, καὶ ὑπουργήσει δρόμος δημόσιος ὁχήματι βουλομένῳ χρῆσασθαι, καὶ παρίπποις δυσίν.

44

Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ⁴

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν

- 416 Ὁμηρος ὁ σοφὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν· ἡμῖν δὲ ὑπάρχει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ξενικῆς φιλίας ἀμείνων ἢ τε διὰ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης παιδείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν μέ τις ἐγράψατο δικαίως ὡς τὸν Ὀμήρου παραβαίνοντα νόμον, εἰ

¹ γοῦν Hertlein suggests; οὖν MSS., Hertlein.

² λέξων Hertlein suggests; λέγων MSS., Hertlein.

³ After δέον Thomas would add ἀπλῶς.

⁴ Hertlein 39. Cumont restores Εὐσταθίῳ from X (Papadopoulos); Hertlein, following Martin, τῷ αὐτῷ i.e. Maximus, to whom the preceding letter in Hertlein's edition is addressed; Estienne Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ. The Aldine has no title.

TO EUSTATHIUS

than this, you possess it; for, rhetorician and philosopher as you are, you know the words that come next, and you possess me for a friend, at least if we are both honest men. On your behalf I would strenuously maintain that you are in that category, but about myself I say nothing. I only pray that others may find by experience that I also am honest! You ask why I go round in a circle as though I were going to say something extraordinary when I ought to speak out? Come, then, lose no time; fly hither, as we say. A kindly god will speed you on your way with the aid of the Maiden of the Cross Roads and the state post¹ will be at your disposal if you wish to use a carriage; and two extra horses.

44

To Eustathius²

"ENTREAT kindly the guest in your house, but speed him when he would be gone."³

362
From
Antioch

Thus did wise Homer decree. But the friendship that exists between us two is stronger than that between guest and host, because it is inspired by the best education attainable and by our pious devotion to the gods. So that no one could have fairly indicted me for transgressing the law of Homer if

¹ The *cursus publicus* was the system of posting stations where horses were kept ready for the use of the Emperor or his friends; cf. above, p. 83 *To Basil*, end.

² Hertlein, following an error in the editions of Martin and Estienne, makes Julian address this letter to Maximus. For the answer of Eustathius see p. 291.

³ *Odyssey* 15. 74; this had become a proverb, cf. Libanius, *Letter* 130.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον σε μένειν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡξίωσα. ἀλλὰ
 σοι τὸ σωματίον ἰδὼν ἐπιμελείας πλείονος δεόμενον
 B ἐπέτρεψα βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ ῥαστώνης
 ἐπεμελήθηεν τῆς πορείας. ὀχήματι γοῦν ἕξεστί
 σοι δημοσίῳ χρήσασθαι, πορεύοιεν δέ σε σὺν
 Ἀσκληπιῷ πάντες οἱ θεοί, καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν συντυ-
 χεῖν δοῖεν.

45

Ἐκδικίῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου ¹

432 Ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησὶν “ἐμοὶ διηγοῦ σὺ ² τοῦ-
 B μὸν ὄναρ,” ἐγὼ δ' ἔοικα σοὶ τὸ σὸν ὕπαρ ἀφηγεῖ-
 σθαι. πολὺς φασὶν, ὁ Νεῖλος ἀρθεὶς μετέωρος
 τοῖς πήχεσιν ἐπλήρωσε πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον· εἰ
 δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀκούσαι ποθεῖς, εἰς τὴν εἰκάδα
 τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου τρεῖς πέντε. μηνύει δὲ ταῦτα
 Θεόφιλος ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης. εἰ τοίνυν ἡγνόησας
 αὐτό, παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκούων εὐφραίνου.

46

Ἐκδικίῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου ³

376 Εἰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα μὴ γράφεις ἡμῖν, ἀλλ'
 ὑπέρ γε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐχθροῦ χρεὴν σε γράφειν Ἀθανα-

¹ Hertlein 50.

² This is the reading of Suidas, who quotes ἐμοὶ—ἀφηγε-
 ῖσθαι; *Ambrosianus* σὺ διηγοῦ; Hertlein, following *Vossianus*,
 διηγεί. ³ Hertlein 6.

¹ Cappadocia.

² The premature death of Julian prevented the fulfilment
 of this wish.

TO ECDICIUS, PREFECT OF EGYPT

I had insisted that you should remain still longer with us. But I see that your feeble frame needs more care, and I have therefore given you permission to go to your own country,¹ and have provided for your comfort on the journey. That is to say, you are allowed to use a state carriage, and may Asclepius and all the gods escort you on your way and grant that we may see you again!²

45

To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt³

As the proverb says, "You told me my own dream."⁴ And I fancy that I am relating to you your own waking vision. The Nile, they tell me, had risen in full flood, cubits high, and has inundated the whole of Egypt. If you want to hear the figures, it had risen fifteen cubits⁵ on the twentieth of September. Theophilus, the military prefect, informs me of this. So, if you did not know it, hear it from me, and let it rejoice your heart.

362
October
From
Antioch

46

To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt

EVEN though you do not write to me⁶ on other matters, you ought at least to have written about

362
About
October
From
Antioch

³ For Ecdicius see p. 155.

⁴ Cf. "Queen Anne is dead." Ecdicius presumably knew what Julian tells him.

⁵ Pliny, *Natural History* 5. 9, says that a rise of 15 cubits gives Egypt security, 16 is luxury; Ammianus 22. 15 says that cultivators fear a rise of more than 16 cubits. The Egyptian cubit was about 22 inches.

⁶ Egypt was the peculiar property of the Roman Emperors and reports were made by the prefect to them.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

σίου, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ πλείονος ἤδη χρόνου τὰ καλῶς
 ἡμῖν ἐγνώσμενα πεπυσμένον. ὁμνυμι δὲ τὸν μέγαν
 Σάραπιν, ὡς εἰ μὴ πρὸ τῶν Δεκεμβρίων Καλανδῶν
 ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς Ἀθανάσιος ἐξέλθοι ἐκείνης τῆς πό-
 B λεως,¹ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῇ
 ὑπακουούσῃ σοι τάξει προστιμήσομαι χρυσοῦ
 λίτρας ἑκατόν. οἶσθα δὲ ὅπως εἰμὶ βραδύς μὲν
 εἰς τὸ καταγινῶναι, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι βραδύτερος εἰς
 τὸ ἅπαξ καταγινὸς ἀνεῖναι. καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρί-
 πάννυ με λυπεῖ τὸ καταφρονεῖσθαι. μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
 πάντας οὐδὲν οὕτως ἂν ἴδοιμι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀκούσαιμι
 ἡδέως παρὰ σοῦ πραχθέν, ὡς Ἀθανάσιον ἐξελη-
 C λαμένον τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρων,² τὸν μιάρων, ὃς
 ἐτόλμησεν Ἑλληνίδας ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπι-
 σήμων βαπτίσαι. διωκέσθω.

47

Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν³

432 Εἰ μὲν τις τῶν Γαλιλαίων⁴ ἦν ὑμῶν οἰκιστῆς,
 D οἷ τὸν ἑαυτῶν παραβύντες νόμον ἀπέτισαν ὅποίας
 ἦν εἰκὸς δίκας, ἐλόμενοι μὲν ζῆν παρανόμως, εἰσα-
 γαγόντες δὲ κήρυγμα καινὸν⁵ καὶ διδασκαλίαν

¹ τῆς πόλεως Hertlein suggests.

² ὄρων Asmus, τόπων Hertlein, MSS.

³ Hertlein 51. ⁴ Asmus; ἄλλων Hertlein, MSS.

⁵ καινὸν Asmus adds; see below 433b.

¹ Athanasius had disregarded the order to leave Alexandria. but he now, on October 24th, went into exile in Upper Egypt; Socrates 3. 14; Sozomen 5. 15; see p. 75.

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

that enemy of the gods, Athanasius,¹ especially since, for a long time past, you have known my just decrees. I swear by mighty Serapis that, if Athanasius the enemy of the gods does not depart from that city, or rather from all Egypt, before the December Kalends, I shall fine the cohort which you command a hundred pounds² of gold. And you know that, though I am slow to condemn, I am even much slower to remit when I have once condemned. *Added with his own hand.*³ It vexes me greatly that my orders are neglected. By all the gods there is nothing I should be so glad to see, or rather hear reported as achieved by you, as that Athanasius has been expelled beyond the frontiers of Egypt. Infamous man! He has had the audacity to baptise Greek women of rank⁴ during my reign! Let him be driven forth!⁵

47

To the Alexandrians

IF your founder had been one of the Galilaeans, men who have transgressed their own law⁶ and have paid the penalties they deserved, since they elected to live in defiance of the law and have introduced a new doctrine and newfangled teaching, even then

362
Nov. or
Dec.
From
Antioch

² The Greek word used is the equivalent of the Latin *libra* = 12 ounces.

³ For similar postscripts see pp. 15, 19.

⁴ Or "wives of distinguished men."

⁵ In the *Neapolitanus* MS. the following has been added by a Christian: μακάριος οὗτος, κυὼν μισρὲ καὶ τρισκατάρτε παράβατα καὶ τρισάθλιε.—"This man is a blessed saint, O vile dog of an apostate, thrice accursed and thrice miserable!"

⁶ *i. e.* the Hebraic law; cf. *Against the Galilaeans*, 238B, foll., 305E, foll.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

νεαράν, λόγον ἂν εἶχεν οὐδ' ὥς Ἀθανάσιον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπιζητεῖσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ κτίστου μὲν ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῆς πόλεως, ὑπάρχοντος δὲ ὑμῖν πολιούχου θεοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαράπιδος ἅμα τῇ
433 παρέδρῳ κόρῃ καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης Ἰσιδι¹ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσιν οὐ ζηλοῦντες πόλιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ νοσοῦν μέρος ἐπιφημίζειν ἑαυτῷ τολμᾷ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα.

Λίαν αἰσχύνομαι νῆ τοὺς θεούς, ἄνδρες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, εἴ τις ὅλως Ἀλεξανδρέων ὁμολογεῖ Γαλιλαῖος εἶναι. τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἑβραίων οἱ πατέρες
B Αἰγυπτίοις ἐδούλευον πάλαι, νυνὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, Αἰγυπτίων κρατήσαντες· ἐκράτησε γὰρ ὁ κτίστης ὑμῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου· τοῖς κατωλιγωρηκόσι τῶν πατρίων δογμάτων δουλείαν ἐβελούσιον ἄντικρυς τῶν παλαιῶν θεσμῶν ὑφίστασθε. καὶ οὐκ εἰσέρχεται μνήμη τῆς παλαιᾶς ὑμᾶς ἐκείνης εὐδαιμονίας, ἥνικα ἦν κοινωνία μὲν πρὸς τοὺς² θεοὺς Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ πάσῃ, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπελαύομεν ἀγαθῶν. ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν εἰσαγαγόντες ὑμῖν τὸ καινὸν
C τοῦτο κήρυγμα τίνος αἵτιοι γεγόνασιν ἀγαθοῦ τῇ πόλει, φράσατέ μοι. κτίστης ὑμῖν ἦν ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, οὗτι μὰ Δία κατὰ τινα τούτων ὧν οὐδὲ κατὰ πάντας Ἑβραίους μακρῷ γεγονότας αὐτῶν κρείττονας. ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ Λάγου Πτολεμαῖος ἦν ἀμείνων,

¹ Some words, *e. g.* οὐχ ὑγιαίνετε (Capps) have dropped out; lacuna Hertlein, following Petavius.

² τοὺς Asmus adds.

¹ Athanasius had left Alexandria on October 24th, 362, and, not long after, the Alexandrians petitioned Julian for

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

it would have been unreasonable for you to demand back Athanasius.¹ But as it is, though Alexander founded your city and the lord Serapis is the city's patron god, together with his consort the Maiden, the Queen of all Egypt, Isis . . .² not emulating the healthy part of the city; but the part that is diseased has the audacity to arrogate to itself the name of the whole.

I am overwhelmed with shame, I affirm it by the gods, O men of Alexandria, to think that even a single Alexandrian can admit that he is a Galilaean. The forefathers of the genuine Hebrews were the slaves of the Egyptians long ago, but in these days, men of Alexandria, you who conquered the Egyptians—for your founder was the conqueror of Egypt—submit yourselves, despite your sacred traditions, in willing slavery to men who have set at naught the teachings of their ancestors. You have then no recollection of those happy days of old when all Egypt held communion with the gods and we enjoyed many benefits therefrom. But those who have but yesterday introduced among you this new doctrine, tell me of what benefit have they been to the city? Your founder was a god-fearing man, Alexander of Macedon, in no way, by Zeus, like any of these persons, nor again did he resemble any Hebrews, though the latter have shown themselves far superior to the Galilaean. Nay, Ptolemy³ son of Lagus

his return. This is his answer to them. After this edict Athanasius remained in hiding in Egypt and the Sudan till Julian's death in 363, when he recovered his see.

¹ After "Isis" some words are missing.

³ Ptolemy the First took Jerusalem and led many Jews captive into Egypt, Josephus 1. 12. 1.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ἄμιλλαν ἰὼν ἀγῶνα παρεῖχε. τί οὖν μετὰ τὸν κτίστην οἱ

D Πτολεμαῖοι, τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ὥσπερ γνησίαν θυγατέρα παιδοτροφήσαντες; οὔτι τοῖς Ἰησοῦ λόγοις ἠϋξήσαν αὐτήν, οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν θεοῖς¹ ἐχθίστων Γαλιλαίων διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῇ ταύτην, ὑφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων, ἐξεργάσαντο. τρίτον, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαῖοι κύριοι γεγόναμεν αὐτῆς, ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Πτολεμαίους οὐ καλῶς ἄρχοντας, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπιδημήσας ὑμῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑμετέρους πολίτας διαλεχθεὶς, “Ἄνδρες, 434 εἶπεν, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, ἀφίημι τὴν πόλιν αἰτίας πάσης αἰδοῖ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ Σαράπιδος αὐτοῦ τε ἕνεκα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς πόλεως· αἰτία δέ μοι τρίτη τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἐταῖρος Ἀρειος.” ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀρειος οὗτος πολίτης μὲν ὑμέτερος, Καίσαρος δὲ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ συμβιωτής, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος.

B Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἰδίᾳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ὑπάρξαντα παρὰ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν, ὡς ἐν βραχεὶ φράσαι, τοιαῦτα, σιωπῶ δὲ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τὰ πολλά· τὰ δὲ κοινῇ καθ' ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγοις οὐδὲ ἐνὶ γένει οὐδὲ μιᾷ πόλει, παντὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ παρὰ τῶν ἐμφανῶν² θεῶν διδόμενα πῶς ὑμεῖς οὐκ

¹ θεοῖς Asmus adds.

² ἐμφανῶν Asmus; ἐπιφανῶν Hertlein, MSS.

¹ For the Alexandrine Stoic, Areius, cf. Julian, *Caesars*, Vol. 2, 326b; *Letter to Themistius*, Vol. 2, 265c, where Areius is said to have refused the prefecture of Egypt; and Philo-

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

proved stronger than the Jews, while Alexander, if he had had to match himself with the Romans, would have made even them fight hard for supremacy. And what about the Ptolemies who succeeded your founder and nurtured your city from her earliest years as though she were their own daughter? It was certainly not by the preachings of Jesus that they increased her renown, nor by the teaching of the Galilaeans, detested of the gods, did they perfect this administration which she enjoys and to which she owes her present good fortune. Thirdly, when we Romans became her masters and took her out of the hands of the Ptolemies who misgoverned her, Augustus visited your city and made the following speech to your citizens: "Men of Alexandria, I absolve the city of all blame, because of my reverence for the mighty god Serapis, and further for the sake of the people themselves and the great renown of the city. But there is a third reason for my goodwill towards you, and that is my comrade Areius."¹ Now this Areius was a fellow-citizen of yours and a familiar friend of Caesar Augustus, by profession a philosopher.

These, then, to sum them up briefly, are the blessings bestowed by the Olympian gods on your city in peculiar, though I pass over very many because they would take too long to describe. But the blessings that are vouchsafed by the visible gods to all in common, every day, not merely to a few persons or a single race, or to one city, but to the whole world at the same time, how can you fail to

stratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, Introduction, p. xxiii (Loeb Library Edition). See Seneca, *Dialogues* 6. 4, where Areius consoles and exhorts the Empress Livia.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἴστε ; μόνοι τῆς ἐξ Ἡλίου κατιούσης αὐγῆς ἀναι-
 σθήτως ἔχετε ; μόνοι θέρος οὐκ ἴστε καὶ χειμῶνα
 C παρ' αὐτοῦ γινόμενον ; μόνοι ζυγογνούμενα καὶ
 φυόμενα παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα ; τὴν δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων Σελήνην
 οὔσαν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε πόσων ἀγαθῶν αἰτία τῇ
 πόλει γίνεται ; καὶ τούτων μὲν τῶν θεῶν οὐδένα
 προσκυνεῖν τολμάτε· ὃν δὲ οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ
 πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐοράκασιν Ἰησοῦν οἷεσθε χρῆναι
 θεὸν λόγον¹ ὑπάρχειν. ὃν δὲ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἅπαν
 ὁρᾷ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ βλέπει καὶ
 D σέβεται καὶ σεβόμενον εὖ πράττει, τὸν μέγαν
 Ἡλίον λέγω, τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ
 ἔννουν καὶ ἀγαθοεργὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ πατρός,² . . . εἴ
 τι μοι πείθεσθε παραινοῦντι, καὶ μικρὰ ὑμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς ἐπαναγάγετε πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν. οὐχ
 ἁμαρτήσεσθε γὰρ τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ πειθόμενοι τῷ
 πορευθέντι κακείνῃ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄχρις ἐτῶν εἴκοσι
 καὶ ταύτην ἤδη σὺν θεοῖς πορευομένῳ δωδέκατον
 ἔτος.

435 Εἰ μὲν οὖν φίλον ὑμῖν πείθεσθαι, μειζόνως

¹ Cobet omits λόγον as a theologian's gloss, but Julian is thinking of the beginning of S. John's Gospel ; cf. *Against the Galilaeans*, 327B, 333B, C for his attack on the doctrine of Christ the Word.

² Here some words are lost, probably omitted by Christian copyists as blasphemous. Asmus rightly restores πατρός ; Hertlein, following Osann, παντός.

¹ For Selene as the artificer of the visible world cf. Vol. 1, *Oration 4*, 150A.

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

know what they are? Are you alone insensible to the beams that descend from Helios? Are you alone ignorant that summer and winter are from him? Or that all kinds of animal and plant life proceed from him? And do you not perceive what great blessings the city derives from her who is generated from and by him, even Selene who is the creator of the whole universe?¹ Yet you have the audacity not to adore any one of these gods; and you think that one whom neither you nor your fathers have ever seen, even Jesus, ought to rank as God the Word. But the god whom from time immemorial the whole race of mankind has beheld and looked up to and worshipped, and from that worship prospered, I mean mighty Helios, his intelligible father's living image,² endowed with soul and intelligence, cause of all good . . . if you heed my admonition, do ye lead yourselves even a little towards the truth. For you will not stray from the right road³ if you heed one who till his twentieth year walked in that road of yours, but for twelve years now has walked in this road I speak of, by the grace of the gods.⁴

Therefore, if it please you to obey me, you will

¹ Cf. *Fragment of a Letter to a Priest*, Vol. 2, 295A, where the stars are called "living images." Julian here refers not to the visible sun, but to the "intellectual" (*νοερός*) Helios who is in the likeness of his "intelligible" (*νοητός*) father, the transcendental Helios, for whom cf. *Oration 4*, Vol. 1, 133C, note.

² For Julian's reproach against the Christians that they had taken "their own road" and abandoned the teaching of Moses, cf. *Against the Galilaeans* 43A.

³ Cf. Vol. 1, *Oration 4*, 131A where he also refers to the time when he was a Christian and desires that it may be forgotten.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- εὐφρανεῖτε· τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ δὲ καὶ κατηχήσει
τῶν πανούργων ἀνθρώπων ἐμμένειν εἴπερ ἐθέλοιτε,
τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοεῖτε καὶ τὸν Ἀθανάσιον
μὴ ποθεῖτε. πολλοὶ πάντως εἰσὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ μα-
θητῶν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν κνησιώσας καὶ
B δεομένας ἀσεβῶν ῥημάτων ἱκανῶς παραμυθήσα-
σθαι. ὥφελε γὰρ Ἀθανασίῳ ὁμοῦ¹ ἢ τοῦ δυσσε-
βοῦς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλείου κατακεκλείσθαι μοχθη-
ρία. νῦν δέ ἐστι πλήθος ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀγεννές, καὶ
πρᾶγμά δέ² οὐδέν. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἔλησθε τοῦ πλή-
θους, ὅσα γε εἰς τὴν τῶν γραφῶν διδασκαλίαν
ἤκει, χείρων οὐδὲν ἔσται τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν ποθου-
μένου. εἰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἐντρεχείας ἐρῶντες Ἀθα-
C νασίῳ· πανούργον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνο-
μαι· ταύτας ἐποιήσασθε τὰς δεήσεις, ἵστε δι' αὐτὸ
τοῦτο³ αὐτὸν ἀπεληλαμένον τῆς πόλεως· ἀνεπι-
τήδειος γὰρ φύσει προστατεύειν δήμου πολυπράγ-
μων ἀνὴρ. εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωπίσκος
εὐτελής, καθάπερ οὗτος ὁ μέγας οἰόμενος περὶ τῆς
κεφαλῆς κινδυνεύειν, τοῦτο δὲ⁴ δίδωσιν ἀταξίας
ἀρχήν. ὅθεν, ἵνα μὴ γένηται τοιοῦτο περὶ ὑμᾶς
μηδέν, ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ προηγορεύσαμεν τῆς πόλεως
D πάλαι, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης.

Προτεθῆτω τοῖς ἡμετέροις πολίταις Ἀλεξαν-
δρεῦσιν.

¹ Asmus ὁμοῦ or ἅμα; Sintenis *μόνον*; Hertlein, MSS. *μόνῳ*; Hertlein suggests *μόνῳ γε*.

² τε Hertlein, MSS.; δὲ Hertlein suggests; Hercher would delete τε.

³ MSS. *διὰ τοῦτο*; Reiske *διὰ τοῦτο αὐτό*; Hertlein suggests *δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο*.

⁴ Sintenis deletes *δέ*; Hercher lacuna after *ἀρχήν*; Capps suggests *δή*,

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

rejoice me the more. But if you choose to persevere in the superstition and instruction of wicked men, at least agree among yourselves and do not crave for Athanasius. In any case there are many of his pupils who can comfort well enough those itching ears of yours that yearn to hear impious words. I only wish that, along with Athanasius, the wickedness of his impious school had been suppressed. But as it is you have a fine crowd of them and need have no trouble. For any man whom you elect from the crowd will be in no way inferior to him for whom you crave, at any rate for the teaching of the scriptures. But if you have made these requests because you are so fond of the general subtlety of Athanasius—for I am informed that the man is a clever rascal—then you must know that for this very reason he has been banished from the city. For a meddlesome man is unfit by nature to be leader of the people. But if this leader is not even a man but only a contemptible puppet, like this great personage who thinks he is risking his head, this surely gives the signal for disorder. Wherefore, that nothing of the sort may occur in your case, as I long ago gave orders¹ that he depart from the city, I now say, let him depart from the whole of Egypt.

Let this be publicly proclaimed to my citizens of Alexandria.

¹ See above, *To the Alexandrians*, p. 75.

Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν¹

- 443 Ὅβελὸν εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀκούω λίθινον εἰς ὕψος
 B ἱκανὸν ἐπηρμένον, ἐπὶ τῆς ἡόνος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι
 τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐρριμμένον. ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐναυπηγή-
 σατο σκάφος ὁ μακαρίτης Κωνστάντιος, ὡς μετά-
 ξων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα Κωνσταντίνου
 πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δε ἐκείνῳ συνέβη θεῶν ἐθελόντων
 ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε πορευθῆναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην πορείαν,
 ἢ πόλις ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ἀνάθημα, πατὴρ
 οὐσά μου² καὶ προσήκουσα πλεον ἥπερ ἐκείνῳ.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς ἀδελφὴν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς μητέρα
 φιλῶ καὶ γὰρ ἐγενόμην παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἐτράφην
 ἐκείσε, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγνωμονῆσαι.
 τί οὖν ; ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔλαττον τῆς πατρί-
 δος φιλῶ, δίδωμι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀναστήσαι τὴν
 χαλκὴν εἰκόνα. πεποιήται δὲ ἑναγχος ἀνδρίας
 τῷ μεγέθει κολοσσικός, ὃν ἀναστήσαντες ἔξετε
 ἀντὶ ἀναθήματος λιθίνου χαλκοῦν, ἀνδρός, οὗ
 φατε ποθεῖν, εἰκόνα καὶ μορφήν ἀντὶ τετραγώνου³
 λίθου χαράγματα ἔχοντος Αἰγύπτια. καὶ τὸ λε-
 γόμενον δέ, ὥς τινές εἰσιν οἱ θεραπεύοντες καὶ

¹ Hertlein 58 ; the first part of this letter was published by Rigaltius, Paris, 1601, the whole letter by Muratorius, Padua, 1709.

² Hertlein suggests *μοι*.

³ *τριγώνου* Hertlein, MSS. ; *τετραγώνου* La Blérierie, as the obelisk is four-sided.

¹ This granite monolith, which stands in the At Meidán (the hippodrome) in Constantinople, was originally erected by Thothmes III. (about 1515 B.C.), probably at Heliopolis.

TO THE ALEXANDRIANS

48

To the Alexandrians

I AM informed that there is in your neighbourhood a granite obelisk¹ which, when it stood erect, reached a considerable height, but has been thrown down and lies on the beach as though it were something entirely worthless. For this obelisk Constantius of blessed memory had a freight-boat built, because he intended to convey it to my native place, Constantinople. But since by the will of heaven he has departed from this life to the next on that journey to which we are fated,² the city claims the monument from me because it is the place of my birth and more closely connected with me than with the late Emperor. For though he loved the place as a sister I love it as my mother. And I was in fact born there and brought up in the place, and I cannot ignore its claims. Well then, since I love you also, no less than my native city, I grant to you also permission to set up the bronze statue³ in your city. A statue has lately been made of colossal size. If you set this up you will have, instead of a stone monument, a bronze statue of a man whom you say you love and long for, and a human shape instead of a quadrangular block of granite with Egyptian characters on it. Moreover the news has reached me that there are certain

Early
363
From
Antioch

The Alexandrians obeyed Julian's orders, but the boat containing the obelisk was driven by a storm to Athens, where it remained till the Emperor Theodosius (379-395 A.D.) conveyed it to Constantinople. There, as an inscription on its base records, it took 32 days to erect; see *Palatine Anthology* 9. 682.

² Plato, *Phaedo*, 117c.

³ Of himself (?) or of Constantius. The Emperor's permission was necessary for the erection of a statue by a city.

153

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

προσκαθεύδοντες αὐτοῦ τῇ κορυφῇ, πάνυ με πείθει
 χρῆναι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ταύτης ἀπάγειν
 αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ θεώμενοι τοὺς καθεύδοντας ἐκεῖ,
 πολλοῦ μὲν ῥύπου, πολλῆς δὲ ἀσελγείας περὶ τὸν
 τόπον ὡς ἔτυχεν οὔσης, οὔτε πιστεύουσιν αὐτὸν
 θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν προσεχόντων αὐτῷ
 δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀπιστότεροι περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καθί-
 στανται. δι' αὐτὸ δὴ οὖν τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν
 προσήκει συνεπιλαβέσθαι καὶ πέμψαι τῇ ἐμῇ πα-
 τρίδι τῇ ξενοδοκούσῃ καλῶς ὑμᾶς, ὅτε εἰς τὸν Πόν-
 τον εἰσπλεῖτε, καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς τὰς τροφὰς καὶ εἰς
 τὸν ἐκτὸς κόσμον συμβάλλεσθαι. πάντως οὐκ
 ἄχαρι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστάναι τι τῶν ὑμετέρων,
 εἰς ὃ προσπλέοντες τῇ πόλει μετ' εὐφροσύνης
 ἀποβλέψετε.

49

Ἐκδικίῳ¹

422 Ἐξίόν ἐστιν, εἴπερ ἄλλου τινός, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι μουσικῆς. ἐπιλεξάμενος οὖν ἐκ τοῦ
 δήμου τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων εὖ γεγονότας μεираκί-
 σκους ἀρτάβας ἐκάστω σίτου² κέλευσον δύο τοῦ

¹ Hertlein 56.

² σίτου Hertlein adds.

¹ Possibly there was a martyr's grave near, at which the Christians worshipped; more probably, Christian or Jewish ascetics who flourished at Alexandria and were called therapeuts," "worshippers," had settled near the obelisk. Sozo-

TO ECDICIUS, PREFECT OF EGYPT

persons who worship there and sleep¹ at its very apex, and that convinces me beyond doubt that on account of these superstitious practices I ought to take it away. For men who see those persons sleeping there and so much filthy rubbish and careless and licentious behaviour in that place, not only do not believe that it² is sacred, but by the influence of the superstition of those who dwell there come to have less faith in the gods. Therefore, for this very reason it is the more proper for you to assist in this business and to send it to my native city, which always receives you hospitably when you sail into the Pontus, and to contribute to its external adornment, even as you contribute to its sustenance. It cannot fail to give you pleasure to have something that has belonged to you standing in their city, and as you sail towards that city you will delight in gazing at it.

49

To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt

If there is anything that deserves our fostering care, it is the sacred art of music. Do you therefore select from the citizens of Alexandria³ boys of good birth, and give orders that two artabae⁴ of corn are

362 or
early
in 363
From
Antioch

men 6. 29 says that about 2000 ascetic monks lived in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. See also Sozomen 1. 12.

² i. e. the obelisk, which was originally dedicated to the Sun.

³ For the study of music at Alexandria cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 16. 17, nondumque apud eos penitus exaruit musica, nec harmonia conticuit.

⁴ The artaba, an Egyptian dry measure, was equivalent to about nine gallons.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- μηνὸς χορηγεῖσθαι, ἔλαιόν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ¹ καὶ οἶνον·
 B ἐσθῆτα δὲ παρέξουσιν οἱ τοῦ ταμείου προεστῶτες.
 οὗτοι δὲ τέως ἐκ φωνῆς καταλεγέσθωσαν. εἰ δέ
 τινες δύναιντο καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῆς εἰς ἄκρον
 μετασχεῖν, ἴστωσαν² ἀποκείμενα πάνυ μεγάλα
 τοῦ πόνου τὰ ἔπαθλα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν. ὅτι γὰρ πρὸ
 ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῆς θείας μουσικῆς
 καθαρθέντες ὀνήσονται, πιστευτέον τοῖς προαπο-
 φαινομένοις ὀρθῶς ὑπὲρ τούτων. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν
 C τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα. τοὺς δὲ νῦν ἀκρωμένους
 τοῦ μουσικοῦ Διοσκόρου ποιήσον ἀντιλαβέσθαι
 τῆς τέχνης προθυμότερον, ὥς ἡμῶν ἐτοίμων ἐπὶ
 ὅπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν αὐτοῖς συνάρασθαι.

50

Διονυσίῳ³

- 443 Ἀμείνων ἦσθα σιωπῶν πρότερον ἢ νῦν ἀπο-
 λογούμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλοιδοροῦ τότε, καίτοι
 διανοούμενος ἴσως αὐτό· νυνὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ὠδίνων
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν λαιδορίαν ἀθρόαν ἐξέχεας. ἡ γὰρ
 D οὐ χρή με καὶ λαιδορίαν αὐτὸ καὶ βλασφημίαν
 νομίζειν, ὅτι με τοῖς σεαυτοῦ φίλοις ὑπελάμβανες
 εἶναι προσόμοιον, ὦν ἐκατέρῳ δέδωκας σεαυτὸν

¹ After αὐτῷ Hertlein brackets καὶ σίτον.

² Ἰστων Hertlein suggests.

³ Hertlein 59. In *Laurentianus* LVIII the title is Ἰουλιανὸς κατὰ τοῦ Νείλου; Διονυσίῳ first appears in the Paris edition, 1630.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

to be furnished every month to each of them, with olive oil also, and wine. The overseers of the Treasury will provide them with clothing. For the present let these boys be chosen for their voices, but if any of them should prove capable of attaining to the higher study of the science of music, let them be informed that very considerable rewards for their work have been set aside at my court also. For they must believe those who have expressed right opinions on these matters that they themselves rather than we will be purified in soul by divinely inspired¹ music, and benefit thereby. So much, then, for the boys. As for those who are now the pupils of Dioscorus the musician, do you urge them to apply themselves to the art with still more zeal, for I am ready to assist them to whatever they may wish.

50

To Nilus, surnamed Dionysius²

YOUR earlier silence was more creditable than your present defence; for then you did not utter abuse, though perhaps it was in your mind. But now, as though you were in travail, you have poured out your abuse of me wholesale. For must I not regard it as abuse and slander that you supposed me to be like your own friends, to each of whom you offered yourself uninvited; or rather, by the first³

362-363
Winter
From
Antioch

¹ Julian does not mean sacred music in particular; cf. Vol. 1, *Oration* 3. 111c, where *θελα* is used of secular music.

² For the name and personality of Nilus see Introduction, under Nilus.

³ Constans; cf. Vol. 1, *Oration* 1. 9D.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἄκλητον, μᾶλλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ἄκλητον, τῷ προτέρῳ, τῷ δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐνδειξαμένῳ μόνον, ὅτι σε συνεργὸν ἐθέλει προσλαβεῖν, ὑπήκουσας. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ προσόμοιός εἰμι Κώνσταντι καὶ Μαγνηντίῳ, τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτό, φασί, δείξει· σὺ δ' ὅτι κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν

σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας, γύναι,

- 444 πρόδηλόν ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν ἐπέστειλας. ἡ γὰρ ἀφοβία καὶ τὸ μέγα θάρσος καὶ τὸ εἶθε με γνοιῆς ὅσος καὶ οἶός εἰμι, καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα, βαβαί, πηλίκου κτύπου καὶ κόμπου ῥημάτων ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, εἰ τολμηρὸς οὕτως εἶ¹ καὶ γενναῖος, τί καὶ τρίτον ὑύλαβήτης, ἂν δέη, προσκρούειν; οἱ γὰρ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀπεχθανόμενοι, τὸ μὲν κουφότατον καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἥδιστον τῷ γε νοῦν ἔχοντι, τοῦ πράγματα ἔχειν ταχέως ἀπαλλάττονται, μικρὰ δὲ εἰ χρή προσζημιωθῆναι, περὶ τὰ χρήματα πταίουσι· τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὸ παθεῖν, φασί, τὰ ἀνήκεστα, τὸ ζῆν προέσθαι. τούτων δὴ πάντων ὑπερορῶν, ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἰδίως ἄνδρα² ἐπέγνωκας· καὶ τὸν κοινῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἄνθρωπον ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ὀψιμαθῶν ἀγνοούμενον, ἀνθ' ὅτου, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, εὐλα-

¹ οὕτως εἶ Hertlein suggests; Fabricius οὕτωςί; MSS. οὔτοςί, or εἰ καὶ τ. οὕτω.

² Lacuna Hertlein, MSS.; ἄνδρα Asmus.

¹ Magnentius; cf. *Oration* 1 for the defeat of this usurper by Constantius. Magnentius had murdered Constans, see *Oration* 1. 26B, 2. 55D. ² Cf. Vol. 2, *Caesars* 307A.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

you were not invited, and you obeyed the second¹ on his merely indicating that he wished to enlist you to help him. However, whether I am like Constans and Magnentius the event itself, as they say, will prove.² But as for you, from what you wrote it is very plain that, in the words of the comic poet,³

“You are praising yourself, lady, like Astydamas.”

For when you write about your “fearlessness” and “great courage,” and say “Would that you knew my real value and my true character!” and, in a word, all that sort of thing,—for shame! What an empty noise and display of words is this! Nay, by the Graces and Aphrodite, if you are so brave and noble, why were you “so careful to avoid incurring displeasure,” if need be, “for the third time”?⁴ For when men fall under the displeasure of princes, the lightest consequence—and, as one might say, the most agreeable to a man of sense—is that they are at once relieved from the cares of business; and if they have to pay a small fine as well, their stumbling block is merely money; while the culmination of the prince’s wrath, and the “fate beyond all remedy” as the saying is, is to lose their lives. Disregarding all these dangers, because, as you say, “you had come to know me in my private capacity for the man I am”⁵—and in my common and generic capacity for the human being I am, though unknown to myself, late learner that I am!—why, in heaven’s name, did you say that you were careful to avoid

¹ Philemon *frag.* 190; cf. *Letter to Basil*, p. 83; this had become a proverb.

² *i.e.* after his experiences with Constans and Magnentius.

³ A quotation from the other’s letter.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

βείσθαι ἔφης, μὴ τρίτον προσκρούσης; οὐ γὰρ δὴ πονηρὸν ἐκ χρηστοῦ σε ποιήσω χαλεπήνας ἐγώ· ζηλωτὸς γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἐν δίκῃ τοῦτο δυνάμενος· ἢ γάρ, ὥς φησι Πλάτων, καὶ τούναντίον οἶός τε ἦν ἂν. ἀδεσπότου δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐσης ἐχρῆν ὑπολογίζεσθαι μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλ' οἶει μέγα τὸ πάντας μὲν βλασφημεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ἀπλῶς λοιδορεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τέμενος ἀποφαίνειν ἐργαστήριον πολέμου. ἢ τοῦτο νομίζεις

B ὑπὲρ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας, καὶ τῆς πάλαι ποτὲ μαλακίας παραπέτασμα τὴν νῦν ἀνδρείαν εἶναί σοι; τὸν μῦθον ἀκήκοας τὸν Βαβρίου “Γαλῇ ποτ’ ἀνδρὸς εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεῖσα”. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου μάνθανε. πολλὰ εἰπὼν οὐδένα ἂν πείσειας ἀνθρώπων, ὥς οὐ γέγονας ὅπερ οὖν γέγονας καὶ οἶον πολλοὶ πάλαι σε ἠπίσταντο. τὴν νῦν δὲ ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος οὐχ ἢ φιλοσοφία μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνεποίησέ σοι, τούναντίον δὲ ἢ διπλῇ

C κατὰ Πλάτωνα ἄγνοια.¹ κινδυνεύων γὰρ εἰδέναι μηδέν, ὥς οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς, οἶει δὲ² πάντων εἶναι σοφώτατος, οὐ τῶν νῦν ὄντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γεγονότων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων. οὕτω σοι πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν ἀμαθίας τὰ τῆς οἰήσεως ἐπιδέδωκεν.

¹ ἄνοια Schwarz, cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 86B, δύο δ’ ἀνοίας γένη.

² δὴ Asmus adds.

¹ *Crito* 44D.

² Plato, *Republic* 617E.

³ The Senate; for the phrase ἐργαστήριον πολέμου cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3. 4. 17.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

incurring displeasure for the third time? For surely my anger will not change you from a good man into a bad. I should be enviable indeed, and with justice, if I had the power to do that; for then, as Plato says,¹ I could do the converse as well. But since virtue owns no master,² you ought not to have taken into account anything of the sort. However, you think it is a fine thing to speak ill of all men, and to abuse all without exception, and to convert the shrine of peace³ into a workshop of war. Or do you think in this way to excuse yourself in the sight of all for your past sins, and that your courage now is a screen to hide your cowardice of old? You have heard the fable of Babrius:⁴ "Once upon a time a weasel fell in love with a handsome youth." The rest of the fable you may learn from the book. However much you may say, you will never convince any human being that you were not what you were, and such as many knew you to be in the past. As for your ignorance and audacity now, it was not philosophy that implanted them in you, no, by heaven! On the contrary, it was what Plato⁵ calls a twofold lack of knowledge. For though you really know nothing, just as I know nothing, you think forsooth that you are the wisest of all men, not only of those who are alive now, but also of those who have ever been, and perhaps of those who ever will be. To such a pitch of ignorance has your self-conceit grown!

⁴ *Fable* 32, the weasel or cat, transformed into a woman, could not resist chasing a mouse.

⁵ Cf. Proclus on *Cratylus* 65 for this Neo-Platonic phrase; and Plato, *Apology* 21D. In *Sophist* 229B Plato defines the ignorance of those who do not even know that they are ignorant, as τῶν κακῶν αἰτία, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ νοεῖστος ἀμαθία.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

Ἄλλὰ σοῦ μὲν ἔνεκα καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἱκανῶν
 εἴρηται μοι πλείω, δεῖ δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογήσασθαι διὰ
 σέ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι προχείρως ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν
 D σε παρεκάλεσα πραγμάτων. τοῦτ' οὐ πρῶτος
 οὐδὲ μόνος ἔπαθον, ὦ Διονύσιε. ἐξηπάτησε καὶ
 Πλάτωνα τὸν μέγαν ὁ σὸς ὁμώνυμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ¹
 ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Κάλλιπος· εἰδέναι μὲν γὰρ αὐτόν
 φησι πονηρὸν ὄντα,² τηλικαύτην δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ
 μέγεθος κακίαν οὐδ' ἂν³ ἐλπίσαι πώποτε. καὶ
 τί χρὴ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὅπου καὶ τῶν
 Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ὁ ἄριστος Ἱπποκράτης ἔφη·
 Ἔσφηλαν δέ μου τὴν γνώμην αἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
 ῥαφαί; εἴτ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδεσαν ἐξηπα-
 τῶντο, καὶ τὸ τεχνικὸν ἐλάνθανε τὸν ἱατρὸν
 θεώρημα, θαυμαστὸν δέ, εἴπερ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀκούσας
 ἐξαίφνης ἀνδρίζεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον⁴ Διονύσιον
 445 ἐξηπατήθη; ἀκούεις ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἥλειον Φαίδωνα,
 καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπίστασαι· εἰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖς, ἐπι-
 μελέστερον πολυπραγμόνησον, ἐγὼ δ' οὖν⁵ ἐρῶ
 τοῦτο. ἐκεῖνος ἐνόμιζεν οὐδὲν ἀνίατον εἶναι τῇ
 φιλοσοφίᾳ, πάντα δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπ' αὐτῆς
 καθαίρεσθαι βίῳ, ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐπιθυμιῶν,

¹ Δίωνα Hertlein adds. ² ὄντα Cobet adds.

³ οὐδὲ Hertlein, MSS.; οὐδ' ἂν Hertlein suggests.

⁴ Hertlein, following Hercher, [τὸν Νεῖλον ἢ]; *Laurentianus* Asmus τὸν Νεῖλον; Wilamowitz τὸν δειλὸν omitting Διονύσιον; Heyler regards ἡ Διονύσιον as a gloss.

⁵ δ' οὖν Wright; δὲ οὐκ MSS., Hertlein; μόνον Hertlein suggests; Asmus retains οὐκ.

¹ The tyrant of Syracuse.

² Callippus, who assassinated Dio in 353 B.C., was himself put to death by the Syracusans after he had usurped the government.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

However, as far as you are concerned, this that I have said is more than enough; but perhaps I ought to apologise on your account to the others because I too hastily summoned you to take part in public affairs. I am not the first or the only one, Dionysius, who has had this experience. Your namesake¹ deceived even great Plato; and Callippus² the Athenian also deceived Dio. For Plato says³ that Dio knew he was a bad man but that he would never have expected in him such a degree of baseness. Why need I quote the experience of these men, when even Hippocrates,⁴ the most distinguished of the sons of Asclepius, said: "The sutures of the head baffled my judgement." Now if those famous men were deceived about persons whom they knew, and the physician was mistaken in a professional diagnosis, is it surprising that Julian was deceived when he heard that Nilus Dionysius had suddenly become brave? You have heard tell of the famous Phaedo of Elis,⁵ and you know his story. However, if you do not know it, study it more carefully, but at any rate I will tell you this part. He thought that there is nothing that cannot be cured by philosophy, and that by her all men can be purified from all their modes of life, their habits, desires, in a word from

¹ Plato, *Epistle* 7. 351D, E.

² Hippocrates, 5. 3. 561 Kühn. This candid statement of Hippocrates, who had failed to find a wound in a patient's head, was often cited as a proof of a great mind; cf. Plutarch, *De profectu in virtute*, 82D.

³ For the reformation of Phaedo by philosophy, see Aulus Gellius 2. 18 and Julian, Vol. 2, 264D (Wright). He was a disciple of Socrates and wrote several dialogues; for his *Life* see Diogenes Laertius, 2. 105; cf. Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 14.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

πάντων ἀπαξαπλῶς τῶν τοιούτων. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς
 εὖ πεφυκόσι καὶ καλῶς τεθραμμένοις ἐπὶ ἥκει
 μόνον, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν θαυμαστὸν τὸ κατ' αὐτήν·
 εἰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἀνάγει πρὸς
 τὸ φῶς, δοκεῖ μοι διαφερόντως εἶναι θαυμάσιον.
 ἐκ τούτων ἢ περὶ σέ μοι κατ' ὀλίγον γνώμη, ὥς
 ἴσασιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντες, ἔρρεπεν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον.
 οὗτοι γοῦν οὔτε ἐν πρώτοις οὔτε ἐν δευτέροις
 τῶν κρατίστων ἐθέμην ἀνδρῶν τὸ κατὰ σέ.
 ἐπίστασαι ἴσως αὐτός· εἰ δὲ ἀγνοεῖς, τοῦ καλοῦ
 B Συμμάχου πυνθάνου. πέπεισμαι γάρ, ἐκείνος
 ὅτι οὐποτ' ἂν ἐκὼν εἶναι ψεύσαιτο, τὰ πάντα
 ἀληθίζεσθαι πεφυκώς. εἰ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς, ὅτι μὴ
 πάντων σε προυτιμήσαμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμνηστῶ, ὅτι
 σε καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἔταξα, μέμφομαι, καὶ χάριν
 οἶδα τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσί τε καὶ πάσαις, οἷ κοινωμένης
 σε πραγμάτων καὶ φίλους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι διε-
 κώλυσαν. . . . καὶ γὰρ εἰ πολλὰ περὶ τῆς φήμης
 οἱ ποιηταὶ φασιν ὥς ἔστι θεός, ἔστω δέ, εἰ βούλει,
 δαιμόνιον γε¹ τὸ τῆς φήμης, οὐ πάνυ τι² προσ-
 εκτέον αὐτῇ, διότι πέφυκε τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐ
 πάντα καθαρὸν οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν τελείως ὥς τὸ τῶν
 θεῶν εἶναι γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπικοινωνεῖ πως καὶ πρὸς
 θάτερον. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δαιμόνων οὐ

¹ δαιμόνιον γε Asmus; δαιμόνιον, καὶ MSS., Hertlein; τὸ
 τῆς φήμης Asmus rejects as a gloss. Thomas reads ἔστω—
 φήμης as a parenthesis; so too Asmus.

² πάνυ τι Asmus; πάντη MSS., Hertlein.

¹ i. e. as Phaedo. Wilamowitz thinks that this sentence
 and the preceding are quoted or paraphrased from Phaedo.

² This was probably L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus
 the Roman senator, prefect of the city in 364-5, father of
 the orator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus; Ammianus 21.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

everything of the sort. If indeed she only availed those who are well born and well bred there would be nothing marvellous about philosophy; but if she can lead up to the light men so greatly depraved,¹ then I consider her marvellous beyond anything. For these reasons my estimate of you, as all the gods know, inclined little by little to be more favourable; but even so I did not count your sort in the first or the second class of the most virtuous. Perhaps you yourself know this; but if you do not know it, enquire of the worthy Symmachus.² For I am convinced that he would never willingly tell a lie, since he is naturally disposed to be truthful in all things. And if you are aggrieved that I did not honour you before all others, I for my part reproach myself for having ranked you even among the last in merit, and I thank all the gods and goddesses who hindered us from becoming associated in public affairs and from being intimate . . . ³ And indeed, though the poets have often said of Rumour that she is a goddess,⁴ and let us grant, if you will, that she at least has demonic power, yet not very much attention ought to be paid to her, because a demon is not altogether pure or perfectly good, like the race of the gods, but has some share of the opposite quality. And even though it be not permissible to say this

12. 24, describes the meeting of the elder Symmachus and Julian in 361 at Nish.

³ The lack of connection indicates a lacuna though there is none in the MSS. Probably Julian said that their intimacy existed only as a rumour.

⁴ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 763

φήμη δ' οὐ τις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥν τινα πολλοί
 λαοὶ φημίξωσι· θεὸς νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὕτη.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

θέμις τοῦτο φάναι, περὶ τῆς φήμης οἶδ' ὅτι λέγων ὡς πολλὰ μὲν ψευδῶς, πολλὰ δὲ ἀληθῶς ἀγγέλλει, οὐποτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀλοίην ψευδομαρτυριῶν.

Ἀλλὰ τὴν παρρησίαν τὴν σὴν οἶει τεττάρων εἶναι ὀβολῶν, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀξίαν; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι καὶ Θερσίτης ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπαρρησιάζετο, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ συνετώτατος ἔπαιε τῷ σκήπτρῳ, τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι τῆς Θερσίτου παροινίας ἔλαττον ἔμελεν ἢ χελώνη μυιῶν, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας; πλὴν οὐ μέγα ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἄλλοις, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἀνεπιτίμητον παρασχεῖν. εἰ δέ σοι ταύτης μέτεστι τῆς μερίδος, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν. ἄρ' ὅτε νέος ἦσθα, καλὰς ἔδωκας ὑπὲρ σαυτοῦ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὁμιλίας; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδειον "Ηλεκτραν τὰς τοιαύτας σιγῷ τύχας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ γέγονας καὶ στρατοπέδῳ παρέβαλες, ἔπραξας πῶς πρὸς τοῦ Διός; ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας φῆς προσκρούσας ἀπηλλάχθαι. ἐκ τίνων τοῦτο ἔχων δεῖξαι, ὥσπερ οὐ πολλῶν καὶ πονηροτάτων, ὑφ' ὧν περ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπηλάθης, ἐκτοπισθέντων; οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὃ συνετώτατε Διονύσιε, σπονδαίου καὶ σώφρονος ἀνδρός, ἀπεχθανόμενον ἀπελθεῖν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. ἦσθα δὲ ἂν βελτίων, εἰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς πρὸς C σεαυτὸν συνουσίας ἀπέφηνας ἡμῖν μετριωτέρους. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ κατὰ σέ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐδὲ κατὰ μυρίους ἄλλους, ὅσοι ζηλοῦσι τὸν σὸν τρόπον·

¹ Cf. Julian's reverence for φήμη in Vol. 1, pp. 409, 423; Vol. 2, p. 347, Wright.

² *Iliad* 2. 265.

³ *Orestes* 16; τὰς γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ σιγῷ τύχας. Cf. Vol. 2, *To Themistius*, 254B, p. 204, Wright.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

concerning the other demons, I know that when I say of Rumour that she reports many things falsely as well as many truthfully, I shall never myself be convicted of bearing false witness.¹

But as for your "freedom of speech," do you think that it is worth four obols, as the saying is? Do you not know that Thersites also spoke his mind freely among the Greeks, whereupon the most wise Odysseus beat him with his staff,² while Agamemnon paid less heed to the drunken brawling of Thersites than a tortoise does to flies, as the proverb goes? For that matter it is no great achievement to criticise others, but rather to place oneself beyond the reach of criticism. Now if you can claim to be in this category, prove it to me. Did you not, when you were young, furnish to your elders fine themes for gossip about you? However, like Electra in Euripides,³ I keep silence about happenings of this sort. But when you came to man's estate and betook yourself to the camp,⁴ how, in the name of Zeus, did you behave? You say that you left it because you gave offence in the cause of truth. From what evidence can you prove this, as though many men⁵ and of the basest sort had not been exiled by the very persons by whom you yourself were driven away? O most wise Dionysius, it does not happen to a virtuous and temperate man to go away obnoxious to those in power! You would have done better if you had proved to us that men from their intercourse with you were better behaved. But this was not in your power, no, by the gods, nor is it in the power of tens of thousands who emulate

¹ *i. e.* of Constans.

² We do not know to whom Julian refers.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

πέτραι γὰρ πέτραις καὶ λίθοι λίθοις προσαρατ-
τόμενοι οὐκ ὠφελοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους, ὁ δ' ἰσχυρό-
τερος τὸν ἥττονα εὐχερῶς συντρίβει.

Ἄρα μὴ Λακωνικῶς ταῦτα καὶ συντόμως λέγω;
D ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι λαλίστερος διὰ σέ καὶ τῶν
Ἀττικῶν ἀποπεφάνθαι τεττίγων. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν
εἰς ἐμὲ πεπαρώνηκας, ἐπιθήσω σοι δίκην τὴν
πρέπουσαν, ἐθελόντων θεῶν καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης
Ἀδραστείας. τίς οὖν ἡ δίκη καὶ τί μάλιστα τὸ
δυνάμενόν σου τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν
ὀδυνῆσαι; ὥς ἐλάχιστα πειράσομαι διὰ τε τῶν
λόγων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐξαμαρτῶν μὴ παρα-
σχέσθαι σου τῇ κακηγόρῳ γλώττῃ πολλὴν
φλυαρίαν. καίτοι με οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς
Ἀφροδίτης φασὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μώμου ἐσκῶφθαι
446 τὸ σάνδαλον. ἄλλ' ὁρᾷς ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ὁ Μῶμος
ἐρρήγγυτο, καὶ μόλις ἐλαμβάνετο τοῦ σανδάλου.
εἴη δὲ καὶ σέ περὶ ταῦτα τριβόμενον καταγερᾶσαι
καὶ τοῦ Τιθωνοῦ βαθύτερον καὶ τοῦ Κινύρου
πλουσιώτερον καὶ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου τρυφη-
λότερον, ὅπως τὸ τῆς παροιμίας ἐπὶ σοῦ
πληρωθῇ Δὺς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες.

Ἄλλ' ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τίνων ἐφάνη
σοι τηλικούτος; ἄρ' ὅτι μιμητὴς αὐτοῦ γενόμενος
ἐξήλωσας ὅσα ἐκείνῳ τὸ μεράκιον ὁ Ἑρμόλαος
ὠνείδισεν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν

¹ See the similar passage on p. 101. Asmus thinks that the Lauricius there mentioned and Nilus were both Cynics and therefore obnoxious to Julian.

² A reference to the letter of Nilus, who had perhaps asked for a brief answer.

³ Cf. *Misopogon* 370b, vol. 2, p. 508, Wright.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

your way of life. For when rocks grind against rocks and stones against stones they do not benefit one another, and the stronger easily wears down the weaker.¹

I am not saying this in Laconic fashion² and concisely, am I? Nay, I think that on your account I have shown myself even more talkative than Attic grasshoppers. However, in return for your drunken abuse of myself, I will inflict on you the appropriate punishment, by the grace of the gods and our lady Adrasteia.³ What, then, is this punishment, and what has the greatest power to hurt your tongue and your mind? It is this: I will try, by erring as little as may be in word and deed, not to provide your slanderous tongue with so much foolish talk. And yet I am well aware that it is said that even the sandal of Aphrodite was satirised by Momus. But you observe that though Momus poured forth floods⁴ of criticism he could barely find anything to criticise in her sandal.⁵ Even so may you grow old fretting yourself over things of this sort, more decrepit than Tithonus, richer than Cinyras, more luxurious than Sardanapalus, so that in you may be fulfilled the proverb, "Old men are twice children."

But why does the divine Alexander seem to you so pre-eminent? Is it because you took to imitating him and aspired to that for which the youth Hermolaus⁶ reproached him? Or rather, no one is

¹ Or "burst with the effort," cf. *rumpi invidia*.

² Philostratus, *Epistle* 37; Momus complained that Aphrodite wore a sandal that squeaked.

³ For the plot of Hermolaus and Callisthenes against Alexander, cf. Quintus Curtius 8. 6; Arrian, *Anabasis* 4. 13. 14; Plutarch, *Alexander* 55.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἀνόητος ὡς ὑπονοῆσαι περὶ σοῦ· τὸυναντίον δὲ καὶ ὅπερ ἀπωδύρετο παθὼν Ἑρμόλαος, καὶ διόπερ διενοεῖτο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥς φασιν, ἀποκτεῖναι, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅστις πεπεισμένος οὐκ ἔστι περὶ σοῦ; πολλῶν δὲ ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ σφόδρα σε φαμένων φιλεῖν ἀκήκοα πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἀπολογουμένων τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ἥδη δέ τινος καὶ ἀπιστοῦντος. ἀλλ' οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ μία χειδῶν, οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ ἔαρ. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐκεῖθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὥφθη σοι μέγας, ὅτι Καλλισθένη μὲν ἀπέκτεινε πικρῶς, Κλεῖτος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς παροινίας ἔργον ἐγένετο, Φιλώτας τε καὶ Παρμενίων καὶ τὸ Παρμενίωνος παιδίον.¹ ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ² τοῦ Νείλου ταῖς δίναις ἢ ταῖς Εὐφράτου· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκότερον· ἐναποπνιγέντα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ παιδίας σιωπῶ, μὴ βλασφημεῖν ἄνδρα δόξω τὸ κατωρθωμένον μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἔχοντα, κράτιστον μέντοι τὰ πολεμικὰ στρατηγόν.³ ὦν σὺ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔλαττον μετέχεις ἢ τριχῶν ἰχθύες. ἄκουε δὴ τῆς παραινέσεως μὴ λίαν ὀργίλως,

οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμήια ἔργα,
τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς οὐ παραγράφω σοι, αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ

¹ καὶ—παιδίον Heyler and Hertlein would delete as a gloss, Asmus retains and reads ἐπεὶ τὰ for ἔπειτα τὰ.

² ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Hertlein would delete, Asmus retains, seeing in the phrase some sneer, the point of which is not now clear.

³ στρατηγὸν Hertlein would delete, Asmus retains.

¹ The historian who accompanied Alexander to the East.

² Cf. Vol. 2, *Caesars* 331c, p. 403, note, Wright.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

so foolish as to suspect you of that. But the very opposite, that which Hermolaus lamented that he had endured, and which was the reason for his plotting, as they say, to kill Alexander—everyone believes this about you also, do they not? I call the gods to witness that I have heard many persons assert that they were very fond of you and who made many excuses for this offence of yours, but I have found just one person who did not believe it. However he is that one swallow who does not make a spring. But perhaps the reason why Alexander seemed in your eyes a great man was that he cruelly murdered Callisthenes,¹ that Cleitus² fell a victim to his drunken fury, and Philotas too, and Parmenio³ and Parmenio's son; for that affair of Hector,⁴ who was smothered in the whirlpools of the Nile in Egypt or the Euphrates—the story is told of both rivers—I say nothing about, or of his other follies, lest I should seem to speak ill of a man who by no means maintained the ideal of rectitude but nevertheless excelled as a general in the works of war. Whereas you are less endowed with both these, namely, good principles and courage, than a fish with hair. Now listen to my advice and do not resent it too much.

“Not to thee, my child, have been given the works of war.”⁵

The verse that follows⁶ I do not write out for you,

³ The general Parmenio and his son Philotas were executed for treason; Arrian, *Anabasis* 3. 26.

⁴ Cf. Quintus Curtius 5. 8. 7; Hector, a son of Parmenio, was, according to Curtius, accidentally drowned, though Julian ascribes his death to Alexander.

⁵ *Iliad* 5. 428, Zeus to Aphrodite.

⁶ ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἡμερόεντα μετέρχαιο ἔργα γαμοῖο.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς. ἀξιῶ μέντοι σε προσυπακούειν αὐτό· καὶ γὰρ εὐλογον ἔπεσθαι τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ μὴ φεύγειν τὰ ῥήματα τὸν μηδαμῶς διαπεφευγότα τὰ ἔργα.

Ἄλλ' ὁ τὴν Μαγνητίου καὶ Κώνσταντος ὁσίαν αἰσχυρόμενος, ἀνθ' ὅτου τοῖς ζῶσι πολεμεῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν βελτίστοις λοιδορῇ; πότερον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκείνοι δύνανται τῶν ζώντων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς λυπούντας; ἀλλὰ σοὶ τοῦτο οὐ προσήκει λεγεῖν· εἰ γάρ, ὡς γράφεις, θαρραλεώτατος. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τοῦτο, τυχὸν ἕτερον· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθανομένους ἐπισκώπτειν ἴσως οὐ βούλει. τῶν ζώντων δὲ ἄρά τις οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ἢ μικρόψυχος, ὃς ἀξιῶσειεν ἂν αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ λόγον εἶναι τινα, καὶ οὐ βουλήσεται μάλιστα μὲν ἀγνοεῖσθαι παρὰ σοῦ παντάπασιν, εἰ δ' ἀδύνατον εἴη, λοιδορεῖσθαι παρὰ σοῦ μᾶλλον, καθάπερ ἐγὼ νῦν,¹ ἢ τιμᾶσθαι; μήποτε οὕτω κακῶς φρονήσαιμι, μήποτε τῶν παρὰ σοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπαίνων ἢ ψόγων ἀντιποιησαίμην.

Ἄλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ γράφειν πρὸς σε δακνομένου τυχὸν ἴσως ἐστίν; οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς σωτήρας, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτοντος τὴν ἄγαν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν τὴν τῆς γλώττης καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄγριον καὶ τὸ μαινόμενον τῶν φρενῶν καὶ τὸ παρακεκινηκὸς ἐν πᾶσιν. ἐξῆν γοῦν, εἴπερ ἐδεδήγμην, ἔργοις ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγοις σε σφόδρα νομίμως κολάσαι. πολίτης γὰρ ὢν καὶ

¹ καθάπερ—νῦν Cobet would delete as a gloss.

¹ Julian seems to anticipate the criticism of Nilus that he is not showing himself superior to Alexander.

² For Julian's mildness in such cases, see Ammianus. 25.4. 9. Constat eum in apertos aliquos inimicos insidiatores suos

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

because, by the gods, I am ashamed to do so. However I ask you to understand it as said. For it is only fair that words should follow on deeds, and that he who has never avoided deeds should not avoid the phrases that describe them.

Nay, if you revere the pious memory of Magnentius and Constans, why do you wage war against the living and abuse those who excel in any way? Is it because the dead are better able than the living to avenge themselves on those who vex them? Yet it does not become you to say this. For you are, as your letter says, "Very brave indeed." But if this is not the reason, perhaps there is a different one. Perhaps you do not wish to satirise them because they cannot feel it. But among the living is there anyone so foolish or so cowardly as to demand that you should take any notice of him at all, and who will not prefer if possible to be altogether ignored by you; but if that should be impossible, to be abused by you, as indeed I am now abused rather than honoured? May I never be so ill-advised—may I never aspire to win praise rather than blame from you!

But perhaps you will say that the very fact that I am writing to you is a proof that I am stung?¹ No, I call the Saviour Gods to witness that I am but trying to check your excessive audacity and boldness, the license of your tongue and the ferocity of your soul, the madness of your wits and your perverse fury on all occasions. In any case it was in my power, if I had been stung, to chastise you with deeds and not merely with words,² and I should have been entirely within the law. For you are a citizen

ita consurrexisse mitissime, ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τῆς γερουσίας μετέχων αὐτοκράτορος ἐπίταγμα
 παρητήσω· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐξῆν δήπουθεν τῷ μὴ
 μεγάλην ἀνάγκην προῖσχομένῳ. οὐκ οὖν ἐξήρκει
 μοι ὑπὲρ τούτου ζημιῶσαί σε παντοίαν ζημίαν,
 ἀλλ' ὥθην δεῖν γράψαι πρὸς σε πρῶτον, νομίζων
 ἰάσιμον ἐπιστολῇ βραχεῖ. ὥς δέ σ' ἐμμένοντα
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ λεληθὸς τέως τῆς
 μανίας ἐφώρασα, . . .¹ μὴ τι καὶ νομισθείης
 ἀνὴρ, οὐκ ἀνὴρ ὢν, καὶ παρρησίας μεστός,
 ἐμβροντησίας ὢν πλήρης, καὶ παιδείας μετε-
 σχηκῶς, οὐδὲ γρὺ λόγων ἀψάμενος, ὅσα γε εἰκὸς
 ἐστι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς σου τεκμήρασθαι. τὸ γὰρ
 φροῦδον οὐδεὶς εἶπε τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπὶ τοῦ προ-
 B φανούς, ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν, ἐπεὶ τὰς ἄλλας σου τῆς
 ἐπιστολῆς ἀμαρτίας οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐν
 μακρῷ βιβλίῳ δυνηθείη καὶ τὸ μαστροπὸν ἐκεῖνο
 καὶ βδελυρὸν ἦθος, ὑφ' οὗ σεαυτὸν προαγωγέυεις.
 οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἐτοίμου φῆς ἤκοντας οὐδὲ τοὺς
 ἐφεδρεύοντας ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βεβαία
 κρίσει χρωμένους καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέον αἵρου-
 μένους τούτους δεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς ἐτοίμως
 ὑπακούοντας, αἰρεῖσθαι. καλὰς γε ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας
 ὑποφαίνεις οὐδὲν δεομένοις ὥς ὑπείξων, ἣν αὐθὺς
 σε καλῶμεν ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν² πραγμάτων. ἐμοὶ δὲ
 τοσοῦτον μέρος τούτου περίεστιν, ὥστε σε, τῶν

¹ Lacuna. Some reference to the letters written by Nilus is needed here.

² κοινωνίαν Asmus cf. 444c; κοινωνίῃ Hertlein, MSS.

TO NILUS, SURNAMED DIONYSIUS

and of senatorial rank and you disobeyed a command of your Emperor ; and such behaviour was certainly not permissible to anyone who could not furnish the excuse of real necessity. Therefore I was not satisfied with inflicting on you any sort of penalty for this conduct, but I thought I ought to write to you first, thinking that you might be cured by a short letter. But since I have discovered that you persist in the same errors, or rather how great your frenzy is which I previously did not know . . .¹ lest you should be thought to be a man, when that you are not, or brimful of freedom of speech, when you are only full of insanity, or that you have had the advantage of education when you have not the smallest acquaintance with literature, as far, at any rate, as one may reasonably judge from your letters. For instance, no one of the ancients ever used *φροῦδος*² to mean "manifest" as you do here,—for, as for the other blunders displayed in your letter, no one could describe them even in a long book, or that obscene and abominable character of yours that leads you to prostitute yourself. You tell me indeed that it is not those who arrive offhand or those who are hunting for public office whom we ought to choose, but those who use sound judgement and in accordance with this prefer to do their duty rather than those who are ready and eager to obey. Fair, truly, are the hopes you hold out to me though I made no appeal to you, implying that you will yield if I again summon you to take part in public business. But I am so far from doing that,

¹ Some words have fallen out.

² In Attic the word means "vanished."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἄλλων εἰσιεμένων,¹ οὐδὲ προσείρηκα πώποτε. καίτοι γε πρὸς πολλοὺς ἔγωγε τοῦτο ἐποίησα γνωρίμων τε καὶ ἀγνοουμένων ἐμοὶ κατὰ τὴν θεοφιλή Ῥώμην διατρίβοντας. οὕτω σου τῆς φιλίας ἀντεποιούμην, οὕτω σε σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὤόμην. εἰκὸς οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς σε τοιαῦτα ἔσται. καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔγραψα ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ σοὶ μόνον ἀνάγνωσμα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀναγκαίαν πολλοῖς αὐτὴν ἥδειν, καὶ δώσω γε πᾶσιν οὐκ ἄκουσιν, ὥς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, ληψομένοις· σεμνότερον γὰρ ὀρῶντές σε καὶ ὀγκωδέστερον τῶν ἐμπροσθέν σοι βεβιωμένων ἄχθονται.

Τελείαν ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὥστε σε μηδὲν ἐπιποθεῖν. οὐκουν οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς παρὰ σοῦ τι πλεόν ἀπαιτοῦμεν· ἀλλ' ἐντυχῶν, εἰς ὃ τι² βούλει τοῖς γράμμασι χρῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλίας πετέρανται³ σοι. ἔρρωσο τρυφῶν καὶ λοιδορούμενος ἐμοὶ παραπλησίως.

51

Ἰουδαίων τῷ κοινῷ⁴

396

D

Πάνυ ὑμῖν φορτικώτατον γεγένηται ἐπὶ τῶν παρωχηκότων καιρῶν τῶν ζυγῶν τῆς δουλείας τὸ διαγραφαῖς ἀκηρύκτοις ὑποτάττεσθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ χρυσίου πλήθος ἄφατον εἰσκομίζειν τοῖς τοῦ ταμείου λόγοις· ὧν πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοψεῖ

397

¹ Asmus suggests μετ' ἄλλων εἰσιέμενον to improve the sense.

² εἰς ὃ τι Asmus; ὅτε Hertlein, MSS.

³ πετέρανται Cobet, πέπραται Hercher, Hertlein; ἐπέπραται MSS., ἐπείραται A. Asmus suggests ἐκπέπραται = "sold out," "ruined."

TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE JEWS

that, when the others were admitted, I never even addressed you at any time. And yet I did address many who were known and unknown to me and dwell in Rome, beloved of the gods. Such was my desire for your friendship, so worthy of consideration did I think you! Therefore it is likely that my future conduct towards you will be much the same. And indeed I have written this letter now, not for your perusal alone, since I knew it was needed by many besides yourself, and I will give it to all, since all, I am convinced, will be glad to receive it. For when men see you more haughty and more insolent than befits your past life, they resent it.

You have here a complete answer from me, so that you can desire nothing more. Nor do I ask for any further communication from you. But when you have read my letters use them for whatever purpose you please. For our friendship is at an end. Farewell, and divide your time between luxurious living and abuse of me!

51

To the community of the Jews¹

IN times past, by far the most burdensome thing in the yoke of your slavery has been the fact that you were subjected to unauthorised ordinances and had to contribute an untold amount of money to the accounts of the treasury. Of this I used to

Late
362 or
early
363
From
Antioch

¹ For this rescript see Introduction.

⁴ Hertlein 25.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἐθεώρουν, πλείονα δὲ τούτων ἔμαθον εὐρὼν τὰ βρέβια τὰ καθ' ὑμῶν φυλαττόμενα· ἔτι δὲ καὶ μέλλουσιν πάλιν εἰσφορὰν καθ' ὑμῶν προστάττεσθαι εἰρξα, καὶ τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δυσφημίας ἀσέβημα ἐνταῦθα ἐβιασάμην στήσαι, καὶ πυρὶ παρέδωκα τὰ βρέβια τὰ καθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς σκρινίοις ἀποκείμενα, ὥς μηκέτι δύνασθαι καθ' ὑμῶν τινὰ τοιαύτην ἀκοντίζειν ἀσεβείας φήμην.

- B καὶ τούτων μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ τοσοῦτον αἴτιος κατέστη ὁ τῆς μνήμης ἄξιος Κωνσταντῖος ὁ ἀδελφός, ὅσον οἱ τὴν γνώμην βάρβαροι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄθεοι, οἱ τὴν τούτου τράπεζαν ἐστιώμενοι, οὓς ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἐμαῖς λαβόμενος εἰς βόθρον ὥσας ὤλεσα, ὥς μηδὲ μνήμην ἔτι φέρεσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας. / ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ὑμᾶς εὐωχεῖσθαι βουλό-
- C μενος, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουλον, τὸν αἰδεσιμώτατον πατριάρχην, παρήνευσα καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀποστολὴν κωλυθῆναι, καὶ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τὰ πλήθη ὑμῶν τινὰ ἀδικεῖν τοιαύταις φόρων εἰσπράξεσιν, ὥς πανταχόθεν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀμέριμνον ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ ¹ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας, ἵνα ἀπολαύοντες εἰρήνης ² ἔτι μείζονας εὐχὰς ποιήσθε ὑπὲρ ³ τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας τῷ πάντων κρείττονι καὶ δημιουργῷ θεῷ, τῷ καταξιώσαντι στέφαι με
- D τῇ ἀχράντῳ αὐτοῦ δεξιᾷ. πέφυκε γὰρ τοὺς ἔν τινι μερίμνῃ ἐξεταζομένους περιδεῖσθαι τὴν διά-

¹ Reiske ἐπὶ τῆς ; τῆς Hertlein, MSS.

² εἰρήνης Reiske supplies for lacuna after ἀπολαύοντες, Hertlein lacuna ; ἡσυχίας Thomas.

³ Reiske ὑπὲρ τῆς ; Hertlein, MSS. τῆς.

¹ Or ἀπωλεία may be active = "their wickedness."

TO THE COMMUNITY OF THE JEWS

see many instances with my own eyes, and I have learned of more, by finding the records which are preserved against you. Moreover, when a tax was about to be levied on you again I prevented it, and compelled the impiety of such obloquy to cease here ; and I threw into the fire the records against you that were stored in my desks ; so that it is no longer possible for anyone to aim at you such a reproach of impiety. My brother Constantius of honoured memory was not so much responsible for these wrongs of yours as were the men who used to frequent his table, barbarians in mind, godless in soul. These I seized with my own hands and put them to death by thrusting them into the pit, that not even any memory of their destruction¹ might still linger amongst us. And since I wish that you should prosper yet more, I have admonished my brother Iulus,² your most venerable patriarch, that the levy³ which is said to exist among you should be prohibited, and that no one is any longer to have the power to oppress the masses of your people by such exactions ; so that everywhere, during my reign, you may have security of mind, and in the enjoyment of peace may offer more fervid prayers⁴ for my reign to the Most High God, the Creator, who has deigned to crown me with his own immaculate right hand. For it is natural that men who are distracted by any anxiety should be hampered

² The Patriarch Hillel II. was at this time about seventy.

³ Literally "the apostole," paid by the Jews to maintain the Patriarchate. It was later suppressed by the Emperor Theodosius II.

⁴ Sozomen 5. 22 says that Julian wrote to the community of the Jews asking them to pray for him : *εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.*

νοϊαν καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν τὰς
 χεῖρας ἀνατείνειν τολμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πανταχόθεν
 ἔχοντας τὸ ἀμέριμνον ὀλοκλήρῳ ψυχῇ χαίροντας
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλείου ἱκετηρίους λατρείας ποιεῖσθαι
 τῷ μείζονι, τῷ δυναμένῳ κατευθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν
 ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα, καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα.
 398 ὅπερ χρὴ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν
 πόλεμον διορθωσάμενος¹ τὴν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐπι-
 θυμουμένην παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν οἰκουμένην πόλιν
 ἀγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐμοῖς καμάτοις ἀνοικοδομήσας
 οἰκίσω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξαν δῶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τῷ κρείτ-
 τονι.

52

Λιβανίῳ²

374 Ἐπειδὴ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἐπελάθου· τρίτη γοῦν
 C ἐστὶ σήμερον, καὶ ὁ φιλόσοφος Πρίσκος αὐτὸς
 μὲν οὐχ ἦκε, γράμματα δ' ἀπέστειλεν ὥς ἔτι
 χρονίζων.³ ὑπομιμνήσκω σε τὸ χρέος ἀπαιτῶν.
 ὄφλημα δέ ἐστιν, ὥς οἶσθα, σοὶ μὲν ἀποδοῦναι
 ῥάδιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡδιστον πάννυ κομίσασθαι. πέμπε
 δὴ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν συμβουλήν, ἀλλὰ
 πρὸς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Μουσῶν ταχέως, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτων
 με τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἴσθι συντρίψας, εἴπερ
 ἀληθῆ φησιν ὁ Σικελιώτης ποιητής, ἐν ἡματι
 D φάσκων τοὺς ποθοῦντας γηράσκειν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα

¹ Asmus would read *κατορθωσάμενος*.

² Hertlein 3. *σοφιστῇ καὶ κοιαίστῳ* (*quaestor*) is added to the title in one MS., X; cf. p. 201.

³ Cobet *χρονιῶν*.

¹ For Julian's project of rebuilding the Temple, see Introduction.

TO LIBANIUS

in spirit, and should not have so much confidence in raising their hands to pray; but that those who are in all respects free from care should rejoice with their whole hearts and offer their suppliant prayers on behalf of my imperial office to Mighty God, even to him who is able to direct my reign to the noblest ends, according to my purpose. This you ought to do, in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem,¹ which for so many years you have longed to see inhabited, and may bring settlers there, and, together with you, may glorify the Most High God therein.

52

To Libanius²

SINCE you have forgotten your promise—at any rate three days have gone by and the philosopher Priscus³ has not come himself but has sent a letter to say that he still delays—I remind you of your debt by demanding payment. The thing you owe is, as you know, easy for you to pay and very pleasant for me to receive. So send your discourse and your “divine counsel,” and do it promptly, in the name of Hermes and the Muses, for I assure you, in these three days you have worn me out, if indeed the Sicilian poet⁴ speaks the truth when he says, “Those who long grow old in a day.” And if this be true,

362
Winter
At
Antioch

² Both Libanius and Julian were at this time at Antioch. We have the answer to this letter, Libanius, *Letter* 760 Foerster; Libanius had promised to send Julian his speech, *For Aristophanes, Oration* 14, for which see below, p. 183.

³ For Priscus, see above, pp. 3, 15.

⁴ Theocritus, 12. 2 οἱ δὲ ποθεῦντες ἐν ἡματι γηράσκουσιν.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔστι, τὸ γήρας ἡμῶν ἐτριπλα-
σίασας, ὧ γενναῖε. ταῦτα μεταξὺ τοῦ πράττειν
ὑπηγόρευσά σοι· γράφειν γὰρ οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν,
ἀργότεραν ἔχων τῆς γλώττης τὴν χεῖρα. καίτοι
μοι καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἀνασκησίας ἀργότεραν καὶ ἀδιάρθρωτον. ἔρρωσό
μοι, ἀδελφε ποθεινότατε καὶ προσφιλέστατε.

53

Λιβανίῳ¹

Ἀποδέδωκας Ἀριστοφάνει τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς
τε περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς περὶ σεαυτὸν
προθυμίας, ἀμείψας αὐτῷ καὶ μεταθεὶς τὰ πρόσθεν
ἐπονείδιστα πρὸς εὐκλειαν, οὐ τὴν νῦν μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, ὥς οὐχ ὁμοίον γε
ἢ Παύλου σύκοφαντία καὶ ἢ τοῦ δέϊνος κρίσις
τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφομένοις λόγοις· ἐκείνα μὲν γὰρ
ἀνθοῦντά τε ἐμισεῖτο καὶ συναπέσβη τοῖς δράσα-
σιν, οἱ δὲ σοὶ λόγοι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶς
Ἑλλήνων ἀγαπῶνται, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον,
εἰ μὴ τι σφάλλομαι κρίσεως ὀρθῆς, ἀγαπήσονται.
πεύσῃ δὴ λοιπὸν εἰ πέπεικάς με, μᾶλλον δὲ
μεταπέπεικας ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοφάνους. μὴ νομίζειν
αὐτὸν ἡδονῶν ἥττονα καὶ χρημάτων ὁμολογῶ. τί
δὲ οὐ μέλλω τῷ φιλοσοφωτάτῳ καὶ φιλαληθε-

¹ Hertlein 74 + 14; Cumont, following *Vaticanus* 941 and certain other MSS., restored Hertlein 14 to its proper place as postscript to Hertlein 74.

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus* 242E εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔστι, θεός. . . .

² Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 97 γλῶσσαν μὲν ἀργόν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχον ἐργάτιν.

TO LIBANIUS

as in fact it is,¹ you have trebled my age, my good friend. I have dictated this to you in the midst of public business. For I was not able to write myself because my hand is lazier than my tongue.² Though indeed my tongue also has come to be somewhat lazy and inarticulate from lack of exercise. Farewell, brother, most dear and most beloved !

53

To Libanius

You have requited Aristophanes³ for his piety towards the gods and his devotion to yourself by changing and transforming what was formerly a reproach against him so that it redounds to his honour, and not for to-day only but for the future also, since the malicious charges of Paul⁴ and the verdict of So-and-so⁵ have no force compared with words written by you. For their calumnies were detested even while they flourished, and perished along with their perpetrators, whereas your speeches are not only prized by genuine Hellenes to-day but will still be prized in future times, unless I am mistaken in my verdict. For the rest, you shall judge whether you have convinced, or rather converted, me on behalf of Aristophanes. I now agree not to believe that he is too weak to resist pleasure and money. What point would I not yield to the most

362
Winter
At
Antioch

³ For Aristophanes of Corinth and for the answer of Libanius, *Letter* 758, Foerster, see Introduction, Aristophanes.

⁴ Paul, the notary nicknamed Catena, "the chain," a tool of Constantius, was burned alive on Julian's accession, by order of the Chalcedon Commission ; Ammianus 14. 5. 6 ; 22. 3. 11. He was a Spaniard, malevolent and inquisitorial.

⁵ The real name is suppressed, probably by a cautious editor when the letter was first published.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

στάτω τῶν¹ ῥητόρων εἴκειν; ἔπεται καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ
τούτοις παρὰ σοῦ προσανερωτᾶσθαι· τί οὖν οὐ
μετατίθεμεν αὐτῷ τὰς συμφορὰς εἰς ἀμείνω τύχην
καὶ ἀφανίζομεν τὰ κατασχόντα διὰ τὰς δυσπρα-
γίας ὀνειδῆ; σύν τε δὴ ἔρχομένω, φασίν, ἐγὼ
καὶ σὺ βουλευσώμεθα. δίκαιος δὲ εἴ μὴ συμ-
βουλεύειν μόνον, ὅτι χρή βοηθεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἀδόλως τετιμηκότι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν χρή τρόπον.
καίτοι καὶ² τοῦτο ἡνίξω τρόπον τινά. βέλτιον
δὲ ἴσως ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων οὐ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ
διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἔρρωσό μοι, ἀδελφε

382 Ἄνέγων δὲ³ χθὲς τὸν λόγον πρὸ ἀρίστου
D σχεδόν, ἀριστήσας δὲ, πρὶν ἀναπαύσασθαι, τὸ
λοιπὸν προσapéδωκα τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. μακάριος
εἴ λέγειν οὕτω, μᾶλλον δὲ φρονεῖν οὕτω δυνάμενος.
ὦ λόγος, ὦ φρένες, ὦ σύνεσις,⁴ ὦ διαίρεσις, ὦ ἐπι-
χειρήματα, ὦ τάξις, ὦ ἀφορμαί, ὦ λέξεις, ὦ ἀρμο-
νία, ὦ συνθήκη.

54

387 Εὐστοχίῳ⁵
D Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν δοκεῖ τῷ σοφῷ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς
388 ἑορτὰς τοὺς γείτονας ὡς συνησθησομένους, ἐπειδὴ

¹ τῶν Hercher supplies, Cumont omits.

² Before τοῦτο Cumont restores καὶ omitted by Hertlein and some MSS.

³ δὲ Cumont restores, omitted by Hertlein following MSS., which make this section a separate letter. After χθὲς Hercher supplied σοῦ unnecessarily.

⁴ σύνεσις Asmus following *Monacensis*, σύνθεσις Hertlein following *Vossianus*, but cf. συνθήκη at end of letter with same meaning. Both readings have good MS. authority.

⁵ Hertlein 20.

TO EUSTOCHIUS

philosophic and truth-loving of orators? Naturally you will proceed to ask me why, in that case, I do not alter his unhappy lot for the better and blot out the disgrace that attaches to him on account of his ill fortune. "Two walking together,"¹ as the proverb says, namely, you and I, must take counsel. And you have the right, not only to advise that we ought to assist a man who has honoured the gods so straightforwardly, but also as to how it ought to be done. Indeed, you did hint at this in an obscure way. But it is perhaps better not to write about such matters, but to talk it over together. Farewell, brother, most dear and most beloved!

I read yesterday almost all your speech before breakfast, and after breakfast, before resting, I gave myself up to reading the remainder. Happy man to be able to speak so well, or rather to have such ideas! O what a discourse! what wit! what wisdom! what analysis! what logic! what method! what openings! what diction! what symmetry! what structure!²

54

To Eustochius³

THE wise Hesiod⁴ thinks that we ought to invite our neighbours to our feasts that they may rejoice

Late in
362
From
Antioch

¹ *Iliad* 10. 224 σὺν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένῳ, καὶ τε πρὸ δ τοῦ ἐνόησεν, cf. Plato, *Symposium* 174D.

² Julian may have read Marcus Aurelius, *To Fronto*: Ὁ ἐπιχειρήματα! Ὁ τάξις! Ὁ ἀργυρία! Ὁ ἔκκλησις! Ὁ omnia!

³ This is either Eustochius of Palestine, whose knowledge of law and eloquence is praised by Libanius, *Letter* 699 (789 Foerster), or a sophist of Cappadocia of the same name. We do not know which of these men it was to whom Gregory Nazianzen addressed his *Letters* 189-191.

⁴ τὸν δὲ μάλιστα καλεῖν ὅς τις σεθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει; *Works and Days* 313, a favourite quotation.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καὶ συναλγοῦσι καὶ συναγωνιῶσιν, ὅταν τις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐμπέσῃ ταραχῇ. ἐγὼ δέ φημι τοὺς φίλους δεῖν καλεῖν, οὐχὶ τοὺς γείτονας· τὸ αἴτιον δέ, ὅτι γείτονα μὲν ἔνεστιν ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν, φίλον δὲ ἐχθρὸν οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ λευκὸν μέλαν εἶναι καὶ τὸ θερμὸν ψυχρόν. ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι φίλος εἶ καὶ διετελέσας εὐνοικῶς ἔχων, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἄλλο τεκμήριον, ἀλλὰ τό γε ἡμᾶς οὕτω διατεθεῖσθαι καὶ διακεῖσθαι¹ περὶ σέ μέγα ἂν εἴη τούτου σημεῖον. ἦκε τοίνυν μεθέξων τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτός. ἄξει δέ σε ὁ δημόσιος δρόμος ὁχήματι χρώμενον ἐνὶ καὶ παράπῳ.² εἰ δὲ χρή τι καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι, τὴν Ἐνοδίαν εὐμενῇ σοι καὶ τὸν Ἐνόδιον παρακεκλήκαμεν.

55

*IULIANUS*³ *etenim Christo perfidus Imperator sic Photino haeresiarchae adversus Diodorum scribit :*

¹ καὶ διακεῖσθαι bracketed by Hertlein, Cobet deletes.

² ἐνὶ παράπῳ Hercher; some MSS. ἐνὶ καὶ παράπῳ, others, followed by Hertlein, omit ἐνὶ.

³ Hertlein, 79. These fragments of a lost letter are preserved only in the Latin version of Facundus Hermianensis, who wrote at Constantinople about 546 A.D. For a partial reconstruction of the original see Neumann, *Contra Christianos*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 5.

¹ Julian, with Sallustius as colleague, entered on the consulship January 1st, 363.

² Hecate, Latin Trivia.

³ Hermes.

⁴ This letter may have been written at any time between

TO PHOTINUS

with us, since they sorrow and mourn with us when any unexpected misfortune befalls us. But I say that it is our friends that we ought to invite, rather than our neighbours; and for this reason, that it is possible to have a neighbour who is one's enemy, but that a friend should be an enemy is no more possible than for white to be black, or hot cold. And if there were no other proof that you are my friend not now only, but for a long time past, and that you have steadily maintained your regard for me, nevertheless the fact that my feeling for you has been and is what it is, would be strong evidence of that friendship. Come, therefore, that you may in person share my consulship.¹ The state post will bring you, and you may use one carriage and an extra horse. And in case we ought to pray for further aid, I have invoked for you the blessing of the goddess of the Crossroads² and the god of the Ways.³

55

To Photinus⁴

MOREOVER the Emperor Julian, faithless to Christ, in his attack on Diodorus⁵ writes as follows to Photinus the

Julian's arrival at Antioch in July 362 and his departure thence, in March 363. The Greek original is represented by curious and sometimes untranslatable Latin. Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, where Constantius resided in 351, was tried, deposed and banished by a synod convened there by Constantius. According to Sozomen 4. 6, he wrote many Greek and Latin works in support of his heretical views on the divinity of Christ, which were opposed by both Arians and Nicæans. He is mentioned by Julian, *Against the Galilæans* 262c.

⁵ Bishop of Tarsus, a celebrated teacher; he was at Antioch in 362.

187

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

Tu quidem, o Photine, verisimilis videris, et proximus salvari,¹ benefaciens nequaquam in utero inducere quem credidisti deum. Diodorus autem Nazaraei magus, eius pigmentalibus manganis² acuens irrationabilitatem, acutus apparuit sophista religionis agrestis. *Et post paululum*: Quod si nobis opitulati fuerint dii et deae et musae omnes et fortuna, ostendemus infirmum et corruptorem legum et rationum et mysteriorum paganorum et deorum infernorum³ et illum novum eius deum Galilaeum, quem aeternum fabulose praedicat,⁴ indigna morte et sepultura denudatum confictae a Diodoro deitatis. *Sicut autem solent errantes convicti fingere, quod arte magis quam veritate vincantur, sequitur dicens*: Iste enim malo communis utilitatis Athenas navigans et philosophans imprudenter musicarum participatus est rationum, et rhetoricis confictionibus⁵ odibilem adarmavit linguam adversus caelestes deos, usque adeo ignorans paganorum mysteria, omnemque miserabiliter imbibens, ut aiunt, degenerum et imperitorum ejus theologorum piscatorum errorem. Propter quod iam diu est quod ab ipsis punitur diis. Iam enim per multos annos in periculum conversus et in corruptionem thoracis incidens, ad

¹ *salvari* Neumann; *salvare* Facundus, Hertlein.

² *manganis* Neumann; *manyanes* Facundus, Hertlein.

³ *infernorum*, Hertlein, comma deleted by Neumann.

⁴ *praedicat, sepultura* Neumann; *praedicat—sepultura* Facundus, Hertlein. Before *indigna* Asmus supplies *et*.

⁵ *rhetoricis confictionibus* Asmus; *rhetoris confectionibus* Facundus, Hertlein.

TO PHOTINUS

heresiarch:¹ O Photinus, you at any rate seem to maintain what is probably true, and come nearest to being saved, and do well to believe that he whom one holds to be a god can by no means be brought into the womb. But Diodorus, a charlatan priest of the Nazarene, when he tries to give point to that nonsensical theory about the womb by artifices and juggler's tricks, is clearly a sharp-witted sophist of that creed of the country-folk. *A little further on he says*: But if only the gods and goddesses and all the Muses and Fortune will lend me their aid, I hope to show² that he is feeble and a corrupter of laws and customs, of pagan³ Mysteries and Mysteries of the gods of the underworld, and that that new-fangled Galilaeen god of his, whom he by a false myth styles eternal, has been stripped by his humiliating death and burial of the divinity falsely ascribed to him by Diodorus. *Then, just as people who are convicted of error always begin to invent, being the slaves of artifice rather than of truth, he goes on to say*: For the fellow sailed to Athens to the injury of the general welfare, then rashly took to philosophy and engaged in the study of literature, and by the devices of rhetoric armed his hateful tongue against the heavenly gods, and being utterly ignorant of the Mysteries of the pagans he so to speak imbibed most deplorably the whole mistaken folly of the base and ignorant creed-making fishermen. For this conduct he has long ago been punished by the gods themselves. For, for many years past, he has been in danger, having contracted a wasting disease

¹ The italicised passages are the words of Facundus.

² This is a forecast of Julian's treatise *Against the Galilaeans*.

³ Twice in this letter Facundus translates Julian's "Hellenic" as "pagan."

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

summum pervenit supplicium. Omne eius corpus consumptum est. Nam malae eius conciderunt, rugae vero in altitudinem corporis descenderunt. Quod non est philosophicae conversationis indicio, sicut videri vult a se deceptis, sed iustitiae pro certo deorumque poenae, qua percutitur competenti ratione, usque ad novissimum vitae suae finem asperam et amaram vitam vivens et faciem pallore confectam.

56

Χρῆν¹ μὲν οἰκοθεν διανοηθέντα ὁ δὴ νῦν ἔδοξε κρατῦναι τῷ νόμῳ, τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀναλαβεῖν, ὁ διανοοῦμενοι μὲν οἱ πάλοι καλῶς θέμενοι τοὺς νόμους, εἶναι πλεῖστον ὑπέλαβον ἐν μέσῳ ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκατέρῳ πρέπειν ἐνόμισαν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἔργων. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν θάνατον ἡσυχίαν διηνεκῇ—καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ χαλκοῦς ὕπνος ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑμνούμενος—, ἀπεναντίας δὲ τὴν ζωὴν ἔχειν πολλὰ μὲν ἀλγεινὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡδέα, καὶ τὸ πρῶττειν νῦν μὲν ἐτέρως, αὐθις δὲ ἄμεινον. ὁ δὴ διανοηθέντες ἔταξαν ἰδίᾳ

¹ Hertlein 77. This edict, which has no Greek title, does not appear in any MS. collection of the *Letters* and was first published by Hertlein (from *Marcianus* 366) in *Hermes* 8.

¹ Here and in the last sentence I give what seems to be the general meaning.

² This is probably the earlier form of the Latin Edict in *Codex Theodosianus* 9. 17. 5 dated February 12th, 363. It is not clear whether it was aimed at the Christians, but of course

EDICT ON FUNERALS

of the chest, and he now suffers extreme torture. His whole body has wasted away. For his cheeks have fallen in and his body is deeply lined with wrinkles.¹ But this is no sign of philosophic habits, as he wishes it to seem to those who are deceived by him, but most certainly a sign of justice done and of punishment from the gods which has stricken him down in suitable proportion to his crime, since he must live out to the very end his painful and bitter life, his appearance that of a man pale and wasted.

56

Edict on Funerals²

It was my duty, after considering with myself, to restore the ancient custom which I have now decided to confirm by a law. For when they considered the matter, the men of old, who made wise laws, believed that there is the greatest possible difference between life and death and thought that each of these two states has customs and practices peculiarly appropriate to it. For they thought that death is an unbroken rest,—and this is surely that “brazen sleep” of which the poets sing,³—but that life, on the contrary, brings many pains and many pleasures, and now adversity, now greater prosperity. Considering thus, they en-

363
About
February 12th
From
Antioch

they had to observe it. They buried their dead by day, and did not share the pagan fear of pollution by a corpse, for which cf. Eunapius, *Life of Iamblichus*, p. 367, Wright. Julian desired to suppress the Christian demonstrations at public funerals such as that of the bones of St. Babylas, at Antioch, for which see Philostorgius 7. 8, Sozomen 5. 19, Julian, *Misopogon* 361b, note, p. 485, Wright.

² *Iliad* 11. 241, *χάλκεον ὕπνον*; Vergil, *Aeneid* 10. 745 *ferreus Somnus*.

191

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μὲν ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικομένους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν οἰκονομεῖσθαι βίον. ἔτι δὲ πάντων ὑπελάμβανον ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ τέλος τοὺς θεοὺς, ζῶντάς τε ἡμᾶς ἐνόμισαν ὑπὸ θεοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀπιόντας πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς πορεύεσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τούτων λέγειν, εἴτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμφότερα προσήκει θεοῖς, εἴτε ἕτεροι μὲν ἐπιτροπεύουσι τοὺς ζῶντας, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς τεθνεώτας, οὐδ' ἄξιον ἴσως δημοσιεύειν. εἴ γε μὴν καθάπερ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς αἴτιος ἥλιος καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ θέρους ἀπιὼν καὶ προσιών, οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, εἰς δὲ πάντα καὶ ἐξ οὗ πάντα, ζῶσί τε ἔταξεν ἄρχοντας καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἀπεκλήρωσε κυρίους, ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πρέποντα χρὴ νέμειν ἐν μέρει, καὶ μιμῆσθαι διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὐσί τῶν θεῶν διακόσμησιν.

Οὐκοῦν ἡσυχία μὲν ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν, ἡσυχία δὲ ἡ νύξ ἀρμόττει. διόπερ οἶμαι πρέπειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πραγματεύεσθαι τῶν τελευτησάντων, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πράττειν τι τοιοῦτο πολλῶν ἔνεκα παραιτητέον. ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πράξει στρέφεται κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μεστὰ πάντα ἐστὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς δικαστήρια πορευομένων τῶν δὲ εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, τῶν δὲ ταῖς τέχναις προσκαθημένων, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶντων, ὅπως τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας παρὰ τῶν θεῶν βεβαιώσαιντο· εἴτα οὐκ οἶδα οἵτινες ἀναθέντες ἐν κλίνῃ νεκρὸν διὰ μέσων ὠθοῦνται τῶν ταῦτα σπουδαζόντων. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστι πάντα τρόπον οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. ἀναπίμπλυνται γὰρ οἱ

EDICT ON FUNERALS

joined that expiations connected with the departed should be conducted apart, and that apart from them the daily business of life should be carried on. Moreover, they held that the gods are the beginning and end of all things, and believed that while we live we are subject to the gods, and when we depart from this life we travel back to the gods. But perhaps it is not right to speak openly about these matters or to divulge whether both are in the hands of the same gods or one set of gods has charge of the living and another set the dead. However, if, as the Sun is the cause of day and night and winter and summer by his departure and arrival, so also the most venerable one of the gods themselves, unto whom are all things and from whom all things proceed, has appointed rulers over the living and allotted lords over the dead, then we ought to assign to both of these classes in turn what is fitting for them, and to imitate in our daily life the orderly arrangement of the gods in things which exist.

As I have said, death is rest; and night harmonises with rest. Therefore I think it is fitting that business connected with the burials of the dead should be performed at night, since for many reasons we ought to forbid anything of the sort to go on by day. Throughout the city men are going to and fro each on his own business, and all the streets are full of men going to the lawcourts, or to or from the market, or sitting at work at their crafts, or visiting the temples to confirm the good hopes that the gods have vouchsafed. And then some persons or other, having laid a corpse on the bier, push their way into the midst of those who are busy about such matters. The thing is in every way intolerable. For those

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

προστυχόντες πολλάκις ἀηδίας, οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι πονηρὸν τὸ οἰώνισμα, τοῖς δὲ εἰς ἱερὰ βαδίζουσιν οὐ θέμις προσελθεῖν ἐστὶ πρὶν ἀπολούσασθαι. τοῖς γὰρ αἰτίοις τοῦ ζῆν θεοῖς καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἀλλοτριώτατα πρὸς φθορὰν διακειμένοις οὐ θέμις προσελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ὀψευς. καὶ οὐπω τὰ μείζω κατηγόρηκα τοῦ γιγνομένου. τίνα δὲ ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἱεροὶ περίβολοι καὶ θεῶν ναοὶ ἀνεψύγασιν· καὶ πολλάκις θύει τις ἔνδον καὶ σπένδει καὶ εὐχεται, οἱ δὲ παρέρχονται παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερὸν νεκρὸν κομίζοντες, καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν φωνὴ καὶ δυσφημία ἄχρι τῶν βωμῶν φέρεται.

Οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι πρὸ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων τὰ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔργα διήρηται; οὕτως¹ οὖν εἰκότως τῆς μὲν ἀφηρέθη, τῇ δὲ ἂν² ἀνακέοιτο. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τὴν λευκὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πένθεσιν ὀρθῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ παραιτεῖσθαι, θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτί. βέλτιον ἦν ἐκείνο, εἴ γε εἰς οὐδένα τῶν θεῶν ἐπλημμελεῖτο, τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐκφεύγει τὸ μὴ εἰς ἅπαντας τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι δυσσέβειαν. τοῖς τε γὰρ Ὀλυμπίοις οὐ δέον αὐτὸ προσνέμουσι, καὶ τῶν χθονίων, ἡ ὅπως οὖν ἄλλως οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπίτροποι καὶ κύριοι χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, παρὰ τὸ δέον ἀλλοτριούσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδα καὶ τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ἀκριβεῖς τὰ θεῖα θεοῖς τοῖς κάτω νύκτωρ ἢ πάντως μετὰ δεκάτην ἡμέρας ὥραν ἱερὰ δρᾶν ἀξιοῦντας. εἰ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων θεραπείας οὗτος

¹ οὕτως—τῆς Hertlein suggests for corrupt οὗτος—τοῖς.

² ἂν Hertlein suggests; τῇ δὲ ἀνήκει τοῦτο "appertains to," Capps suggests. The sentence remains unsatisfactory.

EDICT ON FUNERALS

who meet the funeral are often filled with disgust, some because they regard it as an evil omen, while for others who are on the way to the temples it is not permitted to approach for worship till they have cleansed themselves from the pollution. For after such a sight it is not permitted to approach the gods who are the cause of life and of all things least akin to decay. And I have still to mention what is worse than this. And what is that? The sacred precincts and temples of the gods lie open; and it often happens that in one of them someone is sacrificing or pouring libations or praying, at the moment when men carrying a corpse are passing close by the temple itself, and the voice of lamentations and speech of ill omen is carried even to the altars.

Do you not understand that the functions belonging to the day and the night have been separated more than all other things? With good reason, therefore, has burial been taken out of the day and would be reserved for the night. For it is not right to deprecate the wearing of white for mourning and yet to bury the dead in the daytime and sunlight. The former was better, at least if it was not offensive to any of the gods, but the latter cannot escape being an act of impiety towards all the gods. For thereby men wrongly assign burial to the Olympian gods and wrongly alienate it from the gods of the underworld, or whatever else the guardians and lords of souls prefer to be called. And I know that those who are thoroughly versed and punctilious in sacred rites think it right to perform at night the ritual to the gods below or in any case not till after the tenth hour of the day. But if this is the better time for

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ἀμείνων ὁ καιρός, οὐδὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ πάντως τῶν τεθνεώτων ἕτερον ἀποδώσομεν.

Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐκούσι πειθομένοις ἔξαρκεῖ ταῦτα. ἂ γὰρ ἡμάρτανον μαθόντες, μετατιθέσθων πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον. εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος ἀπειλῆς καὶ ζημίας δεῖσθαι, ἴστω τὴν μεγίστην ὑφέξων δίκην, εἰ πρὸ δεκάτης ἡμερινῆς ὥρας τολμήσει τε τῶν ἀπογινομένων τινὸς κηδεῦσαι σῶμα καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐνεγκεῖν· ἀλλὰ δύντος ἡλίου καὶ αὐτὸ πρὶν ἀνίσχειν ταῦτα γενέσθω, ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα καθαρὰ καθαροῖς τοῖς τε ἔργοις¹ καὶ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις ἀνακείσθω θεοῖς.

57

Ἀρσάκη Ἀρμενίων σατράπη²

Ἐπείχθητι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παράταξιν, Ἀρσάκιε, θᾶπτον ἢ λόγος, τὴν δεξιὰν κατὰ τῆς Περσικῆς μανίας ὀπλίσας. ἢ γὰρ ἡμετέρα παρασκευή τε καὶ προθυμία δυοῖν θάτερον βεβούλευται, ἢ τὸ χρεὼν ἀποδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῆς Παρθυαίων ἐνορίας³ τὰ μέγιστα διαπραξαμένους καὶ τὰ δεινότατα διαθεμένους τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἢ τούτους χειρωσαμένους, πρυτανευόντων ἡμῖν τῶν θεῶν,

¹ For τοῖς τε ἔργοις Hercher conjectures τοῖς ἱεροῖς. Before τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Hertlein suspects the loss of τοῖς λόγοις.

² Hertlein 66; he regards the letter as spurious, and brackets the title. Schwarz, Geffcken, and Cumont also reject it.

³ εὐορίας Ambrosianus; ἐνορίας Monacensis; εὐορίας Mura-torius; ἐφορίας Reiske.

TO ARSACES, SATRAP OF ARMENIA

the worship of these gods, we will certainly not assign another time for the service of the dead.

What I have said suffices for those who are willing to obey. For now that they have learned what errors they used to commit, let them change to the better way. But if there be any man of such a character that he needs threat and penalty, let him know that he will incur the severest punishment if, before the tenth hour of the day, he shall venture to perform the offices for the corpse of any dead person and to carry it through the city. But let these things be done at sunset and before sunrise, and let the pure day be consecrated for pure deeds and the pure gods of Olympus.

57

To Arsaces, Satrap of Armenia ¹

MAKE haste, Arsacius,² to meet the enemy's battle line and quicker than I tell³ you arm your right hand against the madness of the Persians. For my military preparations and my set purpose are for one of two things; either to pay the debt of nature within the Parthian⁴ frontier, after I have won the most glorious victories and inflicted on my foes the most terrible reverses, or to defeat them under the leadership of the gods and return to my native land

368
At
Antioch
Just
before
Julian's
Persian
cam-
paign

¹ See Introduction, under Arsaces.

² This form is given also by Sozomen 6. 1. who gives the general contents of the letter. The correct form Arsaces occurs in Ammianus.

³ Cf. *To Hermogenes*, p. 32, 390 Β παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπέλχθητι.

⁴ The writer seems to confuse the Persians and the Parthians: Julian, however, distinguishes them in *Oration 2. 63A*, Vol. 1, p. 169, Wright; Ammianus sometimes confuses them.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καλλινίκους ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην, τρόπαια κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγείραντας. πᾶσαν οὖν ῥαστώνην καὶ φενακισμόν ἀποθέμενος, καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνσταντῖνον¹ καὶ τὰς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων περιουσίας τὰς εἰς σέ τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτρόπους σοι βαρβάρους ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀβροτάτου καὶ πολυτελοῦς² Κωνσταντίου κενωθείσας, νῦν μοι τὸν Ἰουλιανόν, τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν καίσαρα, τὸν αὐγουστον, τὸν θεῶν τε καὶ Ἀρεως θεραπευτὴν ἐννόησον,³ τὸν Φραγκῶν⁴ τε καὶ βαρβάρων ὀλετῆρα, τὸν Γάλλων τε καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἐλευθερωτὴν. εἰ δὲ ἕτερόν τι βουλεύσαιο· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ εἶναί σε πανοῦργον καὶ κακὸν στρατιώτην καὶ ἀλαζόνα, ὥς τὰ παρόντα μοι πράγματα δείκνυσιν· ἐχθρὸν γάρ τινα τῆς κοινῆς λυσιτελείας λανθάνοντα ἀποκρύπτειν παρὰ σοὶ πειρᾶσθαι· τέως μὲν τοῦτο ὑπερτίθεμαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου τύχην· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχία πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων καθαίρεσιν. εἰ δέ τι τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης κρίνειε· θεῶν γὰρ βούλησις ἡ ταύτης ἐξουσία· ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως οἶσω τοῦτο. ἴσθι δὲ ὡς σὺ μὲν πάρεργον ἔση τῆς Περσικῆς χειρός, συναφθείσης σοι παγγενεὶ τῆς ἐστίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίων ἀρχῆς· κοινωνήσῃ δέ σοι τῆς δυστυχίας καὶ ἡ

¹ Wright restores Κωνσταντῖνον from *Laurentianus*; ἐκείνον Hertlein following *Monacensis*.

² πολυετοῦς MSS. (Constantius died aged about 45); Teuffel ἀσεβοῦς, cf. Sozomen 6. 1, who says that Julian in this letter reviled Constantius ὡς ἀνάνδρῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ. Hertlein πολυτελοῦς following *Sintenis*.

³ ἐννόησον *Ambrosianus*; εὐνόησον *Muratorius*.

⁴ Julian uses the form Φράγγου in *Oration* 1. 34 D.

TO ARSACES, SATRAP OF ARMENIA

as a conquering hero, after I have set up trophies of the enemy's defeat. Accordingly you must discard all sloth and cheating, and the Emperor Constantine of blessed memory, and the wealth of the nobles which was lavished in vain on you and on barbarians of your character by the most luxurious and extravagant Constantius, and now I warn you, take heed of me, Julian, supreme pontiff, Caesar, Augustus, the servant of the gods and of Ares, the destroyer of the Franks and barbarians,¹ the liberator of the Gauls and of Italy. But if you form some other design,—for I learn that you are a rascal² and a coward in war and a boaster, as the present condition of affairs proves; indeed I have heard that you are secretly trying to conceal at your court a certain enemy of the public welfare,—for the present I postpone this matter because of the fortune of war; for my alliance with the gods is enough to secure the destruction of the enemy. But if Destiny should also play some part in the decision,—for the purpose of the gods is her opportunity,—I will endure it fearlessly and like a brave man. Be assured that you will be an easy victim³ of the power of Persia when your hearth and home, your whole race and the kingdom of Armenia all blaze together. And the city of Nisibis⁴ also will

¹ Cf. Ammianus 22. 5, of Julian: *saepeque dictitabat "audite me quem Alemanni audierunt et Franci."*

² Arsaces was almost certainly a Christian; cf. Sozomen 6. 1.

³ For this phrase cf. Vol. 2. *Caesars* 326A *πῶς ἐμαυτοῦ στρατηγίας*.

⁴ After Julian's death Nisibis reverted to the Persians; their king Sapor captured and killed Arsaces; Ammianus 27. 12.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

Νισιβίων πόλις, τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν τοῦτο πάλαι
ἡμῖν προαγορευσάντων.

58

Λιβανίῳ σοφιστῇ καὶ κοιαίστωρι¹

- 399 Μέχρι τῶν Λιτάρβων ἦλθον· ἔστι δὲ κώμη
 B Χαλκίδος· καὶ ἐνέτυχον ὁδῷ λείψανα ἐχούση
 χειμαδίῳ Ἀντιοχικῶν. ἦν δὲ αὐτῆς, οἶμαι, τὸ
 μὲν τέλμα τὸ δὲ ὄρος, τραχεῖα δὲ πᾶσα, καὶ ἐνέ-
 κειντο τῷ τέλματι λίθοι ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐρριμ-
 μένοις ἐοικότες, ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς τέχνης συγκείμενοι,
 C ὃν τρόπον εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις² πόλεσι τὰς
 λεωφόρους οἱ ἐξοικοδομοῦντες ποιεῖν, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς
 κονίας πολλὴν τὸν χοῦν ἐποικοδομοῦντες,³ πυκνοὺς
 δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τρίχῳ τιθέντες τοὺς λίθους. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 διαβὰς μόλις ἦλθον εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμόν,
 ἐννέα που σχεδὸν ἦσαν ὥραι, καὶ ἐδεξάμην εἶσω
 τῆς αὐλῆς τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν βουλῆς. ἃ
 δὲ διελέχθημεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἴσως ἐπύθου·
 μάθοις δ' ἂν καὶ ἡμῶν ἀκούσας, εἰ θεοὶ θέλοιν.
 D Ἀπὸ τῶν Λιτάρβων εἰς τὴν Βέρροϊαν ἐπορευό-
 μην, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αἴσια πάντα ἐσήμηνεν, ἐναργῇ
 δεΐξας τὴν διοσημίαν.⁴ ἐπιμείνας δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκεῖ

¹ Hertlein 27.

² ἄλλαις Hertlein suspects.

³ ὑποσκεδάννυντες Cumont, as more suitable in connection with χοῦς = loose soil.

⁴ διοσημίαν Asmus; διοσημίαν Hertlein, MSS.

¹ Julian's march is described by Ammianus 23. 2, to the end of 24; he was a member of the expedition; cf. Zosimus 3. 12-28; Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, Paris, 1917.

TO LIBANIUS, SOPHIST AND QUAESTOR

share in your misfortune, for this the heavenly gods long since foretold to me.

58

To Libanius, Sophist and Quaestor ¹

I TRAVELLED as far as Litarbae,—it is a village of Chalcis,—and came on a road that still had the remains of a winter camp of Antioch. The road, I may say, was partly swamp, partly hill, but the whole of it was rough, and in the swamp lay stones which looked as though they had been thrown there purposely, as they lay together without any art, after the fashion followed also by those who build public highways in cities and instead of cement make a deep layer of soil and then lay the stones close together as though they were making a boundary-wall. When I had passed over this with some difficulty and arrived at my first halting-place it was about the ninth hour, and then I received at my headquarters the greater part of your senate.² You have perhaps learned already what we said to one another, and, if it be the will of heaven, you shall know it from my own lips.

363
March
10th
From
Hiera-
polis

From Litarbae I proceeded to Beroea,³ and there Zeus by showing a manifest sign from heaven declared all things to be auspicious.⁴ I stayed there

² The Senators of Antioch followed Julian to plead for the city, which had offended him; see Libanius, *Oration* 16. 1.

³ Aleppo.

⁴ Ammianus 23. 2 records certain fatal accidents at Hierapolis and Batnae which were regarded as of ill omen for the campaign.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶδον, καὶ ἔθυσα τῷ Διὶ βασιλικῶς
ταύρου λευκόν, διελέχθην δὲ ὀλίγα τῇ βουλῇ περὶ
θεοσεβείας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐπῆνουν μὲν
ἅπαντες, ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγοι πάνυ, καὶ
οὗτοι οἱ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐδόκουν ἔχειν
400 ὑγιῶς. εὐλαβοῦντο¹ δὲ ὥσπερ παρρησίας ἀποτρί-
ψασθαι τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ ἀποθέσθαι· περίεστι γάρ,
ὦ θεοί, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐρυ-
θρίαν, ἀνδρεία ψυχῆς καὶ εὐσεβεία, καλλωπί-
ζεσθαι δὲ ὥσπερ τοῖς χειρίστοις, ἱεροσυλία καὶ
μαλακία γνώμης καὶ σώματος.

Ἐνθεν ὑποδέχονται με Βάτναι, χωρίον οἶον
παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ εἶδον ἔξω τῆς Δάφνης, ἣ νῦν ἔοικε
B ταῖς Βάτναις· ὥς τά γε πρὸ μικροῦ, σωζομένου
τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος, Ὅσση καὶ Πηλίῳ
καὶ ταῖς Ὀλύμπου κορυφαῖς καὶ τοῖς Θετταλικοῖς
Τέμπεσιν ἄγων ἐπίσης ἢ καὶ προτιμῶν ἀπάντων
ὁμοῦ τὴν Δάφνην οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνοίμην.² ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
μὲν τῇ Δάφνῃ γέγραπται σοι λόγος, ὅποιον ἄλλος
οὐδ' ἂν εἰς τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι καὶ μάλα ἐπι-
C χειρήσας καμεῖν ἐργάσαιτο, νομίζω δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἐμπροσθεν οὐ πολλοὺς πάνυ. τί οὖν ἐγὼ νῦν
ἐπιχειρῶ περὶ αὐτῆς γράφειν, οὕτω λαμπρᾶς
μονωδίας³ ἐπ' αὐτῇ συγγεγραμμένης; ὥς μήποτε

¹ Cobet; Hertlein, MSS. ἐλάβοντο.

² ἱερὸν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου τὸ χωρίον follows
in MSS., bracketed by Hertlein as a gloss; Heyler retains.

³ Lacuna Hercher, Hertlein; μονωδίας Heyler.

¹ The Emperors sacrificed white victims; cf. Ammianus
25. 4. 17.

² Julian was at Batnae March 8th; a few days later he
halted at another Batnae, in Osroëne, beyond the Euphrates.

TO LIBANIUS, SOPHIST AND QUAESTOR

for a day and saw the Acropolis and sacrificed to Zeus in imperial fashion a white bull.¹ Also I conversed briefly with the senate about the worship of the gods. But though they all applauded my arguments very few were converted by them, and these few were men who even before I spoke seemed to me to hold sound views. But they were cautious and would not strip off and lay aside their modest reserve, as though afraid of too frank speech. For it is the prevailing habit of mankind, O ye gods, to blush for their noble qualities, manliness of soul and piety, and to plume themselves, as it were, on what is most depraved, sacrilege and weakness of mind and body.

Next, Batnae² entertained me, a place like nothing that I have ever seen in your country, except Daphne³; but that is now very like Batnae, though not long ago, while the temple and statue were still unharmed,⁴ I should not have hesitated to compare Daphne with Ossa and Pelion or the peaks of Olympus, or Thessalian Tempe, or even to have preferred it to all of them put together. But you have composed an oration⁵ on Daphne such as no other man "of such sort as mortals now are"⁶ could achieve, even though he used his utmost energies on the task, yes, and I think not very many of the ancient writers either. Why then should I try to write about it now, when so brilliant a monody has been composed in its honour? Would

¹ A suburb of Antioch; cf. *Misopogon* 361; Ammianus 19. 12. 19. The temple of Apollo was burned October 22nd, 362.

² Cf. *Misopogon* 346B; Vol. 2, Wright.

³ We have the monody of Libanius, *On the Temple of Apollo at Daphne*, *Oration* 60; cf. his *Oration* 11. 235.

⁴ *Iliad* 5. 304; Julian, *Oration* 6. 191A.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

ὥφеле τοιοῦτον. αἶ γε μὴν Βάτναι· βαρβαρικὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο· χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἑλληνικόν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι διὰ πάσης τῆς περίξ χώρας ἀτμοὶ λιβανωτοῦ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ἱερεῖά τε ἐβλέπομεν εὐτρεπῆ πανταχοῦ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ λίαν ἡϋφραίνε με, θερμότερον ὅμως ἐδόκει καὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
D εὐσεβείας ἀλλότριον. ἐκτὸς πάτου γὰρ εἶναι χρή καὶ δρᾶσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πορευομένων, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι βαδιζόντων, τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἱερά τε καὶ ὅσια. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἴσως τεύξε-
ται τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιμελείας αὐτίκα.

Τὰς Βάτνας δὲ ἐώρων πεδίον λάσιον ἄλση κυπαρίττων ἔχον νέων· καὶ ἦν ἐν ταύταις οὐδὲν γεράνδρυν οὐδὲ σαπρόν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἴσης ἅπαντα θάλλοντα
401 τῇ κόμῃ· καὶ τὰ βασιλεία πολυτελῆ μὲν ἦκιστα· πηλοῦ γὰρ ἦν μόνον καὶ ξύλων οὐδὲν ποικίλον ἔχοντα· κήπον δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλκίνου καταδεέστερον, παραπλήσιον δὲ τῷ Λαέρτου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μικρὸν ἄλσος πάνυ, κυπαρίττων μεστόν, καὶ τῷ θριγκίῳ δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα παραπεφυτευμένα δένδρα στίχῳ καὶ ἐφεξῆς. εἶτα τὸ μέσον πρασιαί, καὶ ἐν ταύταις
B λίαν ἀλυσσάμενα καὶ δένδρα παντοῖαν ὁπώραν φέροντα. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ; ἔθυσα δείλῃς, εἰτ' ὀρθρου βαθέος, ὅπερ εἴωθα ποιεῖν ἐπιεικῶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, τῆς Ἱερᾶς πόλεως εἰχόμεθα, καὶ ὑπαντῶσιν ἡμῖν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ ὑποδέχεταιί

¹ i.e. it maintained the pagan cults.

² *Odyssey* 7. 112 foll., a favourite commonplace; cf. *Misogogon* 352A.

³ *Odyssey* 24. 245 foll.

⁴ Hierapolis is now Membrej; Julian arrived there about March 10th; it was the rendezvous for the Roman troops

TO LIBANIUS, SOPHIST AND QUAESTOR

that none had been needed! However, to return to Batnae. Its name is barbarous but the place is Hellenic;¹ I say so because through all the country round about the fumes of frankincense arose on all sides, and I saw everywhere victims ready for sacrifice. But though this gave me very great pleasure, nevertheless it looked to me like overheated zeal, and alien to proper reverence for the gods. For things that are sacred to the gods and holy ought to be away from the beaten track and performed in peace and quiet, so that men may resort thither to that end alone and not on the way to some other business. But this matter will perhaps before long receive the attention that is appropriate.

Batnae I saw to be a thickly wooded plain containing groves of young cypresses; and among these there was no old or decaying trunk, but all alike were in vigorous leafage. The imperial lodging was by no means sumptuous, for it was made only of clay and logs and had no decorations; but its garden, though inferior to that of Alcinous,² was comparable to the garden of Laertes.³ In it was a quite small grove full of cypresses and along the wall many trees of this sort have been planted in a row one after the other. Then in the middle were beds, and in these, vegetables and trees bearing fruits of all sorts. What did I do there, you ask? I sacrificed in the evening and again at early dawn, as I am in the habit of doing practically every day. And since the omens were favourable, we kept on to Hierapolis⁴ where the inhabitants came to meet

for this campaign; and was about twenty miles west of the Euphrates. Julian stayed there three days; Ammianus 23. 2. 6.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- με ξένος, ὀφθεῖς μὲν ἄρτι, φιλούμενος δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 πάλοι. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν αὐτὸς μὲν εὖ οἶδα ὅτι
 συνήδεις,¹ ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡδὺν καὶ ἄλλως φράσαι· τὸ γὰρ
 αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν ἐστὶ μοι νέκταρ.
 Ἰαμβλίχου τοῦ θειοτάτου τὸ θρέμμα Σώπατρος
 ἐγένετο ² ὁ τούτου κηδεστής· ἐξίσουν ἐμοὶ ³ γὰρ τὸ
 C μὴ πάντα ἐκείνων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπᾶν ἀδικημάτων
 οὐδενὸς τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἔλαττον ⁴ εἶναι δοκεῖ.
 πρόσεστι ταύτης αἰτία μείζων. ὑποδεξάμενος
 γὰρ πολλάκις τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸν
 ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφὸν καὶ προτραπεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν,
 οἷα εἰκός, πολλάκις ἀποστήναι τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
 εὐσεβείας, ὃ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐλήφθη τῇ νόσφ.
 Ταῦτα εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερᾶς πόλεως σοι γράφειν
 D ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ. τὰς δὲ στρατιωτικὰς ἢ πολι-
 τικὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν οἶμαι παρόντα
 ἐφορᾶν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· μείζων γάρ ἐστιν ἢ κατ'
 ἐπιστολήν, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐ ῥάδιον
 οὐδὲ τριπλασία ταύτης περιλαβεῖν σκοποῦντι
 τὰκριβές. ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου ⁵ δέ σοι καὶ ταῦτα
 φράσω δι' ὀλίγων. πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἐπεμψα

¹ συνήδεις Reiske, συνείδεις MSS. εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συνείρεις Bidez, cf. αἰτίαν αἰτίῃ συνείρων = make the connection. Hertlein omits εὖ by an oversight.

² ἐγένετο Bidez adds.
³ κηδεστής· ἐξίσουν ἐμοὶ Bidez; κηδεστής ἐξ ὅσου· MSS., Hertlein; Reiske thinks ἐξ ὅσου conceals a proper name or a lacuna.

⁴ οὐδενὸς τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἔλαττον Wright (cf. *Oration* 3. 102 B); οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν φαυλοτάτων Reiske; οὐδὲν οὕτω φαυλότατον MSS., Hertlein.

⁵ Frederich, MSS. ἐπεὶ καὶ φαίην.

¹ This elder Sopater was put to death by Constantine.

TO LIBANIUS, SOPHIST AND QUAESTOR

us. Here I am being entertained by a friend who, though I have only lately met him for the first time has long been dear to me. I know that you yourself are well aware of the reason, but for all that it gives me pleasure to tell you. For it is like nectar to me to hear and to speak of these things continually. Sopater,¹ the pupil of the god-like Iamblichus, was a relative by marriage of this Sopater.² Not to love even as myself all that belonged to those men is in my opinion equivalent to the lowest baseness. But there is another more powerful reason than this. Though he often entertained my cousin and my half-brother³ and was often urged by them, naturally enough, to abandon his piety towards the gods, and though this is hard to withstand, he was not infected with this disease.⁴

Thus much, then, I was able to write to you from Hierapolis about my own affairs. But as regards the military or political arrangements, you ought, I think, to have been present to observe and pay attention to them yourself. For, as you well know, the matter is too long for a letter, in fact so vast that if one considered it in detail it would not be easy to confine it to a letter even three times as long as this. But I will tell you of these matters also, summarily, and in a very few words. I sent an embassy to the Saracens⁵ and suggested that

² For the younger Sopater, see Introduction.

³ Constantius and Gallus; cf. *Misopogon* 340A.

⁴ For Christianity a disease, cf. *Oration* 7. 229D and *Against the Galilaeans* 327B.

⁵ According to Ammianus 23. 3. 8, the Saracens offered themselves to Julian as allies, but they apparently deserted later to the Persians, cf. Zosimus 3. 27. 3; Ammianus 25. 6. 10.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

402 πρέσβεις, ὑπομιμνήσκων αὐτοὺς ἦκειν, εἰ βού-
 λωιντο. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον δέ, λίαν
 ἐγρηγορότας ὡς ἐνεδέχετο τοὺς παραφυλάξοντας
 ἐξέπεμψα, μή τις ἐνθένδε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
 ἐξέλθῃ λαθών, ἐσόμενος αὐτοῖς ὡς κεκινήμεθα
 μηνυτής. ἐκεῖθεν ἐδίκασα δίκην στρατιωτικὴν,
 ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, πραότατα καὶ δικαιοτάτα.
 ἵππους περιττοὺς καὶ ἡμιόνους παρεσκεύασα, τὸ
 B στρατόπεδον εἰς ταῦτ' οὕτως συναγαγών. ναῦς πλη-
 ροῦνται ποτάμιοι πυροῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἄρτων ξηρῶν
 καὶ ὄξους. καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὅπως ἐπράχθη
 καὶ τίνες ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ γεγόνασιν λόγοι, πόσου
 μήκου ἐστὶ συγγράφειν ἐννοεῖς. ἐπιστολαῖς δὲ
 ὅσαις ὑπέγραψα καὶ βίβλοις ἐπόμενα γὰρ
 ὥσπερ εἰ σκιά¹ μοι καὶ ταῦτα συμπερινοστέι
 πανταχοῦ· τί δεῖ νῦν πράγματα ἔχειν ἀπαριθμού-
 μενον;

59²

Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ³

383 Ὁ μὲν μῦθος ποιεῖ τὸν αἰτόν, ἐπειδὰν τὰ γνήσια
 C τῶν κυημάτων βασανίζῃ, φέρειν ἄπτιλα πρὸς τὸν

¹ ὥσπερ σκιά Cobet; ὥσπερ αἴσια MSS.; ὥσπερ εἰ σκιά Hertlein.

² Letters 59-73 cannot be dated, even approximately, from their contents.

³ Hertlein 16; the preceding letter, Hertlein 15, was addressed to Maximus, hence his title τῷ αὐτῷ.

¹ This is Julian's last extant letter. On leaving Hierapolis he marched to Carrhae, which place he left on March 25th. He crossed the Tigris in May, declined the siege of Ctesiphon,

TO MAXIMUS THE PHILOSOPHER

they could come if they wished. That is one affair of the sort I have mentioned. For another, I despatched men as wide-awake as I could obtain that they might guard against anyone's leaving here secretly to go to the enemy and inform them that we are on the move. After that I held a court martial and, I am convinced, showed in my decision the utmost clemency and justice. I have procured excellent horses and mules and have mustered all my forces together. The boats to be used on the river are laden with corn, or rather with baked bread and sour wine. You can understand at what length I should have to write in order to describe how every detail of this business was worked out and what discussions arose over every one of them. As for the number of letters I have signed, and papers,—for these too follow me everywhere like my shadow,—why should I take the trouble to enumerate them now? ¹

59

To Maximus the Philosopher ²

WE are told in the myth that the eagle,³ when he would test which of his brood are genuine, carries

the Persian capital, burnt his fleet on the Tigris early in June, and was killed in a skirmish on June 26th, somewhere between Ctesiphon and Samarra on the Tigris. His body was carried back and buried at Tarsus in Cilicia, where he had told the people of Antioch he should spend the winter; Ammianus 25. 10. 5.

² Cumont and Geffcken reject, without good grounds, Schwarz defends, the authenticity of this sophistic letter, which was probably written from Gaul.

³ A rhetorical commonplace; cf. *To Iamblichus*, p. 259, note; Lucian, *The Fisherman* 46.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- αἰθέρα καὶ ταῖς ἡλίου προσάγειν ἀκτίσιν, ὥσπερ
 ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ θεῷ πατέρα τε ἀληθοῦς νεοττοῦ
 γινόμενον καὶ νόθου γονῆς ἀλλοτριούμενον· ἡμεῖς
 δέ σοι καθάπερ Ἑρμῇ λογίω τοὺς ἡμετέρους λό-
 D γους ἐγχειρίζομεν. κὰν μὲν ὑπομείνωσι τὴν ἀκοὴν
 τὴν σὴν, ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ κρίναι περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσὶ πτήσιμοι· εἰ δὲ μή, ῥίψον εἰκῇ¹
 καθάπερ Μουσῶν ἀλλοτρίους, ἡ ποταμῷ κλύσον
 ὡς νόθους. πάντως οὐδὲ ὁ Ῥήνος ἀδικεῖ τοὺς
 Κελτούς, ὃς τὰ μὲν νόθα τῶν βρεφῶν ὑποβρύχια
 ταῖς δύναις ποιεῖ, καθάπερ ἀκολάστου λέχους
 τιμωρὸς πρέπων· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐπιγνῶ καθαροῦ σπέρ-
 ματος, ὑπεράνω τοῦ ὕδατος αἰώρει, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ
 384 στὸν τινα μαρτυρίαν αὐτῇ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀμέμπτων
 γάμων τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν ἀντιδωρούμενος.

60

Εὐγενίῳ φιλοσόφῳ²

- 386 Δαίδαλον μὲν Ἰκάρῳ³ φασὶν ἐκ κηροῦ πτερὰ
 B συμπλάσαντα τολμῆσαι τὴν φύσιν βιάσασθαι τῇ
 τέχνῃ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνον μὲν εἰ καὶ τῆς τέχνης

¹ εἰκῇ *Ambrosianus* L 73, ἐκεῖ *Vossianus*, Hertlein; Hercher regards as dittography of εἰ καὶ above.

² Hertlein 18.

³ Ἰκάρῳ Hertlein suggests, Ἰκαρίῳ MSS.

¹ The allusion to Julian's writings is too vague to be used to date this letter.

² A commonplace of rhetoric; cf. Julian, Vol. 1, *Oration* 2. 81D; Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2. 112, et quos nascentes

TO EUGENIUS THE PHILOSOPHER

them still unfledged into the upper air and exposes them to the rays of the sun, to the end that he may become, by the testimony of the god, the sire of a true nursling and disown any spurious offspring. Even so I submit my speeches¹ to you as though to Hermes the god of eloquence; and, if they can bear the test of being heard by you, it rests with you to decide concerning them whether they are fit to take flight to other men also. But if they are not, then fling them away as though disowned by the Muses, or plunge them in a river as bastards. Certainly the Rhine does not mislead the Celts,² for it sinks deep in its eddies their bastard infants, like a fitting avenger of an adulterous bed; but all those that it recognises to be of pure descent it supports on the surface of the water and gives them back to the arms of the trembling mother, thus rewarding her with the safety of her child as incorruptible evidence that her marriage is pure and without reproach.

60

To Eugenius³ the Philosopher

WE are told that Daedalus dared to do violence to nature by his art, and moulded wings of wax for Icarus. But for my part, though I applaud him

explorat gurgite Rhenus; Galen 6. 51 Kühn, says that the ordeal was to strengthen their bodies as well as to test their legitimacy; cf. Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs* 146.

³ A philosopher named Eugenius was the father of the sophist and philosopher Themistius, an older contemporary of Julian, but this letter with its familiar tone cannot have been addressed to a man of advanced age. Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken reject it on the ground of its sophistic mannerisms, but see Introduction.

211

P 2

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- ἐπαινῶ, τῆς γνώμης οὐκ ἄγαμαι· μόνος γὰρ κηρῶ
 λυσίμφω τοῦ παιδὸς ὑπέμεινε τὴν σωτηρίαν πιστεῦ-
 σαι. εἰ δέ μοι θέμις ἦν κατὰ τὸν Τῆιον ἐκείνον
 μελοποιὸν τὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀλλάξασθαι φύσιν,
 οὐκ ἂν δήπου πρὸς Ὀλυμπον οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ μέμφεως
 C ἐρωτικῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτοὺς ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὀρῶν
 τοὺς πρόποδας ἔπτην, ἵνα σὲ τὸ μέλημα τοῦμόν,
 ὥς φησιν ἡ Σαπφώ, περιπτύξωμαι. ἐπεὶ δέ με
 ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος δεσμῷ κατακλείσασα ἡ φύ-
 σις οὐκ ἐθέλει πρὸς τὸ μετέωρον ἀπλῶσαι, τῶν
 λόγων οἷς ἔχω σε πτεροῖς μετέρχομαι, καὶ γράφω,
 καὶ σύνειμι τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον. πάντως που καὶ
 "Ομηρος αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τούτου
 πτερόεντας ὀνομάζει, διότι δύνανται πανταχοῦ
 D φοιτᾶν, ὥσπερ οἱ ταχύτατοι τῶν ὀρνίθων ἢ ἂν
 ἐθέλωσιν ἄττοντες. γράφε δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ὦ φίλος·
 ἴση γὰρ δήπου σοι τῶν λόγων, εἰ μὴ καὶ μείζων,
 ὑπάρχει πτέρωσις, ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους μεταβῆναι¹
 δύνασαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς παρὼν εὐφραίνειν.

61

Σωπάτρῳ²

Ἔστι τις ἡδονῆς ἀφορμὴ πλείων, ὅταν ἐξῇ δι'
 ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοὺς φίλους προσφωνεῖν· οὐ γὰρ

¹ μεταβῆναι *Ambrosianus* L 73 ; μεταθεῖν *Wytttenbach*, *Hertle*in ; μεταθεῖναι *Vossianus*.

² *Hertlein* 67. Σωσιπάτρῳ *Hertlein*, but prefers Σωπάτρῳ *Fabricius*. See Introduction, under *Sopater*.

¹ *Anacreon frag.* 22, *Bergk* Ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον
 πτερύγεσσι κουφαῖς διὰ τὸν Ἔρωτ'. ² *Frag.* 126, *Bergk*.

TO SOPATER

for his art, I cannot admire his judgement. For he is the only man who ever had the courage to entrust the safety of his son to soluble wax. But if it were granted me, in the words of the famous lyric poet of Teos,¹ to change my nature to a bird's, I should certainly not "fly to Olympus for Love,"—no, not even to lodge a complaint against him—but I should fly to the very foothills of your mountains to embrace "thee, my darling," as Sappho² says. But since nature has confined me in the prison of a human body³ and refuses to lighten and raise me aloft, I approach you with such wings as I possess,⁴ the wings of words, and I write to you, and am with you in such fashion as I can. Surely for this reason and this only Homer calls words "winged," that they are able to go to and fro in every direction, darting where they will, like the swiftest of birds. But do you for your part write to me too, my friend! For you possess an equal if not a larger share of the plumage of words, with which you are able to travel to your friends and from wherever you may be, just as though you were present, to cheer them.

61

To Sopater⁵

It is an occasion to rejoice the more when one has the chance to address friends through an intimate friend. For then it is not only by what

³ A Platonic commonplace; cf. Julian, *Oration* 6. 198B; 7. 206B.

⁴ Cf. *Letter* 76. 449D, p. 244, note.

⁵ This letter is rejected by Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken; Schwarz on the slender evidence of style classes it with the apocryphal letters to Iamblichus; Cumont also places it in that series, and thinks that this Sopater is the friend of the elder Iamblichus executed by Constantine.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

μόνον οἷς γράφεις τὸ τῆς σεαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἵνδαλμα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ξυναρμόττη. ὃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῶ. τὸν γὰρ τροφέα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παίδων Ἀντίοχον ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐκπέμπων, ἀπρόσρητόν σε καταλιπεῖν οὐκ ἠνεσχόμην· ὥστε, εἴ τι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ποθεῖς, ἔχοις ἂν οἰκειότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ γινῶναι. εἰ δέ τι καὶ σοὶ μέλει τῶν σῶν ἐραστῶν, ὡς ἔγωγε ὅτι μέλει πιστεύω, δείξεις ἕως¹ ἂν ἐξῇ γράφειν μηδαμῶς ἐλλείπων.

62

Εὐκλείδῃ φιλοσόφῳ²

Πότε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθης, ἵνα καὶ γράφωμεν, ἢ πότε οὐχὶ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὡς παρόντα σε θεωροῦμεν; οἷ γε οὐ μόνον αἰεὶ σοι συνεῖναι καὶ συνομιλεῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γε νῦν προσηκόντων ὡς ὑπὸ παρουσία τῇ σῇ τὰ εἰκότα κηδόμεθα. εἰ δὲ καὶ γράφεσθαί σοι παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἀπόντι θέλεις, ὅρα μὲν ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ἡμῶν ἀπεῖναι μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τῷ γράφειν ἐθέλειν ἐκφήνης· πλὴν ἄλλ' εἴ γε σοι φίλον ἐστί, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐκόντες ὑπακούομεν. πάντως γε, τὸ τοῦ

¹ ἕως Hertlein suggests; MSS., Hertlein ἐν οἷς.

² Hertlein 73.

¹ No forger would have referred to children of Julian's body; but the phrase may refer to his writings. Libanius, *Epistaphius*, says of Julian's letters *παῖδας τούτους ἀθανάτους καταλέλοιπεν*. See also *To Iamblichus*, p. 255.

² Libanius often mentions a certain Eucleides, a native of Constantinople, to whom this letter may be addressed; the

TO EUCLEIDES THE PHILOSOPHER

you write that you unite the image of your own soul with your readers. And this is what I myself am doing. For when I despatched the custodian of my children,¹ Antiochus, to you, I could not bear to leave you without a word of greeting. So that if you want to have news of me, you can have from him information of a more intimate sort. And if you care at all for your admirers, as I believe you do care, you will prove it by never missing an opportunity while you are able to write.

62

To Eucleides the Philosopher²

NAY, when did you ever leave me, so that I need to write, or when do I not behold you with the eyes of the soul as though you were here with me? For not only do I seem to be with you continually and to converse with you, but I pay attention to my duties now just as zealously as when you were here to guide me. But if you do wish me to write to you, just as though you were not here, then take care that you do not yourself create the impression of not being with me all the more by your very wish that I should write. However, if you do really find pleasure in it I am willing to obey you in this also. At any rate, by your request, you will, as the proverb

reference to public affairs may imply that Julian was already Emperor, but it cannot be dated with certainty. Schwarz rejects the letter on stylistic grounds, and Cumont for the same reason attributed it to the sophist Julian of Caesarea, for whom see Introduction under Iamblichus; but, though it is conventional and sophistic, there is nothing in it that the Emperor Julian might not have written.

215

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

λόγου, θέοντα τῇ παρακελεύσει τὸν ἵππον εἰς
 πεδίον ἄξεις. ἄγε οὖν ὅπως ἀντιδώσεις¹ τὰ ἴσα, καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν ἀντίκλησιν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀμοιβαίων συνε-
 χείᾳ μὴ κατοκνήσεις.² καίτοι ἔγωγε εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ κοινοῦ σοι γινομένην σπουδὴν οὐκ ἐθέλω
 διοχλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅσω³ σε φυλάττω⁴ τῇ θήρᾳ τῶν
 καλῶν, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπαν
 ὁμοῦ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὠφελεῖν ἂν δοκοίην, ὥσπερ
 σκύλακα γενναῖον, ἀόχλητον ἀφιεῖς ἐσχολακέναι
 σε τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἵχνεσιν ὀλοκλήρῳ τῷ
 λήματι· εἰ δέ σοι τοσοῦτον τάχος περίεστιν, ὥς
 μήτε τῶν φίλων ἀμελεῖν μήτ' ἐκείνοις ἐνδεῖν, ἴθι
 χρῆσαι παρ' ἡμῶν τῷ δρόμῳ.

63

Ἑκκεβολίῳ⁶

Πινδάρῳ μὲν ἀργυρέας εἶναι δοκεῖ τὰς Μούσας,
 387 οἷον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκδηλον αὐτῶν καὶ περιφανὲς τῆς τέχνης
 ἐς τὸ τῆς ὕλης λαμπρότερον ἀπεικάζοντι. Ὁμηρος
 δὲ ὁ σοφὸς τὸν τε ἄργυρον αἰγλήεντα λέγει καὶ τὸ
 ὕδωρ ἀργύρεον ὀνομάζει, καθάπερ ἡλίου καθαλαῖς
 ἀκτῖσιν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς εἰκόνης φαιδρῷ μαρμαρύσ-
 σον. Σαπφῷ δ' ἡ καλὴ τὴν σελήνην ἀργυρέαν
 φησὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἀποκρύ-
 πτειν τὴν ὄψιν. οὕτω καὶ θεοῖς τὸν ἄργυρον

¹ ἀντιδώσεις Cobet ; ἀντιδίδως Hertlein, MSS.

² κατοκνήσεις Cobet ; κατοκνήσης Hertlein, MSS.

³ ὅσον X.

⁴ Hertlein suggests ἀλλὰ τῷ σε φυλάττειν.

⁵ Hertlein suggests πρὸς,

⁶ Hertlein 19,

TO HECEBOLIUS

says, lead a galloping horse into the plain. Come then, see that you return like for like, and in answer to my counter-summons do not grow weary of the unbroken series of letters exchanged between us. And yet I have no wish to hinder the zeal that you display on behalf of the public welfare, nevertheless, in proportion as I keep you free for the pursuit of noble studies, I shall be thought, far from injuring it, to benefit the whole body of Hellenes at once, that is to say, if I leave you like a young and well-bred dog without interference, free to give all your time to tracking down, with a mind wholly free from all else, the art of writing discourses; but if you possess such swiftness that you need neither neglect your friends nor slacken in those other pursuits, come, take both courses and run at full speed!

63

To Hecebolius¹

PINDAR² thinks that the Muses are "silvery," and it is as though he likened the clearness and splendour of their art to the substance that shines most brilliantly. And the wise HOMER³ calls silver "shining," and gives to water the epithet "silvery" because it gleams with the very brightness of the reflected image of the sun, as though under its direct rays. And SAPPHO⁴ the fair says that the moon is "silvery," and that because of this it dims the radiance of the other stars. Similarly one might

¹ See Introduction, under Hecebolius.

² *Frag.* 272, Bergk.; cf. *Pythian* 9. 65, *Isthmian* 2. 13.

³ These epithets for silver and water are not in our Homer.

⁴ *Frag.* 3, Bergk.; cf. Julian, *Oration* 3. 109c, note, Wright.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰκάσειεν ἂν τις πρέπειν·
 B ἀνθρώποις γε μὴν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐστὶν ὁ
 ἄργυρος τοῦ χρυσοῦ τιμιώτερος καὶ σύνεστι μᾶλ-
 λον αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ χρυσὸς ὑπὸ γῆς κρυπτό-
 μενος ἢ φεύγων αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφθῆ-
 ναι καλὸς καὶ ἐν δαιτήματι κρείττων, οὐκ ἐμὸς
 ἴδιος, ἀλλὰ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. εἰ
 C δέ σοι τοῦ πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ σοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσ-
 ματος εἰς τὸ ἴσον τῆς τιμῆς ἕτερον ἀργύρεον ἀντι-
 δίδομεν, μὴ κρίνης ἥττω τὴν χάριν, μηδὲ ὥσπερ
 τῷ Γλαύκῳ πρὸς τὸ ἔλαττον οἰθήῃς εἶναι τὴν ἀντί-
 δοσιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ὁ Διομήδης ἴσως ἀργυρᾷ χρυσῶν
 ἀντέδωκεν ἂν,¹ ἅτε δὴ πολλῷ τῶν ἐτέρων ὄντα
 χρησιμώτερα καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς οἶονεῖ² μολίβδου
 δίκην ἐκτρέπειν εἰδότα. ταῦτά σοι προσπαίζο-
 μεν, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς γράφεις τὸ ἐνδόσιμον εἰς σὲ τῆς
 D παρρησίας λαμβάνοντες. σὺ δὲ εἰ τῷ ὄντι χρυσοῦ
 τιμιώτερα ἡμῖν δῶρα ἐθέλεις ἐκπέμπειν, γράφε,
 καὶ μὴ λῆγε συνεχῶς τοῦτο πράττων· ἐμοὶ γὰρ
 καὶ γράμμα παρὰ σοῦ μικρὸν ὅτου περ ἂν εἴπη τις
 ἀγαθοῦ κάλλιον εἶναι κρίνεται.

64

Λουκιανῷ σοφιστῇ³

404 Καὶ γράφω καὶ ἀντιτυχεῖν ἀξιῶ τῶν ἴσων. εἰ

D

¹ ἂν Cobet adds.

² οἶονεῖ Hercher deletes, Hertlein brackets, but the construction οἶονεῖ-δίκην occurs in letters not certainly Julian's; cf. 393C, p. 274, 440D, p. 222. ³ Hertlein 32.

¹ For this Julianic commonplace cf. *Oration* 6. 197B, note.

² A sophistic commonplace; cf. Vol. 2, *Letter to Themistius* 260A, note. He exchanged bronze armour for golden; *Iliad* 6. 236.

TO LUCIAN THE SOPHIST

imagine silver to be more appropriate to the gods than gold; but that to man, at any rate, silver is more precious than gold and more familiar to them because it is not, like gold, hidden under the earth and does not avoid their eyes, but is both beautiful to the eye and more serviceable in daily life,—this, I say, is not my own theory¹ but was held by men of old. If, therefore, in return for the gold coin sent by you I give you a piece of silver of equal value, think not that the favour is less and do not imagine that, as with Glaucus,² the exchange is to your disadvantage; for perhaps not even Diomedes would have exchanged silver armour for golden, seeing that the former is far more serviceable than the latter, and like lead well fitted to turn the points of spears.³ All this I am saying in jest, and I take the cue⁴ for my freedom of speech to you from what you write yourself. But if you really wish to send me gifts more precious than gold, write, and keep on writing regularly. For even a short letter from you I hold to be more precious than any other blessing that one could name.

64

To Lucian the Sophist⁵

Nor only do I write to you but I demand to receive payment in kind. And if I treat you ill by

³ *Iliad* 11. 237 ἀργύρε' ἀντομένη, μόλιβος ὤς, ἐτράπετ' αἰχμή.

⁴ Literally "keynote"; cf. *To Iamblichus* 421A, p. 238.

⁵ A merely sophistic letter of compliment such as this is a conventional "type" of the sort recommended in the contemporary handbooks on epistolary style. Gesner thinks it was addressed to the Lucian who wrote the dialogue *Philopatris*, preserved with the works of his illustrious namesake, but there is no evidence of this.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

δὲ ἀδικῶ συνεχῶς ἐπιστέλλων, ἀνταδικηθῆναι δέο-
μαι τὰ ὅμοια παθών.

65

Ἑλπιδίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ¹

- 442 Ἔστι καὶ μικροῦ γράμματος ἡδονὴ μείζων, ὅταν
D ἡ τοῦ γράφοντος εὐνοία μὴ τῇ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς σμι-
κρότητι μάλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς μεγέθει μετρῇται·
εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ νῦν βραχέα τὰ τῆς προσρήσεως ὑφ’
ἡμῶν γεγένηται, μηδ’ οὕτω ² τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς πόθον
τεκμηριώσῃ, ἀλλ’ εἰδώς, ἐφ’ ὅσον ὁ παρ’ ἡμῶν
ἔρως ἐπὶ σοὶ τέταται, τῇ μὲν τοῦ γράμματος βρα-
χύτητι συγγνώμην νέμε, τοῖς ἴσοις δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀμεί-
βεσθαι μὴ κατόκνει. πᾶν γὰρ ὃ τι ἂν διδῶς, κἂν
443 μικρὸν ᾗ, παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ γνώρισμα παρ’ ἡμῖν
σώζει.

66

Γεωργίῳ Καθολικῷ ³

- 440 Ἡ μὲν ἡχὼ θεὸς ἔστω κατὰ σέ καὶ λάλος, εἰ δὲ
B βούλει, καὶ Πανὶ σύζυγος· οὐ γὰρ διοίσομαι. κἂν
γὰρ ἐθέλῃ με διδάσκειν ἢ φύσις ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡχὼ
φωνῆς ἐς αἶρος πληξὶν ἀντίτυπος ἡχὴ πρὸς τοῦμ-

¹ Hertlein 57.

² μὴ τούτῳ Hertlein suggests.

³ Hertlein 54.

¹ We know from Libanius, *Letter* 758 Foerster, *To Julian*, that towards the end of 362 Elpidius was at Antioch and in Julian's confidence. This letter is purely formal and may have been written then, or earlier. There are several letters extant from Libanius to Elpidius. Cumont ascribed this letter to Julian of Caesarea.

TO GEORGE, A REVENUE OFFICIAL

writing continually, then I beg you to illtreat me in return and make me suffer in the same way.

65

To Elpidius, a Philosopher¹

EVEN a short letter gives more pleasure when the writer's affection can be measured by the greatness of his soul rather than by the meagre proportions of what he writes. So that if I now address you briefly, do not even so conclude that the accompanying affection is equally slight, but since you know the full extent of my love for you, forgive the brevity of my letter and do not hesitate to answer me in one equally short. For whatever you send me, however trifling, keeps alive in my mind a remembrance of all that is good.

66

To George, a Revenue Official²

WELL, let us grant that Echo is a goddess, as you say she is, and a chatterbox, and, if you like, the wife of Pan³ also; for I shall not object. And even though nature would fain inform me that Echo is only the sound of the voice answering back when the air is struck, and bent back upon that which is

² Otherwise unknown. The title *Catholicus* (cf. our "General") was used of officials in charge of the collection of tribute, especially in Africa; it is equivalent to *procurator fisci*. George was probably a sophist. This and the following letter are rejected by Schwarz, Cumont and Geffcken, because of their sophistic mannerisms.

³ Moschus, *Idyl* 6.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- παλιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀντανακλωμένη, ὅμως, παλαιῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἔτι καὶ νέων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τῷ σῷ πειθό-
 C μενος λόγῳ, θεὸν εἶναι τὴν ἡχὴν δυσωποῦμαι. τί
 γοῦν ἂν εἴη τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ
 τοῖς πρὸς σέ φιλικοῖς τὴν ἡχὴν νικῶμεν; ἡ μὲν
 γὰρ οὐ πρὸς ἅπαντα, ὅ τι ἂν ἀκούσῃ, μᾶλλον ἢ¹
 πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς φωνῆς ἀντιφθέγγεται, καθά-
 περ ἐρωμένη φειδωλὸς ἄκροις ἀντιφιλοῦσα τὸν
 ἐραστὴν τοῖς χείλεσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς σέ
 D πρόκλησιν οἶονεῖ² σφαίρας δίκην τὸ ἴσον ἀντιπέμ-
 πομεν. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις αὐτὸς ἔνοχος ὧν οἷς
 γράφεις, καὶ σαυτὸν, ἀφ' ὧν πλέον λαμβάνων ἐλά-
 χιστον ἀντιδίδως, οὐχ ἡμᾶς, ἐν οἷς ἐπ' ἅμφω πλεο-
 νεκτεῖν σπεύδομεν, ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον τῆς εἰκόνης ἐγκρί-
 νων· πλὴν ἂν τε ἴσῳ τῷ μέτρῳ διδῶς ὥπερ ἂν
 λάβῃς, ἂν τε μή, ἡμῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἐξῇ παρὰ σοῦ
 411 λαβεῖν ἡδὺ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὅλον ἀρκεῖν πιστεύεται.

67

Γεωργίῳ Καθολικῷ³

Ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, φησὶ τὸ ἔπος· ἐγὼ δέ σε καὶ
 εἶδον ἤδη τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς σοῦ ψυχῆς

¹ δὲ Hertlein suggests, but cf. *Letter* 71, p. 234.

² See note to *Letter* 63, 387c.

³ Hertlein 8. Following *Vossianus* he omits καθολικῷ, which is preserved in *Ambrosianus* L 73.

¹ For this conventional phrase, often used by Julian, cf. *To Hecebolius*, p. 219, and *To Sarapion*, pp. 271, 277.

TO GEORGE, A REVENUE OFFICIAL

opposite the ear that hears it, nevertheless, since I put my faith in the account given by men both ancient and modern,¹ and in your own account no less, I am abashed into admitting that Echo is a goddess.² What, in any case, would that matter to me, if only, in my expressions of friendship towards you, I excel Echo in a considerable degree? For she does not reply to all the sounds that she hears, but rather to the last syllables uttered by the voice, like a grudging sweetheart who returns her lover's kisses with the merest touch of her lips. I, on the other hand, in my correspondence with you, lead off sweetly, and then again, in reply to your challenge, I return you like for like as though I threw back a ball. Therefore you cannot be too quick in recognising that your letters put you in default, and that it is yourself, since you receive more and give back very little, whom you consign to the similitude of the figure, and not me, since I am eager to score off you in both ways.³ However, whether you give in just the same degree as you receive, or not, whatever I am permitted to receive from you is a boon, and is credited as sufficient to balance the whole.⁴

67

To George, a Revenue Official⁵

"THOU hast come, Telemachus!"⁶ as the verse says, but in your letters I have already seen you and

² George had evidently used the figure of Echo, and accused Julian of imitating her.

³ *i. e.* both in sending and receiving letters.

⁴ Perhaps the last two sentences are a playful allusion to George's profession as a financier.

⁵ Geffcken and Cumont reject this letter.

⁶ *Odyssey* 16. 23.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- 377 τὴν εἰκόνα καθάπερ ὀλίγη σφραγίδι μεγάλου χα-
ρακτῆρος τύπον ἀνεμαξάμην. ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ
πολλὰ δειχθῆναι· ἐπεὶ καὶ Φειδίας ὁ σοφὸς οὐκ
ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίαςι μόνον ἢ Ἀθήνησιν εἰκόνας
ἐγνώριζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδει καὶ μικρῷ γλύμματι μεγά-
λης τέχνης ἔργον ἐγκλείσαι, οἷον δὴ τὸν τέττιγά
B φασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μέλιτταν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ
τὴν μυῖαν εἶναι· ὧν ἕκαστον, εἰ καὶ τῇ φύσει κε-
χάλκωται, τῇ τέχνῃ γ' ἐψύχεται. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκεί-
νοις μὲν ἴσως αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ σμικρότης τῶν ζώων εἰς
τὴν κατὰ λόγον τέχνην τὸ εἶκος ἐχαρίζετο· σὺ δ'
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφ' ἵππου θηρῶντα Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ
δοκεῖ, σκόπει, οὐ τὸ μέτρον ἐστὶ πᾶν ὄνυχος οὐ
μεῖζον. οὕτω δ' ἐφ' ἐκάστου τὸ θαῦμα τῆς τέχνης
κέχυται, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἤδη τὸ θηρίου
C βάλλει καὶ τὸν θεατὴν φοβεῖ, δι' ὅλου δυσωπῶν
τοῦ σχήματος, ὁ δὲ ἵππος, ἐν ἄκρα τῶν ποδῶν τῇ
βάσει τὴν στάσιν φεύγων, ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐνεργείας
κλοπῇ τῇ τέχνῃ κινεῖται· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, ὦ
γενναῖε, ποιεῖς. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν Ἑρμοῦ λόγιον
σταδίοις δι' ὅλου πολλάκις τοῦ δρόμου στεφανω-
θεὶς ἤδη, δι' ὧν ἐν ὀλίγοις γράφεις τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ
ἄκρον ἐμφαίνεις, καὶ τῷ ὄντι τὸν Ὀδυσσεά τὸν
D Ὀμήρου ζηλοῖς, ὃς καὶ μόνον εἰπὼν ὅστις ἦν ἤρκει

¹ The ascription to Pheidias the sculptor of works in the 'microtechnique' described here, is sometimes due to the confusion, in the Roman period, of the fifth century Pheidias with a gem-cutter of the same name who lived in the third century B.C. In the *Jahrbuch d.k.d. Arch. Instituts*, 1889, p. 210, Furtwängler, who does not quote this letter, reproduces a gem from the British Museum collection signed by this later Pheidias; it is an Alexander on foot. The anachronism here makes the letter suspect.

TO GEORGE, A REVENUE OFFICIAL

the image of your noble soul, and have received the impression thereof as of an imposing device on a small seal. For it is possible for much to be revealed in little. Nay even Pheidias the wise artist not only became famous for his statue at Olympia or at Athens, but he knew also how to confine a work of great art within the limits of a small piece of sculpture; for instance, they say that his grasshopper and bee, and, if you please, his fly also, were of this sort; for every one of these, though naturally composed of bronze, through his artistic skill became a living thing. In those works, however, the very smallness of the living models perhaps contributed the appearance of reality to his skilful art; and do you, please, look at his Alexander¹ hunting on horseback, for its whole measurement is no larger than a fingernail.² Yet the marvellous skill of the workmanship is so lavished on every detail that Alexander at one and the same time strikes his quarry and intimidates the spectator, scaring him by his whole bearing, while the horse, reared on the very tips of his hoofs, is about to take a step and leave the pedestal, and by creating the illusion of vigorous action is endowed with movement by the artist's skill. This is exactly the effect that you have on me, my excellent friend. For after having been crowned often, already, as victor over the whole course, so to speak, in the lists of Hermes, the God of Eloquence, you now display the highest pitch of excellence in a few written words. And in very truth you imitate Homer's Odysseus,³ who, by merely saying who he

² See Vol. 1, *Oration* 3, 112A for a reference to this kind of carving.

³ *Odyssey* 9. 19.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

τοὺς Φαίακας ἐκπλήξαι. εἰ δέ τι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν
τοῦ κατὰ σέ φιλικοῦ καπνοῦ δέει,¹ φθόνος οὐδεὶς.
πάντως πού καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων εἶναί τι χρη-
στὸν ὁ μῦς τὸν λέοντα ἐν τῷ μύθῳ σώσας ἀρκούν-
τως δείκνυσιν.

68

Δοσιθέῳ²

Μικροῦ μοι ἐπήλθε δακρῦσαι· καίτοι γε ἐχρῆν
405 εὐφημεῖν τοῦνομα τὸ σὸν φθεγξάμενον· ἀνεμνήσθην
γὰρ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ πάντα θαυμασίου πατρὸς
ἡμῶν,³ ὃν εἰ μὲν ζηλώσεις, αὐτός τε εὐδαίμων ἔσῃ,
καὶ τῷ βίῳ δώσεις, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, ἐφ' ὅτῳ φιλο-
τιμῆσεται· ῥαθυμήσας δὲ λυπήσεις ἐμέ, σαυτῷ δὲ
ὅτε μηδὲν ὄφελος μέμψῃ.

69

Ἰμερίῳ⁴

412 Οὐκ ἀδακρυτί σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέγνων, ἣν
ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς συνοικούσης θανάτῳ πεποίησαι, τοῦ
πάθους τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀγγείλας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ

¹ δέη, *Parisinas* 2964, Heyler, cf. *Letter* 6, 403B.

² Hertlein 33.

³ ὡμῶν Reiske.

⁴ Hertlein 37. *Varsaviensis*, Y, Ἰμερίῳ Cumont accepts ;
Baroccianus Ἰμερίῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ according to
Hertlein, Ἡμερίῳ κ.τ.λ. Cumont. *Parisinus*, Hertlein Ἀμερίῳ.

¹ George had perhaps in his letter referred to the longing
of Odysseus to see even the smoke of his native land, and
had compared his friend's letters to that smoke.

TO HIMERIUS

was, was able to dazzle the Phaeacians. But if even from me you require some of what you call "friendly smoke,"¹ I shall not begrudge it. Surely the mouse who saved the lion in the fable² is proof enough that something useful may come even from one's inferiors.

68

To Dositheus³

I AM almost in tears—and yet the very utterance of your name ought to have been an auspicious sound,—for I recall to mind our noble and wholly admirable father.⁴ If you make it your aim to imitate him, not only will you yourself be happy but also you will give to human life, as he did, an example of which it will be proud. But if you are indolent you will grieve me, and you will blame yourself when blaming will not avail.

69

To Himerius⁵

I COULD not read without tears the letter which you wrote after your wife's death, in which you told me of your surpassing grief. For not only does the

² Babrius, *Fable* 107 ; Aesop, *Fable* 256.

³ Otherwise unknown.

⁴ If the MS. reading is retained, Julian must be referring to someone who had taught them both. This was a regular usage and the teacher of one's own teacher could be referred to as "grandfather."

⁵ Of Hertlein's "Amerius" we know nothing. See Introduction, under Himerius.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ λύπης τὸ ξυμβὰν ἄξιον εἶναι, γυναιῖκα νέαν καὶ σώφρονα καὶ θυμήρη τῷ γήμαντι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ παίδων ἱερῶν¹ μητέρα, πρὸ
- B** ὥρας ἀναρπασθῆναι καθάπερ δᾶδα λαμπρῶς ἡμμένην, εἴτα ἐν ὀλίγῳ καταβαλοῦσαν τὴν φλόγα, ἔτι καὶ τὸ τὰ τοῦ πάθους εἰς σὲ τείνειν οὐχ ἡττόν μοι δοκεῖ λυπηρὸν εἶναι. ἥκιστα γὰρ δὴ πάντων ἄξιος ἦν ὁ καλὸς ἡμῖν Ἰμέριος² ἀλγεινοῦ τινὸς εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀνὴρ καὶ λόγῳ χρηστὸς καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τῶν φίλων ὁ ποθεινότατος. οὐ
- C** μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἕτερος ἦν, ᾧ γράφειν περὶ τούτων ἐχρῆν, πάντως ἂν ἔδει μοι πλειόνων εἰς τοῦτο λόγων, τό τε συμβὰν ὡς ἀνθρώπινον καὶ τὸ φέρειν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀλγεῖν ἔχειν πλεον, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐδόκει πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πάθους παραμυθίαν ἀρμόττειν ὡς ἀγνοοῦντα διδάσκοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰσχροὺς ἡγοῦμαι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νουθετεῖν εἰδότα ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, οἷς χρὴ τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας σωφρονεῖν παιδεύειν, φέρε
- D** σοι τὰ ἄλλα παρὲς ἀνδρὸς εἴτ' εἴπω σοφοῦ μῦθον εἴτε δὴ λόγον ἀληθῆ, σοὶ μὲν ἴσως οὐ ξένον, τοῖς πλείοσι δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἄγνωστον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ χρησάμενος ὥσπερ φαρμάκῳ νηπενθεῖ λύσιν ἂν εὖροις τοῦ πάθους οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς κύλικος, ἣν ἡ Λάκαινα τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ πρὸς τὸ ἴσον τῆς χρείας ὀρέξαι πι-

¹ νεαρῶν Thomas suggests, but ἱερὸς is Julianic in the sense of "precious."

² Ἀμέριος, *Parisinus* 2755.

TO HIMERIUS

event in itself call for sorrow, when a young and virtuous wife, the joy of her husband's heart,¹ and moreover the mother of precious children, is prematurely snatched away like a torch that has been kindled and shines brightly, and in a little while its flame dies down, but over and above this, the fact that it is you to whom this sorrow has come seems to me to make it still more grievous. For least of all men did our good Himerius deserve to experience any affliction, excellent orator that he is, and of all my friends the best beloved. Moreover, if it were any other man to whom I had to write about this, I should certainly have had to use more words in dealing with it; for instance, I should have said that such an event is the common lot, that we must needs submit, that nothing is gained by excessive grief, and I should have uttered all the other commonplaces considered appropriate for the alleviation of suffering, that is if I were exhorting one who did not know them. But since I think it unbecoming to offer to a man who well knows how to instruct others the sort of argument by which one must school those who are too ignorant for self-control, see now, I will forbear all such phrases; but I will relate to you a fable, or it may be a true story, of a certain wise man, which perhaps is not new to you, though it is probably unfamiliar to most people; and if you will use this and this alone, as though it were a drug to relieve pain, you will find release from your sorrow, as surely as from that cup which the Spartan woman² is believed to have offered to Telemachus when his need was as

¹ An echo of *Iliad* 9. 336 *ἔλοχον θυμαρέα*.

² Helen, *Odyssey* 4. 220, a rhetorical commonplace; cf. Vol. 2, *Orations* 8. 240B, p. 167, note.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

- 413 στεύεται. φασὶ γὰρ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην, ἐπειδὴ Δαρεῖφ γυναικὸς καλῆς ἀλγοῦντι θάνατον οὐκ εἶχεν ὃ τι ἂν εἰπὼν εἰς παραμυθίαν ἀρκέσειεν, ὑποσχέσθαι οἱ τὴν ἀπελθοῦσαν εἰς φῶς ἀνάξειν, ἣν ἐβελήσῃ τῶν εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡκόντων ὑποστήναι τὴν χορηγίαν. κελεύσαντος δ' ἐκείνου μηδενὸς φείσασθαι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐξῇ λαβόντα τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
- B ἐμπεδῶσαι, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα χρόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἔργου πρᾶξιν συμπορισθείη, μόνου δὲ ἑνὸς προσδέοιτο, ὃ δὴ αὐτὸν μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν ὅπως ἂν λάβοι, Δαρεῖον δὲ ὡς βασιλέα ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν ἴσως εὔρειν. ἐρομένου δ' ἐκείνου, τί ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον ὃ μόνῳ βασιλεῖ γνωσθῆναι συγχωρεῖται, ὑπολαβόντα φασὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον εἰπεῖν, εἰ τριῶν ἀπενθήτων ὀνόματα τῷ τάφῳ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιγράψειεν, εὐθὺς αὐτὴν ἀναβιώσεσθαι τῷ τῆς τελετῆς
- C νόμῳ δυσωπουμένην. ἀπορήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ μηδένα ἄρα δυνηθέντος εὔρειν ὅτῳ μὴ καὶ παθεῖν λυπηρόν τι συνηνέχθη, γελάσαντα συνήθως τὸν Δημόκριτον εἰπεῖν “Τί οὖν, ὦ πάντων ἀτοπώτατε, θρηνεῖς ἀνέδην ὡς μόνος ἀλγεινῷ τοσοῦτῳ συμπλακεῖς, ὃ μηδὲ ἓνα τῶν πώποτε γεγονότων ἄμοιρον οἰκείου πάθους ἔχων εὔρειν.” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀκούειν ἔδει Δαρεῖον, ἄνδρα βάρβαρον

¹ The Atomistic philosopher, cf. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* 2. 16. 41. This is a traditional anecdote, told of Herodes Atticus and Demonax by Lucian, *Demonax* 25, and only here of Darius and Democritus.

TO HIMERIUS

great as your own. Now the story is that when Darius was in great grief for the death of a beautiful wife, Democritus¹ of Abdera could not by any argument succeed in consoling him; and so he promised him that he would bring back the departed to life, if Darius were willing to undertake to supply him with everything necessary for the purpose. Darius bade him spare no expense but take whatever he needed and make good his promise. After waiting a little, Democritus said that he was provided with everything else for carrying out his task, but still needed one thing only, which he himself did not know how to obtain; Darius, however, as King of all Asia, would perhaps find it without difficulty. And when the King asked him what it might be, this great thing which it was possible for only a king to know of, they say that Democritus in reply declared that if he would inscribe on his wife's tomb the names of three persons who had never mourned for anyone, she would straightway come to life again, since she could not disobey the authority of this mystic rite. Then Darius was in a dilemma, and could not find any man who had not had to bear some great sorrow, whereupon Democritus burst out laughing,² as was his wont, and said: "Why, then, O most absurd of men, do you mourn without ceasing, as though you were the only man who had ever been involved in so great a grief, you who cannot discover a single person of all who have ever lived who was without his share of personal sorrow?" But though it was necessary to say these things to Darius, a barbarian and a man of no education, the slave

¹ Democritus was known as "the laughing Philosopher" cf. *Oration* 6. 186c, Vol. 2, p. 20, Wright.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ἔκδοτον ἡδονῇ καὶ πάθει· σὲ δέ, ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα καὶ παιδείαν ἀληθῆ πρεσβεύοντα, καὶ παρὰ σαυτοῦ τὸ ἄκος ἐχρῆν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως αἰσχύνῃ τῷ λογισμῷ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ ταῦτόν σθένει τῷ χρόνῳ.

70

Διογένει¹

Διογένης ὁ σὸς υἱὸς ὀφθείς μοι μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν σὴν καὶ φήσας ὠργίσθαι σέ τι πρὸς αὐτόν, οἶον ἂν πατήρ πρὸς παῖδα χαλεπήνειεν, ἐδεήθη μέσον με τῶν πρὸς αὐτόν καταλλαγῶν παρὰ σοὶ γενέσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν μέτρια καὶ οἷα δύνασθαι φέρειν ἤμαρτεν, εἶξον τῇ φύσει καὶ τὸ πατήρ εἶναι γνούς ἐπάνελθε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα τῇ γνώμῃ· εἰ δέ τι μείζον ἔπταικεν ἢ οἶον πρὸς συγγνώμην ἐλθεῖν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴης δικαιότερος κριτής, εἴτε δεῖ καὶ τοῦτο γενναίως ἐνεγκόντα νικῆσαι τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν βουλήν γνώμῃ κρείττονι, εἴτε καὶ πλείονος χρόνου σωφρονισμῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πταισθέντι βάσανον πιστεῦσαι.

71

Γρηγορίῳ ἡγεμόνι²

402 Ἐμοὶ καὶ γράμμα παρὰ σοῦ μικρὸν ἀρκεῖ μεγά-
C λης ἡδονῆς πρόφασιν μνηστεύσαι. καὶ τοίνυν,

¹ Hertlein 70.

² Hertlein 28.

¹ Diogenes is otherwise unknown. Schwarz places this letter between January and June 362, when Julian was at Constantinople. The tone seems to imply that he was already

TO COMMANDER GREGORY

both of pleasure and of grief, you, on the other hand, are a Greek, and honour true learning, and you must find your remedy from within; for surely it would be a disgrace to the reasoning faculty if it had not the same potency as time.

70

To Diogenes ¹

YOUR son Diogenes, whom I saw after you went away, told me that you had been much irritated with him for some reason that would naturally make a father feel vexed with his child, and he implored me to act as mediator in a reconciliation between him and yourself. Now, if he has committed some error of a mild and not intolerable kind, do you yield to nature, recognise that you are a father, and again turn your thoughts to your child. But if his offence is too serious to admit of immediate forgiveness, it is right for you yourself rather than for me to decide whether you ought to bear even that with a generous spirit and overcome your son's purpose by wiser thoughts, or to entrust the offender's probation to a longer period of discipline.

71

To Commander Gregory ²

EVEN a short letter from you is enough to provide me with grounds for feeling greatly pleased. Ac-

Emperor, but the note is purely conventional, a "type" of the letter of intervention.

² A Gregorius Dux was pretorian prefect in 336, according to *Codex Theodosianus* 3. 1. 2, but this purely formal letter of the type that survived in epistolary handbooks is probably addressed to a younger man.

THE LETTERS OF JULIAN

οἷς ἔγραψας ἄγαν ἡσθεῖς, ἀντιδίδωμι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἴσην, οὐ τῷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν μήκει μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς εὐνοίας μεγέθει τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων φιλίας ἐκτίνεσθαι δεῖν κρίνων.

72

429

B

Πλουτάρχῳ¹

Πάντων μὲν ἔνεκά μοι τὸ σῶμα διάκειται μετρίως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἔχει καλῶς. οἶμαι δ' ἐγὼ τούτου προοίμιον εἶναι μηδὲν κρεῖττον ἐπιστολῇ φίλῳ παρὰ φίλου πεμπομένη. τίνος οὖν ἐστι τὸ προοίμιον ; αἰτήσεως, οἶμαι. τίς δὲ ἡ αἴτησις ; ἐπιστολῶν ἀμοιβαίων, ἃς εἶη γε καὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὁμολογῆσαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς, αἴσια παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτά πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξαγγελλούσας.

73

Μαξιμίνῳ²

Ναῦς ἐπέταξα γενέσθαι περὶ τὰς Κεγχρέας· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅσας ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγούμενος φράσει, τὸ δὲ ὅπως χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄκουε παρ' ἡμῶν· ἀδωροδοκῆτως καὶ ταχέως. ὅπως δὲ μὴ μεταμελήσει σοι τῆς τοιαύτης ὑπουργίας, αὐτὸς σὺν θεοῖς ἐπιμελήσομαι.

¹ Hertlein 48, Ζήνωνι, *To Zeno*; I follow Cumont in rejecting this title, which does not appear in any MS. and was introduced by Heyler, who derived it from the Paris edition 1605. Πλουτάρχῳ is the title in the Papadopoulos (Chalce) MSS. ² Papadopoulos 5*.

¹ This may be the obscure Athenian philosopher, a contemporary of Julian; cf. Marinus, *Proclus* 12,

TO MAXIMINUS

cordingly, since I was exceedingly pleased with what you wrote to me, I in turn send you a letter of the same length, because in my judgement the friendly greetings of comrades ought to be rewarded not by length of letter so much as by magnitude of goodwill.

72

To Plutarch¹

IN all respects my bodily health is fairly good, and indeed my state of mind is no less satisfactory. I fancy there can be no better prelude than this to a letter sent from one friend to another. And to what is this the prelude? To a request, of course! And what is the request? It is for letters in return, and in their sentiments may they harmonise with my own letters and bring me similar news from you, and equally auspicious.

73

To Maximinus²

I HAVE given orders that there shall be ships at Cenchreae.³ The number of these you will learn from the governor of the Hellenes,⁴ but as to how you are to discharge your commission you may now hear from me. It must be without bribery and without delay. I will myself, with the help of the gods, see that you do not repent of having done your duty as I have indicated.

² Nothing is known of Maximinus or the circumstances; if the letter is genuine, as is probable, it may refer to Julian's preparations for his march against Constantius in 361.

³ A coast town S.W. of the Isthmus of Corinth.

⁴ *i.e.* the proconsul of Achaia who resided at Corinth.

Ιαμβλίχῳ¹

- 420 Ἐχρῆν μὲν ἡμᾶς τῷ γράμματι πειθομένους τῷ
 B Δελφικῷ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν ἀνδρὸς
 ἀκοῆς τοσούτου καταθαρρεῖν, ᾧ καὶ ὀφθέντι μόνον
 ἀντιβλέψαι δυσχερές, ἥ που τὴν πάνσοφον ἰρμο-
 νίαν κινοῦντι πρὸς τὸ ἴσον ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πανὶ
 C μέλος λιγυρὸν ἤχουντι πᾶς ὅστις ἐκσταίῃ, καὶ
 Ἀρισταῖος ἦ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι πρὸς κιθάραν ψάλ-
 λοντι πᾶς ὅστις ἡρεμοίῃ, καὶ τὴν Ὀρφέως μου-
 σικὴν εἰδῇ. τὸ γὰρ ἦττον τῷ κρείττονι, καθ' ὅσον
 ἦττόν ἐστιν, εἵκοι ἂν δικαίως, εἰ μέλλοι τό τε
 οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸ μὴ τί ἐστι γιγνώσκειν. ὅστις δ'
 ἐνθέῳ μουσικῇ θνητὸν ἀνθαρμόσαι μέλος ἤλπισεν,
 οὐκ ἔμαθέ πού τὸ Μαρσύου τοῦ Φρυγὸς πάθος,
 οὐδὲ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐκείνῳ ποταμόν, ὃς μανέντος
 D αὐλητοῦ τιμωρίαν μαρτυρεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν Θαμύ-
 ριδος τοῦ Θρακὸς τελευτὴν ἤκουσεν, ὃς ταῖς
 Μούσαις οὐκ εὐτυχῶς ἀντεφθέγγετο. τί γὰρ δεῖ
 τὰς Σειρήνας λέγειν, ὧν ἔτι τὸ πτερόν ἐπὶ τοῦ

¹ Hertlein 41, τῷ αὐτῷ, as his *Letter* 40 is to Iamblichus.

¹ *Letters* 74-83, with the possible exception of 81, are certainly not by Julian.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS¹

74

To Iamblichus

I OUGHT indeed to have obeyed the Delphic inscription "Know Thyself," and not have ventured to affront the ears of so great a man as yourself; for only to look you in the face, when one meets your eye, is no easy matter, and it is much less easy to try to rival you when you wake the harmony of your unfailing wisdom, seeing that if Pan roused the echoes with his shrill song everyone would yield him place, yes, even though it were Aristaeus² himself, and when Apollo played the lyre everyone would keep silence, even though he knew the music of Orpheus. For it is right that the inferior, in so far as it is inferior, should yield to the superior, that is if it is to know what is appropriate to itself and what is not. But he who has conceived the hope of matching his mortal song with inspired music has surely never heard of the sad fate of Marsyas the Phrygian, or of the river which is named after him and bears witness to the punishment of that insane flute-player, nor has he heard of the end of Thamyris, the Thracian who, in an evil hour, strove in song against the Muses. Need I mention the Sirens, whose feathers the victorious Muses still wear on

² For Aristaeus see Vergil, *Georgics* 4; he is a vegetation deity not usually associated with music.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- μετώπου φέρουσιν αἱ νικήσασαι; ἀλλ' ἐκείνων
 μὲν ἕκαστος ἀμούσου τόλμης ἀρκούσαν ἔτι καὶ
 νῦν ἐκτίνει τῇ μνήμῃ δίκην, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἔδει μὲν, ὡς
 ἔφην, εἴσω τῶν οἰκείων ὄρων ἐστάναι καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ
 421 σοῦ μουσικῆς ἐμπορουμένους ἡρεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ
 τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος μαντείαν ἐξ ἀδύτων ἱερῶν προϊ-
 οῦσαν ἡσυχῇ δέχονται· ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἡμῖν τοῦ
 μέλους τὸ ἐνδόσιμον μνηστεύεις καὶ οἶον Ἑρμοῦ
 ῥάβδῳ τῷ παρὰ σαυτοῦ λόγῳ κινεῖς καὶ διεγείρεις
 καθεύδοντας, φέρε σοι, καθάπερ οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ
 τὸν θύρσον κρούσαντι πρὸς τὴν χορείαν ἄνετοι
 φέρονται, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῷ σῷ πλήκτρῳ τὸ
 B εἰκὸς ἀντηχήσωμεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῷ χοροστάτῃ πρὸς
 τὸ ἀνάκλημα τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ συνομαρτοῦντες. καὶ
 πρῶτόν σοι τῶν λόγων, οὓς βασιλεῖ κελεύσαντι
 πρὸς τὴν αἰίδιμον τοῦ πορθμοῦ¹ ζεύξιν ἑναγχος
 ἐξειργασάμεθα, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτό ἐστὶ σοι δοκοῦν,
 ἀπαρξώμεθα, μικρὰ μὲν ἀντὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῷ ὄντι
 χαλκᾷ χρυσῶν ἀντιδιδόντες, οἷς δὲ ἔχομεν ξενίοις
 τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἡμέτερον ἐστιῶντες. πάντως οὐδὲ
 C τῆς Ἑκάλης ὁ Θησεὺς τοῦ δείπνου τὸ λιτὸν ἀπη-
 ξίωσεν, ἀλλ' ἥδει καὶ μικροῖς ἐς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἀρκεῖσθαι. ὁ Πὰν δὲ ὁ νόμιος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ
 βουκόλου τὴν σύριγγα προσαρμόσαι τοῖς χείλεσιν

¹ Cumont would read ποταμοῦ.

¹ The Muses, having defeated the Sirens in a singing competition, tore out their feathers and wore them as a symbol of victory.

² Geffcken tries to connect this passage with the order of Constantius to Julian to send his troops across the Bosphorus en route to Persia. Cumont's reading ποταμοῦ "of the river" supposes that Constantine's bridge over the Danube in 328 is

TO IAMBLICHUS

their brows?¹ But each one of those that I have named is still even now paying in the tradition the fitting penalty for his boorishness and temerity, and I, as I said, ought to have stayed within my own boundaries and held my peace while I enjoyed my fill of the music uttered by you, like those who receive in silence the oracle of Apollo when it issues from the sacred shrine. But since you yourself furnish me with the keynote of my song, and by your words, as though with the wand of Hermes, arouse and wake me from sleep, lo now, even as when Dionysus strikes his thyrsus his followers rush riotous to the dance, so let me too in response to your plectron make answering music, like those who accompany the choirmaster, keeping time to the call of the rhythm. And in the first place let me make a first-offering to you, since this is your pleasure, of the speeches which I recently composed at the Emperor's command in honour of the glorious bridging of the strait,² though what I offer you is returning small for great and in very truth bronze for gold³; yet I am entertaining our Hermes with such fare as I have. Surely Theseus did not disdain the plain meal that Hecale⁴ provided, but knew how to content himself with humble fare when the need arose. Nor was Pan, the god of shepherds, too proud to set to his lips the pipe of the boy neat-herd.⁵ Then do you also in your

meant; cf. Aurelius Victor 41. 18, pons per Danubium ductus. In my opinion the sophist who wrote this letter had composed speeches on the stock theme of Xerxes and the Hellespont.

³ See p. 218.

⁴ The tale is told in the brief epic of Callimachus, the *Hecale*, of which we have fragments; also in Plutarch, *Theseus*.

⁵ Theocritus 1. 128.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

οὐκ ἡτίμασε. προσοῦ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν λόγον
 εὐμενεῖ νεύματι, καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσης ὀλίγῳ μέλει
 μεγάλην ἀκοὴν ἐνδοῦναι. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἔχη τι
 δεξιόν, αὐτὸς τε ὁ λόγος εὐτυχεῖ καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς
 αὐτοῦ τῆς παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ψήφου τὴν μαρτυρίαν
 D προσλαβών. εἰ δ' ἔτι χειρὸς ἐντελοῦς εἰς τὸ τοῦ
 ὅλου πλήρωμα προσδεῖται, μὴ ἀπαξιώσης αὐτὸς
 τὸ ἐνδέον προσθεῖναι. ἤδη που καὶ ἀνδρὶ τοξότῃ
 κληθεὶς ὁ θεὸς παρέστη καὶ συνεφήψατο τοῦ
 βέλους, καὶ κιθαρῳδῶ τὸν ὄρθιον ᾄδοντι πρὸς τὸ
 ἐλλείπον τῆς χορδῆς ὑπὸ τῷ τέττιγι τὸ ἴσον ὁ
 Πύθιος ἀντεφθέγγετο.

75

438

τῷ αὐτῷ¹

D

439

ὦ Ζεῦ, πῶς ἔχει καλῶς ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ δι-
 ἄγειν μέση καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα σιροῖς ἐγχειμάζειν,
 παρ' Ἰαμβλίχου δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ καθάπερ ἐφ' οὗ τινὸς
 ἔαρος ἡμῖν τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀντὶ χειλιδόνων πέμπε-
 σθαι, καὶ μήτε ἡμῖν εἶναι μηδέπω παρ' αὐτὸν
 ἐλθεῖν μήτ' αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἤκειν ἐξεῖναι²; τίς ἂν
 ἐκὼν εἶναι ταῦτα δέξαιτο, εἰ μὴ Θράξ τις ἢ καὶ
 Τηρέως ἀντάξιος;

Ζεῦ ἄνα, ἀλλὰ σὺ ρύσαι ἀπὸ Θρήκηθεν
 Ἀχαιοῦς·

ποίησον δ' αἴθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδέσθαι

¹ Hertlein 53, entitled Ἰαμβλίχῳ φιλοσόφῳ.

² ἤκειν ἐξεῖναι MSS., Horkel would delete; Hertlein ἤκειν
 or delete.

TO IAMBLICHUS

turn accept my discourse in a gracious spirit and do not refuse to lend your mighty ear to my humble strain. But if it has any cleverness at all, then not only is my discourse itself fortunate but so too is its author, in that he has obtained the testimony of Athene's vote.¹ And if it still needs a finishing touch to complete it as a whole, do not refuse to add to it yourself what it needs. Before now the god in answer to prayer has stood by the side of a bowman and set his hand to the arrow, and again, when a bard was playing the cithara and singing a high and stirring strain, the Pythian god, when the string failed, assumed the guise of a cicada and uttered a note of the same tone.

75

To the Same

O ZEUS, how can it be right that I should spend my time in the middle of Thrace and winter in the grain-pits² here, while from charming Iamblichus, as though from a sort of spring in the East, letters come to me like swallows and I cannot yet go to him nor can he come to me? Who would be willing to put up with this unless he were some Thracian and as bad as Tereus?³

“Lord Zeus do thou rescue the Achaeans from Thrace and make clear weather and grant us to see

¹ The *suffragium Minervae*; the proverb is derived from Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, where Athene, by breaking a tie vote, saved Orestes.

² The phrase is borrowed from Demosthenes, *On the Chersonese* 45.

³ Tereus was king of Thrace.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- B ποτὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὰ τε ἀνάκτορα
αὐτοῦ προσειπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἔδουσι ἐμφῦναι, καθάπερ
τὸν Οδυσσεά φασίν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης τὴν Ἰθάκην
εἶδεν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν οἱ Φαίακες ἔτι καθεύδοντα
ὥσπερ τι φορτίον ἐκθέμενοι τῆς νεῶς ὥχοντο·
ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδὲ ὕπνος αἰρεῖ, μέχρῃς ἂν σέ, τὸ μέγα
τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄφελος, ἰδεῖν ἐγγένηται. καίτοι
- C σὺ μὲν τὴν ἐφ' ἅν ὅλην ἐμέ τε καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον
Σώπατρον εἰς τὴν Θράκην μετεινηοχέαι προσπαί-
ξεις· ἡμῖν δέ, εἰ χρὴ τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἕως ἂν Ἰάμ-
βλιχος μὴ παρῇ, Κιμμερίων ἀχλὺς συνοικεῖ.
καὶ σὺ μὲν δυοῖν θάτερον αἰτεῖς, ἢ ἡμᾶς παρὰ
σέ ἥκειν ἢ αὐτόν σε παρ' ἡμᾶς. ἡμῖν δὲ
- D τὸ μὲν ἕτερον εὐκταῖόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ σύμφορον,
αὐτοὺς ἐπανελθεῖν ὥς σέ καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοὶ
καλῶν ἀπολαῦσαι· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον εὐχῆς μὲν ἀπάσης
κρεῖττον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀδύνατόν σοί γε καὶ ἀξύμφορόν
ἐστι, σὺ μὲν οἴκοι μένειν καὶ χαίρειν καὶ τὴν ἡσυ-
χίαν ἣν ἔχεις σώζειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὅ,τι ἂν θεὸς διδῶ
γενναίως οἴσομεν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν εἶναί φασι
- 440 τὸ μὲν εὐελπι κεκτηῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν,
ἔπεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τοῦ δαίμονος.

76

448

Τῷ αὐτῷ¹

D

Ἰκανὴν ὁμολογῶ τῆς σῆς ἀπολείψεως ἐκτετι-
κέναι δίκην οὐ μόνον οἷς παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν

¹ Hertlein 61.

¹ Julian paraphrases *Iliad* 17. 645.

TO IAMBLICHUS

with our eyes”¹ our own Hermes some day, and salute his shrine and embrace his statue as they tell us Odysseus did when after his wandering he beheld Ithaca.² Nay, but he was still asleep when the Phaeacians unloaded him from their ship like a piece of freight and went their way; but as for me sleep can never lay hold on me till it be my lot to see you that are the benefactor of the whole world. And yet you say in jest that I and my friend Sopater have transported the whole East into Thrace. Yet, if I must speak the truth, Cimmerian gloom abides with me so long as Iamblichus is not here. And you demand one of two things, that I should go to you or that you yourself should come to me. To my mind one of these alternatives is both desirable and expedient, I mean that I should go to you and benefit by the blessings that you bestow, while the other surpasses all my prayers. But since this is impossible for you and inexpedient, do you remain at home and prosper and preserve the tranquillity that you enjoy, while I will endure with a brave spirit whatever God may send.³ For we are told that it is the proof of a good man to keep hoping for the best, to do his duty and follow his fate and the will of God.

76

To the Same

I CONFESS that I had paid a full and sufficient penalty for leaving you, not only in the annoyances

² *Odyssey* 13. 354.

³ Cf. *Oration* 8. 243D for the same phrase, derived from Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 97.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- 419 συνηνέχθην ἄνιανοῖς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ πλέον, ὅτι σου τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀπελείφθην χρόνον, καίτοι πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις πανταχοῦ χρησάμενος τύχαις, ὡς μηδὲν ἀπείρατον καταλιπεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέμων θορύβους καὶ πολιορκίας ἀνάγκην καὶ φυγῆς πλάνην καὶ φόβους παντοίους, ἔτι δὲ χειμῶνων ὑπερβολὰς καὶ νόσων κινδύνους καὶ τὰς ἐκ Παννονίας τῆς ἄνω μέχρι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Καλχηδόνιον πορθμὸν διάπλου μυρίας δὴ καὶ πολυ-
- B τρόπους συμφορὰς ὑπομείνας οὐδὲν οὕτω λυπηρὸν οὐδὲ δυσχερὲς ἐμαυτῷ συμβεβηκέναι φαῖν ἂν ὡς ὅτι σὲ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τὴν ἐφάν ἀπολιπὼν οὐκ εἶδον· ὥστ' εἶπερ ἀχλὺν τινα τοῖς ἑμοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νέφος πολὺν περικεῖσθαι λέγοιμι, μὴ θαυμάσης. τότε γὰρ δὴ με καὶ ἤρ' εὐδῖος καὶ φέγγος ἡλίου λαμπρότατον καὶ οἶον ἔαρ ἀληθῶς τοῦ βίου περιέξει κάλλιστον,
- C ὅταν σὲ τὸ μέγα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγαλμα περιπτύξωμαι καὶ, καθάπερ ἀγαθῷ πατρὶ παῖς γνήσιος ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς ἢ διαποντίου κλύδωνος ἀνελπίστως ὀφθῆις, εἶτα ὅσα ἔπαθον καὶ δι' ὅσων ἤλθον κινδύνων εἰπὼν καὶ οἶον ἐπ' ἀγκύρας ἱερᾶς ὀρμιζόμενος ἀρκοῦσαν ἤδη παραψυχὴν τῶν ἀλγεινῶν εὐρωμαι. παραμυθεῖται γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἐπικουφίζει τὰς συμφοράς, ὅταν τις ἂν πέπονθεν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους
- D ἔκφορα καθιστὰς διανείμῃ τοῦ πάθους τὴν γνῶσιν ἐν¹ τῇ κοινωσίᾳ τοῦ λόγου. τέως γε μὴν οἷς ἔχω²

¹ Hertlein would delete ἐν, but see 449D, p. 246.

² Brambs would insert πτέροις after ἔχω; cf. *Letter* 60. 386c.

¹ The reference is probably to Constantine's march in 323 from Pannonia to Nicomedia by way of the Dardanelles.

TO IAMBLICHUS

that I encountered on my journey, but far more in the very fact that I have been away from you for so long, though I have indeed endured so many and various fortunes everywhere, that I have left nothing untried. But though I have undergone the alarms of war, the rigour of a siege, the wandering of exile and all sorts of terrors, and moreover the extreme cold of winter, the dangers of disease and countless mischances of many kinds in my journey from Upper Pannonia till I crossed the Chalcedonian straits,¹ I may say that nothing so painful or so distressing has happened to me as the fact that after I left the East I have not, for so long a time, seen you, the universal blessing of the Hellenes. So do not be surprised if I say that a sort of mist and thick cloud overshadows my eyes. For only then will a clear atmosphere and the brilliant light of the sun, and, so to speak, the fairest and truest springtime of my life, encompass me when I can embrace you, the delight and glory of the whole world, and, like the true son of a noble father who when hope is given up is seen returning from war, it may be, or from the stormy billows of the sea,² can proceed to recount to you all that I have suffered and what dangers I have been through, and as I, so to speak, ride safely on a sacred anchor,³ can find at last a sufficient consolation for my misfortunes. For naturally it is a consolation and lightens the weight of sorrow when one unburdens one's experiences to others and shares with them the knowledge of one's sufferings in the intercourse of speech. Meanwhile, however, with what means I have I will,

¹ For a similar idea cf. Julian, *To the Athenians*, Vol. 2, Wright, 285c, p. 285.

² Cf. *ancoram sacram* (or *ultimam*) *solvere*, a proverb implying the use of what has been kept in reserve.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

σε κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν μέτειμι· καὶ γὰρ οὐ παύσομαι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀπολείψεως χρόνον ἐν τῷ τῶν γραμμάτων θεραπεύων συνθήματι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀντιτύχοιμι παρὰ σοῦ τῶν ἴσων, ὑφήσω τί καὶ μικρόν, οἶον ἀντὶ σωτηρίου τινὸς συμβόλου¹ τοῖς σοῖς ὁμιλῶν γράμμασι. σὺ δὲ δέχοιο μὲν εὐμενῶς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, παρέχοις δὲ καὶ σεαυτὸν εἰς ἀμοιβὴν εὐμενεστέρον, ὡς ὃ τι ἅν σῆμῆνης καλὸν ἢ γράψῃς, τοῦτο ἀντὶ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ λογίου φωνῆς ἢ τῆς Ἀσκληπιοῦ χειρὸς παρ' ἡμῶν κρίνεται.

77

446

Τῷ αὐτῷ²

C

Ἦλθες κάλ' ἐποίησας· ἦλθες γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸν οἷς γράφεις· “ἐγὼ δέ σε μαόμαν, ἂν δ' ἔφλεξας ἐμὰν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ.”³ οὐκ οὐν οὔτε ἀρνοῦμαι τὸ φίλτρον οὔτε ἀπολείπω σε κατ' οὐδέν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς παρόντα τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶ καὶ ἀπόντι

D

σύνειμι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἱκανόν ἐστὶ μοι πρὸς κόρον ἀρκέσαι. καίτοι σύ γε οὐκ ἀνίης καὶ παρόντας εὖ ποιῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπόντας οὐκ εὐφραίνων μόνον οἷς γράφεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζων. ὅτε γοῦν ἀπήγ-

¹ Hertlein, following Reiske, συμβούλου but the reading of the MSS., συμβόλου echoes συνθήματι above and should be retained.

² Hertlein 60, with title Ἰαμβλίχῳ.

³ Reiske first recognized this quotation from Sappho not found elsewhere: MSS., Hertlein καὶ ἐποίησας—ἐγὼ δέ σε μὰ ἐμὰν ἂν δὲ φύλαξας; Reiske ἐγὼ δέ σ' ἐματεύμαν (for ἐματεύομην), τὸ δ' ἐψάλαξας ἐμὰν φρένα; Wesseling ἂν δ' ἐφλεξας; Spanheim ἐμὰν ἂν δ' ἐφύλαξας; Petavius ἐμαν ἂν δὲ

TO IAMBLICHUS

so far as I can approach you ; and indeed I shall not cease, for the whole period of our separation, to conciliate you with letters by way of a token. And if I only receive the like from you, I shall be somewhat more submissive and shall hold converse with your letters, regarding them as a sort of symbol that you are safe and well. Do you, then, graciously accept what arrives from me, and show yourself still more gracious in making requital, since every noble utterance of yours, every written word, is reckoned by me as equivalent to the voice of Hermes the god of eloquence, or to the hand of Asclepius.¹

77

To the Same

“THOU hast come! well hast thou done!” You have indeed come, even though absent, by means of your letter—“And I was yearning for thee, and thou didst set ablaze my heart, already aflame with longing for thee.”² Nay, I neither refuse the love-philtre nor do I ever leave you at all, but with my soul I behold you as though you were present, and am with you when absent, and nothing is enough to quench my insatiate desire. Moreover, you also never slacken, but without ceasing you benefit those who are present with you and by your letters not only cheer but even heal those who are absent. At

¹ See *Letter* 79. 406D.

² The quotations are from an ode of Sappho and perhaps run through the whole letter ; see critical note.

φύλαξας. I give the version of Bidez. For ἐφλεξας Wilamowitz ἐφλυξας, cf. Isyllus 120 ; ἀν δ' ἐψυξας Thomas.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- γείλέ μοί τις ἔναγχος, ὥς παρὰ σοῦ γράμματα κομίσας ἐταῖρος ἦκοι, ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἐν ἀηδία τοῦ στομάχου τριταῖος ἤδη καθεστὼς καὶ τι καὶ περιαλγῶς ἔχων τοῦ σώματος, ὥς μηδὲ ἔξω
- 447 πυρετοῦ μεῖναι· σημανθὲν δέ, ὥς ἔφην, ὅτι μοι πρὸς ταῖς θύραις ὁ τὰ γράμματα ἔχων εἶη, ἐγὼ μὲν ὥσπερ τις ἀκρατὴς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κάτοχος ἀναπηδήσας ἤξα πρὶν ὅ τι δέοι παρεῖναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβον εἰς χεῖρας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μόνον, ὁμνῶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ σοί με ἀνάψαντα πόθον, ὥς ἅμα τε ἔφυνγον οἱ πόνοι καὶ με καὶ ὁ πυρετὸς ἀνῆκεν εὐθύς, ὥσπερ τινὶ τοῦ
- B σωτήρος ἐναργεῖ παρουσίᾳ δυσωπούμενος. ὥς δὲ καὶ λύσας ἀνέγνων, τίνα με ἡγῇ ψυχὴν ἐσχηκέναι τότε ἢ πόσης ἡδονῆς ἀνάπλεων γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν φίλτατον, ὥς φῆς, ἀνέμων, τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἀληθῶς, τὸν διάκονον τῶν καλῶν ὑπερεπαινοῦντά τε καὶ φιλοῦντα δικαίως, ὅτι μοι τῶν παρὰ σοῦ γραμμάτων ὑπέρετης γέγονεν, οἶονε¹ πτηνοῦ δίκην ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διευθύνας οὐρίῳ τε καὶ πομπίμῳ πνεύματι, δι' ἧς οὐ μόνον ὑπῆρξεν
- C ἡσθῆναί μοι τὰ εἰκότα περὶ σοῦ γνόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ κάμνοντι παρὰ σοῦ σωθῆναι; τὰ γε μὴν ἄλλα πῶς ἂν πρῶτον² πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔπαθον εἶποιμ' ἂν, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀρκοῦντως ἑμαυτοῦ τὸν ἔρωτα καταμηνύσαιμι; ποσάκις ἀνέδραμον εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐκ μέσου; ποσάκις ἔδεισα μὴ πληρώσας λάθω; ποσάκις ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ τινὶ καὶ

¹ Hertlein following Hercher would delete οἶονε¹, but it occurs with δίκην too often to be an oversight; see p 218, note.

² For ἂν πρῶτον Hertlein suggests ἄπερ, Hercher would delete πρῶτον.

TO IAMBLICHUS

any rate, when someone not long ago gave me the news that a friend had come and brought letters from you, it happened that for three days I had been suffering from a disorder of the stomach, and in fact I was in acute physical pain, so that I was not even free from fever. But, as I said, when I was told that the person who had the letters was at my door I jumped up like one possessed, who has lost control of himself, and rushed out before what I wanted could arrive. And the moment that I merely took the letter in my hands, I swear by the very gods and by the love that burns in me for you, that instant my pains forsook me and at once the fever let me go, as though it were abashed by some manifest saving presence. But when I broke the seal and read the letter, can you imagine what feelings took possession of my soul at that moment or with what delight I was filled, or how I praised to the skies that dearest of winds,¹ to quote your words, the lover's wind in very truth, the messenger of glad tidings—and loved it with good reason, since it had done me this service of bringing a letter from you, and like a winged thing had guided straight to me, with a fair and hurrying blast, that letter which brought me not only the pleasure of hearing good news of you but also salvation at your hands in my own illness? But how could I describe my other sensations when first I read the letter, or how could I find adequate words to betray my own passion? How often did I hark back from the middle to the beginning? How often did I fear that I should finish it before I was aware? How often, as though I

¹ An echo of Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 237 τίς προσήγαγεν ;
. . . . τίς ἀνέμων ὁ φίλτατος ;

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- D στροφῆς περιόδῳ τοῦ συμπεράσματος τὸ πλή-
 ρωμα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεῖλκον, οἷον ἐν ᾧσµατι
 μουσικῷ ταῦτόν τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῷ τέλει τὸ πρὸς τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἡγούμενον μέλος ἀντιδιδούς· ἡ καὶ νῆ Δία
 τὰ ἐξῆς τούτων, ὅσάκις μὲν τῷ στόματι τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν προσήγαγον, ὥσπερ αἱ μητέρες τὰ
 παῖδιά περιπλέκονται,¹ ὅσάκις δὲ ἐνέφυν τῷ
 στόματι καθάπερ ἐρωμένην ἐµαυτοῦ φιλτάτην
 ἀσπαζόμενος, ὅσάκις δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτήν, ἡ
 χειρὶ σῇ καθάπερ ἐναργεῖ σφραγίδι ἐσεσήµαντο,
 418 προσειπὼν καὶ φιλήσας, εἴτα ἐπέβαλον τοῖς
 ὀφθαλμοῖς, οἷονεὶ τοῖς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης δεξιᾶς
 δακτύλοις τῷ τῶν γραμμάτων ἵχνει προσπεφυκώς.
 χαῖρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πολλά, καθάπερ ἡ καλὴ
 Σαπφώ φησι, καὶ οὐκ ἰσάριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ,
 ὃν ἀλλήλων ἀπελείφθημεν,² ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ αἰεὶ
 χαῖρε, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέμνησο ἡμῶν τὰ εἰκότα.
 ὡς ἡµᾶς γε οὐκ ἐπιλείψει χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ σε μὴ
 B πάντῃ³ καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ λόγῳ διὰ μνήμης
 ἔξοµεν. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἴ⁴ ποθὶ Ζεὺς δοίῃ ἰκέσθαι ἐς
 πατρίδα γαῖαν, καὶ σου τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην ἐστίαν
 αὖθις ὑπέλθοιµεν, μὴ φείσῃ λοιπὸν ὡς φυγάδος,
 ἀλλὰ δῆσον, εἰ δοκεῖ, πρὸς τοῖς σεαυτοῦ θώκοις
 τοῖς φιλτάτοις, ὥσπερ τινὰ Μουσῶν λιποτάκτην
 ἐλὼν, εἴτα τοῖς εἰς τιµωρίαν ἀρκοῦσι παιδεύων.
 πάντως οὐδὲ ἄκων ὑποστήσομαι τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ'
 ἐκὼν δὴ καὶ χαίρων, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς

¹ περιπλέκονται Hertlein suggests, προσπλέκονται MSS.

² Blass in *Cl. Philology* I. p. 253 reconstructs a fragment of Sappho, as follows: χαῖρε πολλά τέ μοι καὶ ἰσάριθμα τῷ χρόνῳ, ὃν σεθεν . . . ἀπελείποµαν.

TO IAMBLICHUS

were going round in a circle in the evolutions of a strophe,¹ did I try to connect the contents of the last paragraph with the first, just as though in a song set to music I were making the leading note of the beginning the same as the closing bars of the measure? Or how describe what I did next—how often I held the letter to my lips, as mothers embrace their children, how often I kissed it with those lips as though I were embracing my dearest sweetheart, how often I invoked and kissed and held to my eyes even the superscription which had been signed by your own hand as though by a clear cut seal, and how I clung to the imprint of the letters as I should to the fingers of that sacred right hand of yours! I too “wish thee joy in full measure,”² as fair Sappho says, and not only “for just so long as we have been parted from one another,” but may you rejoice evermore, and write to me and remember me with kindly thoughts. For no time shall ever pass by me in which I shall forget you, in any place, at any hour, in any word I speak. “But if ever Zeus permits me to return to my native land,”³ and once more I humbly approach that sacred hearth of yours, do not spare me hereafter as you would a runaway, but fetter me, if you will, to your own beloved dwelling, making me captive like a deserter from the Muses, and then discipline me with such penalties as suffice for my punishment. Assuredly I shall submit to your jurisdiction not unwillingly, but with a good will and

¹ *e.g.* in the chorus of the drama.

² *Frag.* 85, Bergk.

³ *Odyssey* 4. 475.

³ *πάντη* Hercher suggests, *πάντα* Hertlein, MSS.

⁴ *ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἰ* Hertlein suggests; *ἀλλήλων δέ* MSS.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

ἐπανόρθωσιν προμηθῇ καὶ σωτήριον. εἰ δὲ δὴ
μοι καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὴν κρίσιν ἐθέλοις πισ-
C τεῦσαι καὶ διδοίης ἐνεγκεῖν ἦν βούλομαι, ἐμαυτόν,
ὦ γενναίε, τῷ σῷ χιτωνίσκῳ προσάψαιμι ἂν
ἡδέως, ἵνα σου κατὰ μηδὲν ἀπολειποίμην, ἀλλὰ
συνείην ἕει καὶ πανταχῇ προσφεροίμην, ὥσπερ
οὓς οἱ μῦθοι διφνεῖς ἀνθρώπους πλάττουσιν. εἰ
μὴ κἀκεῖνο οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσι μὲν ὡς παίζοντες,
αἰνίττονται δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐξαίρετον, ἐν τῷ
τῆς κοινωνίας δεσμῷ τὸ δι' ἑκατέρου τῆς ψυχῆς
ὁμογενὲς ἐμφαίνοντες.

78

Τῷ αὐτῷ¹

416 Αἰσθάνομαί σου τῆς ἐν τῇ μέμψει γλυκύτητος,
C καὶ ὡς ἑκάτερον ἐξ ἴσου πράττεις, καὶ οἷς γράφεις
τιμῶν καὶ οἷς ἐγκαλεῖς παιδεύων. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν
τι συνήδειν ἐμαυτῷ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ γιγνομένου καὶ
κατὰ μικρὸν ἐλλιπόντι, πάντως ἢ προφάσεις
εὐλόγους εἰπὼν ἐπειρώμην ἂν τὴν μέμψιν
ἐκκλίνειν, ἢ συγγνώμην ἁμαρτῶν αἰτεῖν οὐκ
ἡρνούμην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἄλλως ἀσύγγνωστον οἶδά
σε πρὸς τοὺς σούς, εἴ τι τῶν πρὸς σὲ φιλικῶν
D ἐξήμαρτον ἄκοντες. νῦν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε σὲ
παροφθῆναι θέμις οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν, ἵνα τύ-

¹ Hertlein 40, with title Ἰαμβλίχῳ.

TO IAMBLICHUS

gladly, as to a kind father's provident and salutary correction. Moreover, if you would consent to trust me to sentence myself and allow me to suffer the penalty that I prefer, I would gladly fasten myself to your tunic, my noble friend, so that I might never for a moment leave your side but be with you always and closely attached to you wherever you are, like those two-bodied beings invented in the myths. Unless, indeed, in this case also the myths, though they tell us the story in jest, are describing in enigmatical words an extraordinary sort of friendship and by that close tie of a common being express the kinship of soul in both beings.¹

78

To the Same.

I AM sensible of the sweet-tempered manner in which you reproach me, and that you achieve two things with equal success, for you do me honour by what you write and instruct me by your criticisms. And for my part, if I were conscious of even the least failure in the attention due to you, I should certainly try by making reasonable excuses to parry your criticism, or if I were in fault I should not hesitate to ask your forgiveness, especially as I know that you are not implacable towards your friends when they have involuntarily failed in some friendly office to you. But as it is—since it was not right either for you to be neglected or for me to be careless if we

¹ For Julian's allegorising interpretation of myths see *Oration*, 5. 170; 7. 216c, 222c; and for the illustration here Lucian, *Toxaris* 62.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

χοιμεν ὦν ἀεὶ ζητοῦντες ποθοῦμεν· φέρε σοι καθάπερ ἐν ὄρῳ γραφῆς ἀπολογήσωμαι, καὶ δείξω μηδὲν ἑμαυτὸν ὦν ἐχρῆν εἰς σέ παριδεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ μελλῆσαι τολμήσαντα.

- Ἦλθον ἐκ Παννονίας ἤδη τρίτον ἔτος τουτί,
 417 μόλις ἀφ' ὧν οἶσθα κινδύνων καὶ πόνων σωθείς.
 ὑπερβὰς δὲ τὸν Καλχηδόνιον πορθμὸν καὶ ἐπιστὰς
 τῇ Νικομήδους πόλει σοὶ πρῶτῳ καθάπερ πατρίῳ
 θεῷ τὰ πρωτόλεια τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ σώστρων ἀπέ-
 δωκα, σύμβολον τῆς ἀφίξεως τῆς ἐμῆς οἴου ἀντ'
 ἀναθήματος ἱεροῦ τὴν εἰς σέ πρόσρησιν ἐκπέμπων.
 καὶ ἦν ὁ κομίζων τὰ γράμματα τῶν βασιλείων
 ὑπασπιστῶν εἰς, Ἰουλιανὸς ὄνομα, Βακχύλου
 B παῖς, Ἀπαμεὺς τὸ γένος, ᾧ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείριζον, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἤξιεν καὶ σε ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι καθυπισχνεῖτο.
 μετὰ ταῦτά μοι καθάπερ ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν
 ἐφοίτα παρὰ σοῦ γράμμα, τὴν ἀφίξιν τὴν ἡμε-
 τέραν ἀσμένως σε ἀκηκοέναι δηλοῦν· ἦν δὲ
 τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δεξιὸν οἰώνισμα καὶ χρηστῶν ἐλπίδων
 ἀρχή, Ἰάμβλιχος ὁ σοφὸς καὶ τὰ Ἰαμβλίχου
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράμματα. τί με δεῖ λέγειν ὅπως
 C ἠὐφράνθην ἢ ἂν περὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔπαθον
 σημαίνειν; εἰ γὰρ ἐδέξω τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἔνεκα
 τούτων γραφέντα· ἦν δὲ δι' ἡμεροδρόμου τῶν
 ἐκεῖθεν ἡκόντων ὡς σέ πεμφθέντα· πάντως ἂν
 ὀπόσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡδονὴν ἔσχον ἀφ' ὧν ἐδήλουν
 ἐγίνωσκες. πάλιν ἐπανιόντος οἴκαδε τοῦ τροφέως

¹ Constantine marched from Pannonia to Nicomedia in 323, so perhaps this letter can be dated 326. In Julian's authentic writings we always find Paeonia for Pannonia; see *Letter* 76, p. 244, for a reference to this journey.

TO IAMBLICHUS

were to attain that which we ever seek after and desire—come, I will plead my case before you as though by the rules of a lawsuit, and I will prove that far from having neglected any of my duties towards you I have never even ventured to postpone them.

It is now three years since I arrived from Pannonia,¹ with difficulty escaping safely from the dangers and troubles that you know of. When I had crossed the Chalcedonian strait and approached the city of Nicomedia, to you first as though to the god of my fathers I paid vows as the first thank-offering for my deliverance, by sending you as a token of my arrival my salutation in place of a sacred offering. The man who took charge of my letter was one of the imperial guard named Julian, the son of Bacchylus, a native of Apamea, and to him I all the more readily entrusted the letter because he asserted that he was going in your direction and that he knew you very well. Afterwards, as though from Apollo, a sacred letter came to me from you, in which you declared that you had been pleased to hear of my arrival. This was to my mind an auspicious omen and a fount of fairest hopes,—Iamblichus the wise and the letter of Iamblichus to me. Need I say how I rejoiced or assure you how deeply I was moved by your letter? For if you had received what I wrote to you with no other purpose—and it was sent to you by one of the couriers who came from where you are,—you would certainly know from what I then said how great was the pleasure that I felt on receiving it. Again, when the custodian of my children² was returning

² This phrase is perhaps metaphorical ; see p. 214, note 1.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- D τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παιδίων, ἐτέρων ἤρχον πρὸς σέ γραμμάτων, ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς φθάνουσι χάριν ὁμολογῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐξῆς ἐν ἴσῳ παρὰ σοῦ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν αἰτῶν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπρέσβευσεν ὡς ἡμᾶς ὁ καλὸς Σώπατρος· ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω, εὐθύς ἀναπηδήσας ἤξα καὶ περιπλακεῖς ἐδάκρυον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σέ καὶ τὰ παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὀνειροπολῶν γράμματα. ὡς δὲ ἔλαβον, ἐφίλουν καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς προσή-
 418 γον, καὶ ἀπρὶξ εἰχόμεν, ὥσπερ δεδιὼς μὴ λάθῃ με ἀποπτὰν ἐν τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων ἀναγνώσει τὸ τῆς σῆς εἰκότος Ἰνδαλμα. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραφον εὐθύς, οὐ πρὸς σέ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν Σώπατρον, τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα, καθάπερ θρυπτόμενος ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν ἐταῖρον ἐκ τῆς Ἀπαμείας οἶον ἐνέχυρον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπουσίας ἀντειληφότες εἴημεν. ἐξ ἐκείνου τρίτην ἤδη πρὸς σέ γεγραφώς, αὐτὸς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἢ τὴν ἐν ᾗ μέμφεσθαι δοκεῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμεν.
- B Εἰ μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγκαλεῖς, ἵνα τῷ τῆς αἰτίας σχήματι πλείονας ἡμῖν ὑφορμὰς τοῦ γράφειν προξενῆς, δέχομαι τὴν μέμψιν ἄσμενος πάννυ, καὶ ἐν οἷς λαμβάνω τὸ πᾶν τῆς χάριτος εἰς ἐμαυτὸν οἰκειοῦμαι· εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐλλιπόντα τι τοῦ πρὸς σέ καθήκοντος αἰτιᾶ, τίς ἂν ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀθλιώτερος¹ διὰ γραμματοφόρων ἀδικίαν ἢ ῥα-

¹ Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 'Adespota' 280 suggests τίς ἀρ' ; Schmidt τίς ἀντ'. The verse does not occur elsewhere, but cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 815 τίς τοῦδε νῦν ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλιώτερος ;

¹ This may be the Sopater whom Julian mentions in *Letter* 256

TO IAMBLICHUS

home, I began another letter to you in which I at the same time spoke to you of my gratitude for your previous favours and begged for a like return from you for the immediate future. After this the excellent Sopater¹ came on an embassy to our city. When I recognised him I at once started up and flew to him and when I had embraced him I wept for joy, dreaming of nothing else but you and a letter from you to me. And when I received it I kissed it and held it to my eyes and kept tight hold of it as though I were afraid that while I was in the act of reading your letter the phantom of your image might elude me and fly away. And, moreover, I at once wrote an answer, not to you only but also to the revered Sopater, that great man's son, telling him, as though giving myself airs, that I accepted our mutual friend from Apamea as a sort of hostage for your absence. This is the third letter that I have written to you since that time, but I have myself received no other letter from you save that in which you seem to reproach me.

Now if you are accusing me merely for the purpose of providing me with further motives for writing to you, and only pretend to reproach me, then I am very glad to receive your criticism, and in this very letter that has now come I take to myself the whole of the kindness implied. But if you really accuse me of being in any way remiss in my duty to you, "who could be more wretched than I"² through the wrongdoing or negligence of letter-carriers, when I, least

58 *To Libanius*, p. 207. But he is more probably the elder Sopater who was executed by Constantine.

² An iambic trimeter whose source is not known; see critical note.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- C θυμίαν πάντων ἡκιστα ἀξίου τούτου τυγχάνειν ὄντος ; ¹ καίτοι ἐγὼ μέν, κὰν μὴ πλεονάκεις γράφω, δίκαιός εἰμι συγγνώμης παρὰ σοῦ τυγχάνειν· οὐ τῆς ἀσχολίας ἣν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχω φαίην ἄν· μὴ γὰρ οὕτω πράξαιμι κακῶς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἀσχολίας ἀπάσης, καθά φησι Πίνδαρος, τὸ κατὰ σέ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι πρὸς ἄνδρα τηλικούτον, οὐ καὶ μνησθῆναι φόβος, ὁ καὶ γράφειν κατοκνῶν τοῦ πλέον ἢ προσήκει θαρροῦντός ἐστι σωφρονέ-
- D στερος. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ταῖς Ἑλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ἀντιβλέπειν συνεχῶς τολμῶντες, ἂν μὴ θεοὶ τινες ὦσι καὶ τῶν ἀκτίνων αὐτοῦ καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ἀετῶν γνήσιοι καταθαρρῶσιν, οὔτε ἂ μὴ θέμις ὀφθῆναι θεωρεῖν ἔχουσι, καὶ ὅσῳ περ μᾶλλον φιλονεικοῦσι, τοσούτῳ πλέον ὅτι μὴ δύνανται τυχεῖν ἐμφαίνουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ πρὸς σέ γράφειν τολμῶν, ὅσῳ περ ἂν ἐθέλῃ θαρρεῖν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὅτι χρὴ δεδιέναι καθαρῶς δείκνυσι. σοί
- 419 γε μὴν, ὦ γενναῖε, παντὸς ὥς εἰπεῖν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σωτῆρι καθεστῶτι, πρέπον ἦν ἀφθόνως τε ἡμῖν γράφειν καὶ τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ὄκνον ἐφ' ὅσον ἐξῆν καταστέλλειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Ἥλιος· ἵνα δὴ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς σε τὴν εἰκόνα λάβῃ ὁ λόγος· ὁ δ' οὖν Ἥλιος ὥσπερ, ὅταν ἀκτῖσι καθαραῖς ὅλος λάμπῃ, οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνει τοῦ πρὸς τὴν αἴγλην ἐλθόντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐργάζεται,

¹ ἀξίου τούτου τυγχάνειν ὄντος Hertlein suggests ; τούτου τυγχάνοντος MSS., τυγχάνειν Reiske.

TO IAMBLICHUS

of all men, deserve the reproach? And yet even if I do not write oftener I may well claim indulgence from you—I do not mean because of the many affairs which I have on my hands—for may I never sink so low as not to count you more important than any business whatever, as Pindar¹ says!—but because there is more wisdom in hesitating to write more than is fitting to so great a man as yourself, whom one cannot so much as think of without awe, than in being too presumptuous. For even as those who venture to gaze steadily at the bright beams of Helios, unless indeed they be in some sort divine and like the genuine offspring of eagles² can brave his rays, are unable to behold what is not lawful for their eyes to see, and the more they strive for this the more do they show that they have not the power to attain it, even so, I say, he who ventures to write to you shows clearly that the more he allows himself to presume the more he ought to be afraid. For you, however, my noble friend, who have been appointed as the saviour, so to speak, of the whole Hellenic world, it would have been becoming not only to write to me without stint, but also to allay as far as you could the scruples felt by me. For as Helios—if my argument may again employ in reference to you a simile from the god,—even as Helios, I say, when he shines in full splendour with his brilliant rays rejects naught of what encounters his beams,

¹ *Isthmian Odes* 1. 1 τὸ τεόν . . . πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον θήσομαι.

² For this allusion to the eagle's test of its offspring see *Letter* 59, *To Maximus*; Themistius 240c; Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 14; Claudian, *On the Third Consulship of Honorius*, Preface 1-14.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- B οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὲ χρῆν ἀφθόνως τῶν παρὰ σοῦ
καλῶν οἶον φωτὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπαρδεύοντα μὴ
ἀποκνεῖν, εἴ τις ἢ αἰδοῦς ἢ δέους ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς
σὲ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν δυσωπεῖται. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ἄσ-
κληπιὸς ἐπ' ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
ἰᾶται, ἀλλὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπευμα
πανταχοῦ πληροῖ. ὁ δὲ καὶ σὲ χρῆν ὥσπερ εἰ
ψυχῶν ἐλλογίμων ἱατρὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν καὶ το τῆς
ἀρετῆς παράγγελμα διὰ πάντων σώζειν, οἶον
- C ἀγαθὸν τοξότην, ὅς, κἂν μὴ τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἔχῃ,
πάντως ἐς τὸ καίριον αἰεὶ τὴν χεῖρα γυμνάζει.
ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ὁ σκοπὸς ἐκατέροις ὁ αὐτός, ἡμῖν
δὲ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ δεξιῶν τυχεῖν καὶ σοὶ τοῖς
παρ' ἡμῶν διδομένοις ἐντυχεῖν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, κἂν
μυριάκις γράφωμεν, ἴσα τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς παισὶ
παίζομεν, οἱ παρὰ τὰς θῖνας ὅτι ἂν ἐκ πηλοῦ
- D πλάσωσιν ἀφιασιν κλύζεσθαι· παρὰ σοῦ δὲ καὶ
μικρὸν γράμμα παντός ἐστι γονίμου ῥεύματος
κρεῖττον, καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε Ἰαμβλίχου
μᾶλλον ἐπιστολὴν μίαν ἢ τὸν ἐκ Λυδίας χρυσὸν
κεκτῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ μέλει τί σοι τῶν ἐραστῶν τῶν
σῶν· μέλει δέ, εἰ μὴ σφάλλομαι· μὴ περιύδης
ὥσπερ νεοττοὺς ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ τροφῶν
ἐν χρεῖα τυγχάνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφε συνεχῶς
καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σαυτοῦ καλοῖς ἐστιᾶν μὴ κατόκνει.
κἂν ἐλλίπωμεν, αὐτὸς ἐκατέρου τὴν χρεῖαν οἰκειοῦ,
420 καὶ ὧν δίδως καὶ ὧν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν τὸ ἴσον πρεσβεύεις.
πρέπει δὲ Ἑρμοῦ λογίου μαθητὴν, εἰ δὲ βούλει

TO IAMBLICHUS

but ever performs his function, so ought you also not to shrink from bountifully pouring forth the flood of your blessings like light over the Hellenic world even when, whether from modesty, or fear of you, one is too bashful to make any return. Asclepius, again, does not heal mankind in the hope of repayment, but everywhere fulfils his own function of beneficence to mankind. This, then, you ought to do also, as though you were the physician of souls endowed with eloquence, and you ought to keep up on all occasions the preaching of virtue, like a skilled archer who, even though he have no opponent, keeps training his hand by every means in view of future need. For in truth we two have not the same ambition, since mine is to secure the wise teachings that flow from you and yours is to read letters sent by me. But as for me, though I should write ten thousand times, mine is still mere child's play, and I am like the boys in *Homer* who on the sea-shores model something in wet sand and then abandon it all for the sea to wash away; whereas even a short letter from you is more potent than any fertilising flood, and for my part I would rather receive one letter from *Iamblichus* than possess all the gold of *Lydia*. If, then, you care at all for your fond admirers—and you do care if I am not mistaken—do not neglect me who am like a fledgling constantly in need of sustenance from you, but write regularly, and moreover do not be reluctant to feast me on the good things that come from you. And if I prove to be remiss, do you take on yourself to provide both things, not only what you yourself give but equally what you furnish in my place. For it befits you as a pupil of *Hermes*, the god of eloquence, or, if you

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

καὶ τρόφιμον ὄντα σε, τὴν ἐκείνου ῥάβδον οὐκ
ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κινεῖν καὶ
διεγείρειν μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν μιμεῖσθαι.

79

Τῷ αὐτῷ¹

405 Ὅδυσσεῖ μὲν ἐξήρκει τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἐφ' αὐτῷ
B φαντασίαν ἀναστέλλοντι λέγειν

οὔτις τοι θεὸς εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν εἴσκεῖς ;

ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι φαίην ἂν ὄλως,
ἕως ἂν Ἰαμβλίχῳ μὴ συνῶ. ἀλλ' ἐραστῆς μὲν
εἶναι σὸς ὁμολογῶ, καθάπερ ἐκείνος τοῦ Τηλε-

C μάχου πατὴρ. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάξιόν με λέγει τις
εἶναι, οὐδὲ οὕτω τοῦ ποθεῖν ἀφαιρήσεται· ἐπεὶ
καὶ ἀγαλμάτων καλῶν ἀκούω πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς
γενέσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν τέχνην
μὴ βλάπτοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὰ πάθει
τὴν ἔμψυχον ἡδονὴν τῷ ἔργῳ προστιθέντας. τῶν
γε μὴν παλαιῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς ἡμᾶς
ἐγκρίνειν ἐθέλεις παίζων, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν ἂν
D φαίην, ὅποσον αὐτῷ σοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν μετεῖναι
πιστεύω. καίτοι σύ γε οὐ Πίνδαρον μόνον οὐδὲ
Δημόκριτον ἢ Ὀρφέα τὸν παλαιότατον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ξύμπαν ὁμοῦ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅποσον εἰς ἄκρον
φιλοσοφίας ἐλθεῖν μνημονεύεται, καθάπερ ἐν
λύρα ποικίλων φθόγγων ἐναρμονίῳ συστάσει
πρὸς τὸ ἐντελὲς τῆς μουσικῆς κεράσας ἔχεις.

406 καὶ ὥσπερ Ἄργον τὸν φύλακα τῆς Ἰοῦς οἱ μῦθοι

¹ Hertlein 34, with title Ἰαμβλίχῳ φιλοσόφῳ.

TO IAMBLICHUS

prefer, his nursling, to desire to imitate his use of the wand, not by putting men to sleep, but by rousing and awakening them.

79

To the Same

WHEN Odysseus was trying to remove his son's illusion about him, it was enough for him to say: "No God am I. Why then do you liken me to the immortals?"¹ But I might say that I do not exist at all among men so long as I am not with Iamblichus. Nay, I admit that I am your lover, even as Odysseus that he was the father of Telemachus. For even though someone should say that I am unworthy, not even so shall he deprive me of my longing. For I have heard that many men have fallen in love with beautiful statues² and far from injuring the art of the craftsman they have by their passion for them imparted to the workmanship the added delight in what lives and breathes. But as for the wise men of old among whom you are pleased to reckon me in jest, I should say that I fall as far short of them as I believe that you are to be ranked among them. And indeed you have succeeded in combining with yourself not only Pindar or Democritus or most ancient Orpheus, but also that whole genius of the Hellenes which is on record as having attained to the summit of philosophy, even as in a lyre by the harmonious combination of various notes the perfection of music is achieved. And just as the myths give Argus, Io's guardian, an encircling ring of ever-

¹ *Odyssey* 16. 187.

² For such cases cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9. 39.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- πρόνοιαν ἔχοντα τῶν Διὸς παιδικῶν ἀκοιμήτοις
 πανταχόθεν ὁμμάτων βολαῖς περιφράττουσιν,
 οὕτω καὶ σὲ γνήσιον ἀρετῆς φύλακα μυρίοις
 παιδεύσεως ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁ λόγος φωτίζει. Πρωτέα
 μὲν δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον φασὶ ποικίλαις μορφαῖς ἑαυ-
 τὸν ἐξαλλάττειν, ὥσπερ δεδιότα μὴ λάθῃ τοῖς δε-
- B** ομένοις ὡς ἦν σοφὸς ἐκφήνας· ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπερ ἦν ὄντως
 σοφὸς ὁ Πρωτεὺς καὶ οἶος¹ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων
 γινώσκειν, ὡς Ὁμηρος λέγει, τῆς μὲν φύσεως
 αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶ, τῆς γνώμης δ' οὐκ ἄγαμαι, διότι
 μὴ φιλανθρώπου τινός, ἀλλ' ἀπατεῶνος ἔργον
 ἐποίει κρύπτων ἑαυτόν, ἵνα μὴ χρήσιμος ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ᾖ. σὲ δέ, ὦ γενναῖε, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀληθῶς
 θαυμάσειεν, ὡς οὐδέν τι τοῦ Πρωτέως τοῦ σοφοῦ
- C** μείων εἶ,² εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀρετὴν ἄκραν
 τελεσθεὶς ὧν ἔχεις καλῶν οὐ φθονεῖς ἀνθρώποις,
 ἀλλ' ἡλίου καθαροῦ δίκην ἀκτῖνας σοφίας ἀκραι-
 φνοῦς ἐπὶ πάντας ἄγεις, οὐ μόνον παροῦσι
 τὰ εἰκότα ξυνών, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντας ἐφ' ὅσον
 ἔξεστι τοῖς παρὰ σάυτοῦ σεμνύνων. νικῶης δ'
 ἂν οὕτω καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα τὸν καλὸν οἷς πράττεις,
 εἶγε ὁ μὲν τὴν οἰκίαν μουσικὴν εἰς τὰς τῶν
 θηρίων ἀκοὰς κατανάλισκε, σὺ δ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ
- D** σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους τεχ-
 θείς, τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ χεῖρα πανταχοῦ ζηλῶν,
 ἅπαντα ἐπέρχῃ λογίῳ τε καὶ σωτηρίῳ νεύματι.³

¹ οἶός τε? Hertlein.

² εἶ, εἰ μὴ καὶ Baroccianus; εἶ καὶ μὴ Vossianus, εἰ μὴ καὶ Hertlein.

³ πνεύματι "breath," Martin.

TO IAMBLICHUS

wakeful eyes as he keeps watch over the darling of Zeus, so too does true report endow you, the trusted guardian of virtue, with the light of the countless eyes of culture. They say that Proteus the Egyptian used to change himself into various shapes¹ as though he feared being taken unawares and showing those who needed his aid that he was wise. But for my part, if Proteus was really wise and the sort of man to know the truth about many things, as Homer says, I applaud him for his talent, but I cannot admire his attitude of mind, since he played the part, not of one who loves mankind, but of an impostor by concealing himself in order to avoid being of service to mankind. But who, my noble friend, would not genuinely admire you, since though you are inferior in no way to wise Proteus if not even more fully initiated than he in consummate virtues, you do not begrudge mankind the blessings that you possess, but, like the bright sun, you cause the rays of your pure wisdom to shine on all men, not only by associating, as is natural, with those near you, but also as far as possible by making the absent proud through your writings. And in this way by your achievements you surpass even charming Orpheus; for he squandered on the ears of wild beasts his own peculiar musical gift, but you, as though you had been born to save the whole human race, emulate everywhere the hand of Asclepius and pervade all things with the saving power of your

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 363 foll. ; *Vergil, Georgics* 4. 388 foll.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

ὥστ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ "Ομηρος, εἰ ἀνεβίω, πολλῶ
δικαιότερον ἂν ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ ἔπος αἰνίξασθαι τὸ

εἰς δ' ἔτι που ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέι κόσμῳ.

τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόμματος ἡμῖν οἶονεῖ
σπινθήρ τις ἱερὸς ἀληθοῦς καὶ γονίμου παιδεύσεως
ὑπὸ σοὶ μόνῳ ζωπυρεῖται. καὶ εἴη γε, Ζεῦ σῶτερ
407 καὶ Ἑρμῇ λόγιε, τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης
ὄφελος, Ἰάμβλιχον τὸν καλόν, ἐπὶ μήκιστον
χρόνου τηρεῖσθαι. πάντως που καὶ ἐφ' Ὀμήρῳ
καὶ Πλάτῳ καὶ Σωκράτει¹ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος
ἄξιος τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου, δικαίας εὐχῆς ἐπίτευγμα
τοῖς πρότερον εὐτυχηθὲν οὕτω τοὺς ἐκείνων
καιροὺς ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἠϋξῆσεν. οὐδὲν δὴ κωλύει
καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἄνδρα καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ τῶν
B ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀντάξιον ὑφ' ὁμοίαις εὐχαῖς ἐς
τὸ ἀκρότατον τοῦ γήρως ἐπ' εὐδαιμονίᾳ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων παραπεμφθῆναι.

80

330 Σαραπίωνι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ²

B "Αλλοι μὲν ἄλλως τὰς πανηγύρεις νομίζουσιν,
ἐγὼ δὲ ἡδύ σοι γλυκείας ἐορτῆς σύνθημα τῶν ἐπι-

¹ Ἰσοκράτει Cumont, since Socrates was only seventy when he died.

² Hertlein 24.

¹ *Odyssey* 4. 498. The original verse ends with πόντῳ,
266

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

eloquence. Wherefore I think that Homer, too, if he were to return to life, would with far more justice allude to you in the verse :

“One is still alive and is detained in the wide world.”¹

For, in very truth, for those of us who are of the antique mould, a sacred spark, so to speak, of true and life-giving culture is kindled by your aid alone. And grant, O Zeus the saviour, and Hermes, god of eloquence, that this blessing which is the common property of the whole world, even the charming Iamblichus, may be preserved for the longest possible period of time ! Indeed, there is no doubt that in the case of Homer and Plato and Socrates² and others who were worthy to be of that company, the prayers of the just were successful and did avail men of old, and thus increased and prolonged the natural term of those great men's lives. So there is no reason why in our day, also, a man who in his eloquence and virtuous life is the peer of those famous men, should not by means of similar prayers be conducted to the extreme limit of old age for the happiness of mankind.

80

To the most illustrious Sarapion³

PEOPLE observe the public festivals in various ways. But I am sending you a hundred long-stalked, dried, homegrown figs as a sweet token of this

“on the sea” ; the verse was a rhetorical commonplace and the ending is often altered to suit the context.

² There would be more point in the reading “Isocrates” (Cumont) since he lived to be nearly one hundred.

³ Sarapion is otherwise unknown.

267

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- C χωρίων ἰσχάδων μακροκέντρους ἑκατὸν ἐκπέμπω, τῷ μὲν τοῦ δώρου μεγέθει μικράν, τῷ κάλλει δὲ ἴσως ἄρκοῦσαν ἡδονὴν μνηστεύων. Ἀριστοφάνει μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ εἶναι πλὴν μέλιτος τῶν ἄλλων γλυκύτερον τὰς ἰσχάδας, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνέχεται τῶν ἰσχάδων εἶναι γλυκύτερον, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐπικρίνας λέγει. Ἡροδότῳ δὲ ἄρα τῷ συγγραφεῖ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἐρημίας ἀληθοῦς ἤρκεσεν εἰπόντι "Παρ' οἷς οὔτε σῦκά ἐστίν οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν," ὥς ἄρ' οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐν καρποῖς ἀγαθοῦ προτέρου τῶν σύκων ὄντος, οὔτε ἔτι πάντως ἀγαθοῦ δέον τοῖς¹ παρ' οἷς ἂν ᾖ τὸ σύκον. "Ὀμηρος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν καρπῶν εἰς μέγεθος ἢ χροῖαν ἢ κάλλος ἐπαινεῖ, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σύκῳ τὴν τῆς γλυκύτητος ἐπωνυμίαν συγχωρεῖ. καὶ τὸ μέλι χλωρὸν
- 331 καλεῖ, δεδιὼς μὴ λάθῃ γλυκὺ προσειπῶν, ὃ καὶ πικρὸν εἶναι πολλαχοῦ συμβαίνει. τῷ σύκῳ δὲ ἄρα μόνῳ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν οἰκείαν εὐφημίαν, ὥσπερ τῷ νέκταρι, διότι καὶ μόνον γλυκὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐστί. καὶ μέλι μὲν Ἱπποκράτης φησὶ γλυκὺ μὲν εἶναι τὴν αἴσθησιν, πικρὸν δὲ πάντως τὴν ἀνάδοσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπιστῶ τῷ λόγῳ· χολῆς γὰρ αὐτὸ ποιητικὸν εἶναι ξύμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ τρέπειν τοὺς χυμοὺς εἰς τοῦναντίον τῆς γεύσεως. ὃ δὲ καὶ
- B μᾶλλον τῆς ἐκ φύσεως αὐτοῦ πικρότητος κατηγορεῖ τὴν γένεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τοῦτο μετέβαλλεν ὃ πικρὸν ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πάντως αὐτῷ προσῇν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦτο, ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον μετέπιπτε.

¹ δέον τοῖς Hertlein suggests ; δέοντος MSS.

¹ Quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 652F ; *Fragg. Incert. Fab.* 7 οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅντως γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

pleasant festal season. If you measure the gift by its size, the pleasure I offer you is trifling, but if measured by its beauty it will perhaps suffice. It is the opinion of Aristophanes¹ that figs are sweeter than anything else except honey, and on second thoughts he does not allow that even honey is sweeter than figs. Herodotus² the historian also, in order to describe a really barren desert thought it enough to say: "They have no figs or anything else that is good"; as though to say that among the fruits of the earth there is none to be ranked above figs, and that where men had figs they did not wholly lack something good. Again, the wise Homer praises other fruits for their size or colour or beauty, but to the fig alone he allows the epithet "sweet."³ And he calls honey "yellow,"⁴ for fear he should inadvertently call "sweet" what is in fact often bitter; accordingly, to the fig alone⁵ he assigns this epithet for its own, just as he does to nectar, because alone of all things it is sweet. Indeed Hippocrates⁶ says that honey, though it is sweet to the taste, is quite bitter to the digestion, and I can believe his statement; for all agree that it produces bile and turns the juices to the very opposite of its original flavour, which fact even more surely convicts it of being in its origin naturally bitter.⁷ For it would not change to this bitterness if in the beginning this quality had not belonged to it, from which it changed to the

¹ 1. 71. ² *Odyssey* 7. 116. ³ *Odyssey* 10. 234.

⁴ Homer does however call honey "sweet" in *Odyssey* 20. 69 μέλιτι γλυκερῷ.

⁵ *De internis affectionibus* 84A; Hippocrates is speaking of honey that has been cooked.

⁷ *Oration* 8. 241A, Julian says that honey is made from the bitterest herbs.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- σῦκον δὲ οὐκ αἰσθήσει μόνον ἡδύ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνα-
 δόσει κρείττον ἐστίν. οὕτω δέ ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις
 ὠφέλιμον, ὥστε καὶ ἀλεξιφάρμακον αὐτὸ παντὸς
 ὀλεθρίου φαρμάκου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης εἶναι, καὶ
 τοῖς δείπνοις οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τούτου χάριν τῶν
 ἐδεσμάτων προπαρατίθεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπιτραγημα-
 C τίζεσθαι, καθάπερ ἀντ' ἄλλης τινὸς ἀλεξήσεως
 ἱερᾶς ταῖς τῶν βρωμάτων ἀδικίαις περιπτυσσό-
 μενον. καὶ μὴν ὅτι καὶ θεοῖς τὸ σῦκον ἀνάκειται,
 καὶ θυσίας ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἐμβώμιον, καὶ ὅτι παν-
 τὸς λιβανωτοῦ κρείττον ἐς θυμιάματος σκευασίαν
 ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐμὸς ἴδιος οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅστις τὴν
 χρεῖαν αὐτοῦ ἔμαθεν, οἶδεν ὡς ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ καὶ
 ἱεροφάντου λόγος ἐστί. Θεόφραστος δὲ ὁ καλὸς
 ἐν γεωργίας παραγγέλμασι τὰς τῶν ἑτεροφύτων
 D δένδρων γενέσεις ἐκτιθεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἀλληλούχοις
 ἐγκεντρίσειεν εἴκει, πάντων, οἶμαι, τῶν φυτῶν
 μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τῆς συκῆς τὸ δένδρον ὡς ἂν ποι-
 κίλης καὶ διαφόρου γενέσεως δεκτικὸν καὶ μόνον
 τῶν ἄλλων εὐκόλον παντοίου γένους ἐνεγκεῖν βλά-
 στην, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν κλάδων ἐκτεμὼν ἕκαστον,
 εἴτα ἐκρήξας ἄλλην ἐς ἄλλο τῶν πρέμνων ἐμφυῇ
 392 γονὴν ἐναρμόσειεν, ὡς ἀρκεῖν ἤδη πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
 καὶ ἀνθ' ὀλοκλήρου κήπου τὴν ὄψιν, οἶον ἐν λει-
 μῶνι χαριεστάτῳ ποικίλην τινὰ καὶ πολυειδῆ τῶν
 καρπῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀγλαΐαν ἀντιπεπομφότος.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἐστὶν ὀλιγοχρόνια
 καὶ τὴν μονὴν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σύκῳ
 καὶ ὑπερενιαυτίζειν ἔξεστι καὶ τῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος

¹ Aristotle, *Frag.* 105, Rose.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

reverse. But the fig is not only sweet to taste but it is still better for digestion. And it is so beneficial to mankind that Aristotle¹ even says that it is an antidote for every deadly poison, and that for no other reason than this is it served before other food as a first course at meals and then at the end for dessert, as though we embraced it in preference to any other sacred means of averting the injury caused by the things we eat. Moreover, that the fig is offered to the gods also, and is set on the altar in every sacrifice, and that it is better than any frankincense for making fragrant fumes, this is a statement not made by me alone,² but whoever is acquainted with its use knows that it is the statement of a wise man, a hierophant. Again, the admirable Theophrastus³ in his precepts of agriculture, when he is describing the kinds of grafted trees and what sorts admit of being grafted on one another, commends the fig tree above all other plants, if I am not mistaken, as being able to receive various and different kinds, and as the only one of them all that easily bears a growth of any other sort, if you cut out every one of its boughs and then break off and insert a different engrafted stock into each of the cleft stumps; hence to look at it is often equivalent to a complete garden, since it returns you the variegated and manifold splendours of other fruits, as happens in the loveliest orchard. And whereas the fruits of other fruit-bearing trees are short-lived and cannot last for any time, the fig alone can survive beyond the year, and is present at the birth

² A Julianic commonplace, cf. note on Vol. 2 *Fragment of a Letter* 299c, and above, p. 222.

³ *Enquiry into Plants* 2. 5. 6.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- καρποῦ γενέσει συνενεχθῆναι. ὥστε φησὶ καὶ
 "Ὁμηρος ἐν Ἀλκίνου κήπῳ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀλλήλοις
 B ἐπιγηράσκειν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων ἴσως ἂν
 μῦθος ποιητικὸς εἶναι δόξειε· μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σύκῳ
 πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργὲς ἂν συμφέροιστο, διότι
 καὶ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν ἐστὶ μονιμώτερον.
 τοιαύτην δὲ ἔχον, οἶμαι, τὸ σῦκον τὴν φύσιν, πολλῶ
 κρεῖττόν ἐστι παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν γένεσιν, ὥς εἶναι τῶν
 μὲν ἄλλων φυτῶν αὐτὸ τιμιώτερον, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ
 σύκου τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θαυμασιώτερον, καὶ νικᾶν μὲν
 αὐτὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν γένεσιν, αὐθις δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
 C παρ' ἡμῖν ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἐγκρίσει
 πάλιν σώζεσθαι, κρατοῦντι μὲν ἐοικός, οἷς δ' αὖ
 κρατεῖσθαι δοκεῖ, πάλιν ἐς τὸ καθόλου νικῶντι.
 καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως· παρ' ἡμῖν μόνοις συμ-
 βαίνει· ἔδει γὰρ, οἶμαι, τὴν Διὸς πόλιν ἀληθῶς καὶ
 τὸν τῆς ἐώας ἀπάσης ὀφθαλμόν· τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ
 μεγίστην Δαμασκὸν λέγω· τοῖς τε ἄλλοις σύμπα-
 σιν, οἷον ἱερῶν κάλλει καὶ νεῶν μεγέθει καὶ ὤρων
 εὐκρασίᾳ¹ καὶ πηγῶν ἀγλαΐᾳ, καὶ ποταμῶν πλή-
 D θει καὶ γῆς εὐφορίᾳ νικῶσαν μόνην ἄρα καὶ τῷ
 τοιούτῳ φυτῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θαύματος ὑπεροχὴν
 ἀρκέσαι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀνέχεται μεταβολῆς τὸ δέν-
 δρον, οὐδὲ ὑπερβαίνει τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ὄρους τῆς
 βλάστης, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονος φυτοῦ νόμῳ τὴν ἐξ
 ἀποικίας γένεσιν ἀρνεῖται. καὶ χρυσὸς μὲν, οἶμαι,

¹ εὐκρασίᾳ Cobet cf. *Timaeus* 24 C, εὐκαιρίᾳ Hertlein, MSS.

¹ *Odyssey* 7. 120.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

of the fruit that is to follow it. Hence Homer¹ also says that in the garden of Alcinous the fruits "wax old on" one another. Now in the case of other fruits this might perhaps seem to be a poetic fiction, but for the fig alone it would be consistent with the plain fact, because alone of all fruits it lasts for some time. Such, I think, is the nature of the fig in general, but the kind that grows with us is much better than others; so that in proportion as the fig is more valuable than other plants, our fig is more admirable than the fig in general; and while the latter in its kind surpasses all other fruits, it is in its turn excelled by ours, and again holds its own by comparison in both respects, first in being plainly superior, and secondly, in points where it seems to be inferior it wins on the general count. And it is quite natural that this should be so in our country alone. For it was fitting, I think, that the city which in very truth belongs to Zeus and is the eye of the whole East,—I mean sacred and most mighty Damascus,—² which in all other respects bears the palm, for instance, for the beauty of its shrines and the size of its temples and for its exquisitely tempered climate and the splendour of its fountains, the number of its rivers and the fertility of its soil—I say it is fitting that she alone should keep up her reputation by the possession of a plant of this excellence and thus excite an excess of admiration. Accordingly our tree does not brook transplanting, nor does it overstep the natural boundaries of its growth, but as though by a law that governs the indigenous plant refuses to grow in colonies abroad. The same sorts of gold and silver are, I believe,

² Julian, as far as we know, never visited Damascus.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

καὶ ἄργυρος ὁ αὐτὸς πολλαχοῦ φύεται, μόνη δὲ ἡ
 παρ' ἡμῖν χώρα τίκτει φυτὸν ἀλλαχοῦ φῦναι μὴ
 393 δυνάμενον. ὥσπερ δὲ τὰ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀγώγιμα καὶ
 οἱ Περσικοὶ σῆρες ἡ ὅσα ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπῶν γῇ τίκτε-
 ται μὲν καὶ λέγεται,¹ τῷ δὲ τῆς ἐμπορίας νόμῳ
 πανταχοῦ διαβαίνει· οὕτω δὲ² καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν
 σύκον, ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς οὐ γινόμενον, πανταχοῦ
 παρ' ἡμῶν στέλλεται, καὶ οὔτε πόλις οὔτε νῆσός
 ἐστίν, ἣν οὐκ ἐπέρχεται τῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς θαύματι.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τράπεζαν βασιλικὴν κοσμεῖ, καὶ παντὸς
 B δείπνου σεμνόν ἐστίν ἐγκαλλώπισμα, καὶ οὐτ'
 ἔνθρυπτον οὔτε στρεπτόν οὔτε νεήλατον οὔτε ἄλλο
 καρυκείας γένος ἡδυσμα ἶσον ἢ ἂν ἀφίκηται.³ το-
 σοῦτον αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐδεσμάτων καὶ δὴ καὶ
 τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ σύκων⁴ περίεστι τοῦ θαύματος.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν σύκων ἡ ὁπωρινὴν ἔχει τὴν
 βρῶσιν ἡ τερσαινόμενα ἐς τὸ ταμεῖον⁵ ἔρχεται, τὸ
 δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν μόνον ἀμφοτερίζει τῇ χρεΐᾳ, καὶ καλὸν
 μὲν ἐστίν ἐπιδένδριον, πολλῷ δὲ κάλλιον, εἰ ἐς
 C τὴν τερσιὰν ἔλθοι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὥραν αὐτοῦ τὴν
 ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ὀφθαλμῷ λάβοις, καὶ ὅπως ἐκά-
 στου τῶν πρέμνων ἐπιμήκεσι τοῖς κέντροις οἶονεὶ
 καλύκων δίκην ἀπήρτηται, ἡ ὅπως ἐν κύκλῳ περι-
 θεῖ τῷ καρπῷ τὸ δένδρον, ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ἐν
 στόιχῳ⁶ περιφερεῖ πολυειδεῖς ἀγλαΐας μηχανᾶ-
 σθαι⁷ φαίης ἂν αὐτὸ καθάπερ ἐν ὄρμῳ δέρης. αἱ

¹ λέγεται MSS., Bidez would retain = colliguntur, Hertlein τρέφεται.

² οὕτω δὲ Hertlein in error for MSS., δῆ, restored by Bidez.

³ Hercher and Hertlein οὐτ' ἔν—οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ ἶσον ἀφίκοιτο; MSS. οὐτ'—ἔσται ἡδυσμα ἶσον ἢ; Bidez οὐτ'—ἡδυσμα ἶσον ἡ (cf. Thucydides 2. 100 = "where") ἔν ἀφίκηται.

⁴ After ἐκασταχοῦ Hertlein suggests σύκων.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

produced in many places, but our country alone gives birth to a plant that cannot be grown anywhere else. And just like the wares of India, or Persian silks, or all that is produced and collected in the country of the Ethiopians but travels everywhere by the law of commerce, so, too, our native fig does not grow anywhere else on earth, but is exported by us to all parts, and there is no city or island to which it does not travel, because it is so much admired for its sweet flavour. Moreover it even adorns the imperial table and is the boast and ornament of every feast; and there is no cake or roll or pastry¹ or any kind of confectionery to match it as a sweetmeat wherever it comes; so far does it surpass in admirable qualities all other dainties, and moreover all figs from any other place. Again, other figs are either eaten in autumn, or are dried and go to the store-room, but the fig of our country alone can be used in both ways, and though it is good while on the tree it is far better when it has been dried. And should you see with your own eyes their beauty while they are still on the trees, and how from each one of the branches they hang by long stalks like flower-buds, so to speak, or again, how with their fruit they completely encircle the tree, then you would say that by this circular series one above another they compose a splendid and varied picture even as a neck in its necklace. Then again, the manner in

¹ An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 260 ἐνδρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα.

⁵ Thomas; ὁμοιον MSS.

⁶ στοίχῳ MSS., Bidez; τοίχῳ *Vossianus*, Hertlein.

⁷ μηχανώμενον, φαίης Hertlein, MSS.; μηχανᾶσθαι φαίης Bidez.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

δὲ¹ τῶν δένδρων ἐξαιρέσεις αὐτοῦ² καὶ ἡ πρὸς
 D χρονίαν μονὴν ἐπιτέχνησις οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ἐς
 τὴν χρείαν ἡδονῆς ἔχει τὴν φιλοτιμίαν· οὐ γὰρ
 ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν σύκων ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτόν
 ἔρριπται, οὐδὲ σωρηδὸν ἢ χύδην ἡλίῳ τερσαίνεται,
 ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἡρέμα τῶν δένδρων αὐτὰ ταῖς
 χερσὶν ἀποδρέπουσιν, ἔπειτα ὄρπηξιν ἢ ῥάβδοις
 ἀκανθώδεσι τῶν τοίχων ἀπαρτῶσιν, ἵνα λευκαί-
 νηται μὲν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ προσομιλοῦντα, μένη δ'
 ἀνεπιβούλευτα τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν ὀρνιθίων, οἶονεῖ
 394 τῶν κέντρων τῇ ἀλεξήσει δορυφορούμενα. καὶ
 περὶ μὲν γενέσεως αὐτῶν καὶ γλυκύτητος καὶ
 ὥρας καὶ ποιήσεως καὶ χρείας ταῦτά σοι παρ'
 ἡμῶν ἢ ἐπιστολῇ προσπαίζει.

“Ο γε μὴν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸς ὡς ἔστι τῶν
 ἄλλων τιμιώτερος καὶ τὸ τέλεον ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀρι-
 θμῶν περιγράφων, μάθοι ἂν τις θεωρῶν τῇδε. καὶ
 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὡς παλαιῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ
 λόγος, τοῦ ἀρτίου τὸν περιττὸν προκεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ
 ὡς ἀρχὴν φασιν αὐξήσεως εἶναι τὸ μὴ συνδυάζον·
 τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον θατέρῳ μένειν ὅποιον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον,
 B δυοῖν δὲ γενομένοιιν τὸν τρίτον εἶναι τὴν περιτ-
 τότητα. ἐγὼ δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ τολμηρότερος ὁ λόγος
 ἐστί, φαίην ὁμῶς· ἀρχῆς μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ
 πάντως ἐξηρητημένοι, καὶ τὸ προσεχὲς τῆς αὐξή-
 σεως διὰ παντὸς ἂν κομίζοιντο. πολλῷ γε μὴν
 οἶμαι δικαιότερον τῷ ἀρτίῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ περιττῷ
 τὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως αἰτίαν προσκεῖσθαι. ὁ μὲν

¹ αὐτὸ—δέρης. αἱ δὲ Bidez; αὐτῷ—δέρης τὰς Hertlein, MSS.

² αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ Bidez; αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ Hertlein, MSS.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

which they are taken from the tree and the means employed for preserving them for a long time involve quite as much outlay as the pleasure derived from their use. For they are not, like other kinds of figs, thrown together in one place, nor are they dried in the sun in heaps or promiscuously; but first they are gathered carefully by hand from the trees, then they are hung on walls by means of sticks or thorny twigs, so that they may be bleached by exposure to the direct rays of the sun while they are also safe from the attacks of animals and small birds, since the protection of the prickles furnishes them with a sort of bodyguard. So far my letter to you deals with their origin, sweetness, beauty, confection, and use, and is in lighter vein.

Now to consider the number one hundred,¹ which is more honourable than any other and contains in itself the perfection of all numbers, as one may learn from the following considerations. I am indeed well aware that there is a saying of wise men of old that an odd number is to be preferred to an even, and they declare that the source of increase is that which does not couple. For in a pair the one term being equal to the other remains of the same quality, but when there are two numbers the third produces oddness. But for my part, even though the statement is somewhat bold, I would nevertheless say this: Numbers surely depend on a generative principle, and can carry on consecutive increase through the whole series. But I hold that it is far more just to assign the cause of that increase to the even than to the odd number. For the number one

¹ He was sending one hundred figs.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- C γὰρ εἰς ἀριθμὸς οὐκ ἂν εἴη περιττός, οὐκ ἔχων
 ὅτου περιττὸς γένοιτο· ἡ δὲ τῆς δυνάδος συζυγία
 τίκτει διπλὴν τὴν περιττότητα, καὶ τῶν δυοῖν
 ἀριθμῶν ὁ τρίτος εἰκότως εἰς αὐξήσιν ἔρχεται.
 πάλιν τε ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐτέρας δυνάδος μίξει τῆς τετρά-
 δος τὴν ὑπεροχὴν λαμβάνει, καὶ ὅλως ἡ πρὸς
 ἄλληλα κοινωνία τὴν ἐξέκατέρου περιττότητα φαί-
 νουσα εἰς τὸν τῆς δυνάδος ἀριθμὸν περικλείεται.
 δεδομένου δὴ τούτου, φαίην ἂν, οἶμαι, τῆς πρώτης
 δεκάδος τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν περιφέρειαν ἀνακυκλώσης.
- D εἰς τὸν τῆς ἑκατοντάδος ἀριθμὸν τὸ ὅλον δια-
 βαίνειν, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν ἂν εἰς δέκα
 συντείνειν, πάλιν δ' αὖ τὴν δεκάδα δι' αὐτῆς ἀνι-
 οῦσαν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν συντελεῖσθαι.
 κἀντεῦθεν αὖ πάλιν ἐξ ἑκατοντάδων τὸ ὅλον τῶν
 ἀριθμῶν τὴν δύναμιν καρποῦσθαι, μήτε τοῦ ἐνὸς
 ἡρεμοῦντος, εἰ μὴ τι τῆς δυνάδος ἐν τῇ μίξει τὸ
 περιττὸν ἀεὶ τικτούσης τε καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν αὐθις
 ἀνακαλουμένης, ἄχρισ ἂν ἐτέρα πάλιν ἑκατοντάδι
 τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὸ συναγόμενον κατακλείσῃ, καὶ τὸ
 395 τέλεον αὐτῷ προσάπτουσα πάλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 τὸ ἕτερον ἐρπύσῃ, ταῖς τῶν ἑκατοντάδων ἐπηγο-
 ρίαις ἀεὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰς τὸ τῆς καταλήψεως ἄπειρον
 ἀναφέρουσα. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὁμηρὸς οὐχ ἀπλῶς
 οὐδὲ ἀργῶς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὴν ἑκατονταθύσανον
 αἰγίδα τῷ Διὶ περιθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τινι κρείττονι καὶ
 ἀπορρήτῳ λόγῳ τοῦτο αἰνίττεσθαι λέγων, ὡς ἄρα

¹ i.e. 1 is now odd in relation to 2, and their combination results in 3, an odd number.

² i.e. when ten is multiplied by ten.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

is not odd, when it has no number in respect to which it were odd. But its coupling with two produces twofold oddness,¹ and the number three, coming from the two, naturally proceeds as increase. Then again when we add two to two, the result is the higher stage of the number four, and, in a word, their conjunction, while making oddness clear in each of their two elements, is constituted in the number two. This being granted, I should say, of course, that when the first decad is revolving on itself in a circle,² the whole series progresses to the number one hundred, so that by the number one the increase amounts to ten, and the decad in turn is added each time to itself, and the total is reached in the number one hundred. And starting again from this point, with the hundreds, the whole series of numbers derive their power, by the activity of the number one, except that it is the number two³ when combined with it that ever produces the odd and again recalls it to itself, until again it concludes with a second hundred the sum of all the numbers, and, making it complete, proceeds again from it to another and under the denomination of hundreds continually carries forward the sum to the conception of infinity. So I think that Homer too in his poems does not lightly or idly assign to Zeus the hundred-tasselled ægis,⁴ but in a lofty and obscure saying he hinted at this

¹ The writer, who probably could not have explained his cryptic language, insists on the superiority of the dyad, even and feminine, to the odd number 1, regarded as the male principle.

⁴ The epithet is not used in our Homer of the ægis of Zeus, but of the ægis of Athene and the girdle of Hera.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- τῷ τελεωτάτῳ θεῷ τὸν τελεώτατον ἀριθμὸν περιά-
B ψειε καὶ ᾧ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν δικαιότερον
 κοσμοῖτο, ἢ ὅτι τὸν ξύμπαντα κόσμον, ὃν εἰς αἰγί-
 δος σχῆμα τῷ τῆς εἰκόνος περιφερεῖ ξυνείληφεν,
 οὐκ ἄλλος πῶς ἢ ὁ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸς περιγράφει,
 τῇ κατὰ κύκλον ἑκατοντάδι τὴν ἐς τὸ ὅλον τοῦ
 νοητοῦ κατανόησιν ἐφαρμόττων. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος
 οὗτος καὶ τὸν ἑκατοντάχειρα, τὸν Βριάρεω, καθίζει
C πάρεδρον τῷ Δίῃ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμιλ-
 λᾶσθαι συγχωρεῖ δύναμιν, οἷον ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ
 τελέῳ τὸ τέλεον αὐτῷ τῆς ἰσχύος ἀποδιδούς. καὶ
 μὴν καὶ Πίνδαρος ὁ Θηβαῖος τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τὴν
 Τυφώεως ἐν ἐπινικίοις κηρύττων καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγί-
 στου τούτου γίγαντος κράτος τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλεῖ
 τῶν θεῶν περιτιθεὶς οὐχ ἐτέρωθεν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐφη-
 μίας κρατύνει τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἢ ὅτι τὸν γίγαντα
 τὸν ἑκατοντακέφαλον ἐνὶ βλήματι καθελεῖν ἤρκε-
 σεν, ὥς οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου εἰς χεῖρα τοῦ Διὸς ἐλθεῖν
D ἀντιμάχου γίγαντος νομισθέντος ἢ ὃν ἡ μήτηρ
 μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἑκατὸν κεφαλαῖς ὥπλισεν, οὔτε
 ἐτέρου τινὸς θεῶν ἢ μόνου Διὸς ἀξιονικότερου πρὸς
 τὴν τοῦ τοσοῦτου γίγαντος καθαίρεσιν ὄντος.
 Σιμωνίδῃ δὲ ἄρα τῷ μελικῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος
 εὐφημίαν ἀρκεῖ τὸν θεὸν Ἑκατον προσειπόντι καὶ
 καθάπερ ἀντ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἱεροῦ γνωρίσματος
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν κοσμήσαι, διότι τὸν Πύθωνα,
 τὸν δράκοντα, βέλεσιν ἑκατόν, ὥς φησιν, ἐχειρώ-
 280

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

that to the most perfect god he attached the most perfect number, that number by which alone beyond all the others he would most fittingly be adorned, or because the whole universe which he has comprehended in the shape of an ægis, by reason of the roundness of that image, no other number than the hundred describes, and so with the round number one hundred he harmonises the conception of the intelligible world as a whole. Again, on the same principle he makes Briareus with his hundred hands the assessor of Zeus and allows him to rival his father's might, as though he expressed the perfection of his strength by means of the perfect number. Again, Pindar¹ the Theban, when he celebrates the destruction of Typhoeus in his odes of victory, and ascribes to the most mighty ruler of the gods power over this most mighty giant, rises to the highest pitch of praise simply because with one blow he was able to lay low the hundred-headed giant, as though no other giant was held worthy to fight hand to hand with Zeus than he whom, alone of all the rest, his mother had armed with a hundred heads; and as though no other of the gods save Zeus only were worthy to win a victory by the destruction of so great a giant. Simonides² also, the lyric poet, thinks it enough for his praise of Apollo that he should call the god "Hekatos"³ and adorn him with this title rather than with any other sacred symbol; for this reason, that he overcame the Python, the serpent, with a hundred

¹ Pindar, *Olympian Ode* 4. 7; *Pythian* 1. 16.

² Simonides, *frag.* 26, Bergk.

³ This epithet means "Far-Darter" and is misinterpreted by the writer of this letter to mean "Hundredth."

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- 396 σατο, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἐκατον ἢ Πύθιον χαίρειν
 προσαγορευόμενον, οἷον ὀλοκλήρου τινὸς ἐπωνυ-
 μίας συμβόλῳ προσφωνούμενον. ἢ γε μὴν τὸν
 Δία θρεψαμένη νῆσος, ἢ Κρήτη, καθάπερ τροφεῖα
 τῆς Διὸς ὑποδοχῆς ἀντιλαβοῦσα τῷ τῶν ἑκατὸν
 πόλεων ἀριθμῷ τετίμηται. καὶ Θήβας δὲ ἄρα τὰς
 ἑκατονταπύλους οὐκ ἄλλον τινὸς ἢ τούτου χάριν
 ἐπαινεῖ Ὀμηρος, διότι ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς ἑκατὸν
 κάλλος ἦν θαυμαστόν. καὶ σιωπῶ θεῶν ἑκατόμ-
 B βας καὶ νεὼς ἑκατονταπέδους καὶ βωμοὺς ἑκατον-
 τακρήπιδας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατονταδόχους ἀνδρῶνας
 καὶ τὰς ἀρούρας δὲ τὰς ἑκατονταπλέθρους καὶ ὅσα
 ἄλλα θεῖά τε καὶ ἀνθρώπινα τῇ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦδε
 προσηγορίᾳ συνείληπται. ὃ γε μὲν ἀριθμὸς οὗτος
 οἶδε καὶ στρατιωτικὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρηνικὴν τάξιν
 κοσμήσαι, καὶ φαιδρύνει μὲν τὴν ἑκατόντανδρον
 λοχαγίαν, τιμᾷ δὲ ἤδε καὶ δικαστῶν ἐς τὸ ἴσον
 ἤκουσαν ἐπωνυμίαν. καί με καὶ πλείω τούτων
 C ἔχοντα λέγειν ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐπιστρέφει νόμος·
 σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχειν τῷ λόγῳ, διότι καὶ
 ταῦτα πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἴρηται. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔχει
 μέτριον ἐπὶ σοὶ κριτῇ κάλλος τὸ ἐγχείρημα, πάν-
 τως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔκφορον ἔσται, τῆς
 παρὰ σοῦ ψήφου τὴν μαρτυρίαν δεξάμενον· εἰ δὲ
 χειρὸς ἐτέρας προσδεῖται πρὸς τὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ
 συμπλήρωμα, τίς ἂν σοῦ κάλλιον εἰδείη τὴν γραφὴν
 εἰς κάλλος ἀκριβώσας πρὸς τὴν τῆς θέας ἡδονὴν
 D ἀπολεᾶναι ; ¹

¹ ἀκριβώσας—ἀπολεᾶναι (cf. ἐπιλαίμων vol. 1, *Oration* 3. 111 D in same sense) Hertlein suggests. Hercher ἀκριβῶσαι. deleting the last six words. MSS. ἀκριβώσαντος—ἀπολαῦσαι retained in Hertlein's text.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SARAPION

shafts, as he says, and the god himself took more pleasure in being addressed as "Hekatos" than as "the Pythian," as if he were thus invoked by the symbolic expression of his complete title. Then again, the island Crete which nurtured Zeus, has received as her reward, as though it were her fee for sheltering Zeus, the honour of cities to the number of one hundred. Homer¹ too praises Thebes the hundred-gated for no other reason than this that there was a marvellous beauty in her hundred gates. I say nothing of the hecatombs of the gods and temples a hundred feet long, altars with a hundred steps, rooms that hold a hundred men, fields of a hundred acres and other things divine and human which are classed together because they have this number for their epithet. It is a number, moreover, that has the power to adorn official rank both for war and peace, and while it lends brilliance to a company of a hundred soldiers it also confers distinction on the title of judges² when their number is one hundred. And I could say more than this, but the etiquette of letter-writing deters me. But do you be indulgent to my discourse, for what I have said already is more than enough. And if my essay has in your judgement even a mediocre elegance it shall surely go forth for others to read, after receiving the testimonial of your vote; but if it need another hand to make it fulfil its aim, who better than you should know how to polish the manuscript to the point of elegance and make it smooth so as to give pleasure to the eye?

¹ *Iliad* 9. 383; *Aeneid* 3. 106.

² The centumviri.

Βασιλείῳ¹

Τὸ ἔμφυτόν μοι ἐκ παιδότην γαληνὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον μέχρι γε τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιδεικνύμενος, πάντας ὑπηκόους ἐκομισάμην τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὴν ὑφ' ἡλίον. ἰδοὺ γὰρ πᾶν γένος βαρβάρων μέχρις ὀρίων ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῦ δῶρά μοι κομίζον ἤκε παρὰ ποσὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σαγάδαρες οἱ παρὰ τὸν Δάνουβιν ἐκτραφέντες καὶ Γόττοι ποικιλοκαρόμορφοι,² οἷς οὐκ ἔστι θεὰ ὁμοιοειδὴς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ μορφὴ ἀγριαίνουσα. οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν προκαλινδοῦνται ἵχνεσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ὑπισχνούμενοι ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα, ἅπερ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρμόζει βασιλείᾳ. οὐχὶ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μόνον ἔλκομαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ με σὺν πολλῷ τῷ τάχει καταλαβεῖν τὴν Περσῶν καὶ τροπώσασθαι τὸν Σάπωριν ἐκείνον τὸν ἀπόγονον Δαρείου γεγονότα, ἄχρισ οὐ ὑπόφορος καὶ ὑποτελής μοι γένηται· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τὴν Σαρακηνῶν περιοικίδα ἐκπορθῆσαι, ἄχρισ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει βασιλείας γένωνται τῆς ἐμῆς ὑπόφοροι καὶ ὑποτελεῖς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπέκεινα τῆς τούτων δυνάμεως πεφρόνηκας, εὐλάβειαν μὲν λέγων ἐνδεδύσθαι, ἀναίδειαν δὲ προβαλλόμενος, καὶ πανταχοῦ διαφημίζων

¹ Hertlein 75. It occurs in a great number of MSS., sometimes with the reply of Basil, also apocryphal, and in Basil, *Letters* 3. p. 122. The text is very corrupt.

² ποικιλοκανθαρόμορφοι, "shaped like variegated beetles," Reiske, from εὐμορφοποικιλοκανθαρόμορφοι, the reading of *Palatinus* 146.

¹ This letter, generally recognised as spurious, is perhaps a Christian forgery, since it gives an unfavourable impression

TO BASIL

81

To Basil¹

UP to the present I have displayed the innately mild and humane temper that I have shown since childhood, and have brought under my sway all who dwell on the earth beneath the sun. For lo, every tribe of barbarians as far as the boundaries of the river of Ocean has come bringing gifts to lay at my feet! And likewise the Sagadares² who are bred on the banks of the Danube, and the Cotti with headdresses of many shapes and colours, who are not like the rest of mankind to look at, but have a fierce and wild appearance. These at the present time are grovelling in my footprints and promise to do whatever suits my majesty's pleasure. And not only am I distracted by this, but I must with all speed occupy the country of the Persians and put to flight the great Sapor, who is the descendant of Darius, until he consents to pay me tribute and taxes. Afterwards I must also sack the settlements of the Indians and Saracens, until they too shall all take second place in my Empire and consent to pay tribute and taxes. But you have in your own person displayed a pride far exceeding the power of all these, when you say that you are clothed in pious reserve, but in fact flaunt your impudence, and spread a rumour on all sides that I am not worthy

of Julian. The writer knew nothing of Julian's style and mannerisms. Julian was no boaster and avoided outlandish words. It was probably read by Sozomen, 5. 18. 7, and is of early date. Julian was in frequent correspondence with Basil, and for their friendly relations cf. *To Basil*, p. 81.

² This tribe cannot be identified. Julian himself always calls the Danube "Ister."

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

ἀνάξιόν με τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας γεγονέναι. ἡ οὐκ οἶσθα αὐτός, ὡς Κώνστα τοῦ κρατίστου γέγονα ἀπόγονος ; καὶ τούτων οὕτω γνωσθέντων ἡμῖν σου ἔνεκα οὐδὲ τῆς προτέρας ἐξέστημεν διαθέσεως, ἥσπερ ἔτι νέοι ὄντες τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ μετεσχῆκαμεν. ἀλλὰ γαληνῷ τῷ φρονήματι θεσπίζω δέκα ἑκατοντάδας χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἐξαποσταλῆναί μοι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ μου τῇ κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρος, ἔτι μου κατὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ὑπάρχοντος, σὺν πολλῷ τῷ τάχει μέλλοντός μου βαδίζειν ἐπὶ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον, ἐτοίμου ὄντος μου, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσεις, πάντα τόπον ἀνασκευάσαι τῆς Καίσαρος, καὶ τὰ πάλοι αὐτῆς ἐγγηγμένα καλλιουργήματα κατασκάψαι κατὰ τόπον, ναοὺς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναστῆσαι, ὥστε με πείσαι πάντας εἶκειν βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων καὶ μὴ ὑπεραίρεσθαι. τὸ οὖν ἐξονομασθὲν χρυσίον ἐξ ἁριθμοῦ ζυγῷ Καμπανῷ πρυτανίσας καὶ διαμετρήσας ἀσφαλῶς ἐξαπόστειλόν μοι δι' οἰκείου πιστοῦ σοι ὄντος, δακτυλίῳ τῷ σῷ σφραγισάμενος, ὥστε με ἐπεγνωκότι, κἂν ὀψέ ποτε, τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ ἀπαραίτητον γαληνόν σοι γενέσθαι περὶ τὰ ἐπταισμένα. ἃ γὰρ ἀνέγνω, ἔγνω καὶ κατέγνω.¹

¹ This last sentence was probably not in the original letter but was quoted as Julian's by Sozomen 5. 18 and added to this letter in some MSS. It occurs separately in one MS., *Ambrosianus* B 4, with the title πρὸς ἐπισκόπους (Cumont, *Recherches*, p. 47).

TO BASIL

to be Emperor of the Romans. What! Do you not yourself know that I am a descendant of the most mighty Constans? And although this your conduct has come to my knowledge I have not, as concerns you, departed from my former attitude—I mean that mutual regard which you and I had when we were young men of the same age. But with no harshness of temper I decree that you shall despatch to me one thousand pounds weight of gold, as I march by Caesarea, to be paid without my leaving the high-road, since I purpose to march with all speed to carry on the war with Persia, and I am prepared, if you do not do this, to lay waste the whole district of Caesarea,¹ to tear down on the spot those fine buildings erected long ago, and to set up instead temples and images, that so I may persuade all men to submit to the Emperor of Rome and not be inflated with conceit. Accordingly, weigh the above-mentioned gold to that amount on Campanian scales, oversee it yourself and measure it carefully and despatch it safely to me by someone of your household in whom you have confidence, and first seal it with your own seal-ring, so that, if you have recognised, late though it be, that the occasion admits of no evasion, I may deal mildly with your errors of the past. For what I read, I understood and condemned.²

¹ Caesarea had had three fine temples destroyed by the Christians. Julian ordered their restoration, confiscated the estates of the Church, and imposed a fine of 300 lbs. of gold, cf. Sozomen 5. 9. 7. Julian's death may have prevented the enforcement of the penalty.

² See below, *frag.* 14, p. 303.

Γάλλος καῖσαρ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν¹

- 454 Ἡ γειτνίασις τῆς χώρας, λέγω δὲ τῆς Ἰωνίας,
 C πλείστον ὅσον κέρδος εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤνεγκεν. ἀνιω-
 μένους γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ ταῖς
 πρώταις φήμαις παρεμυθήσατο. τί δὲ ἔστιν ὃ
 λέγω, γνώση. ἦκεν εἰς ἡμετέρας ἀκοὰς ἀποστῆ-
 ναι μὲν σε τῆς προτέρας θρησκείας τῆς ἐκ προγό-
 νων παραδοθείσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μάταιον δεισιδαι-
 μονίαν ἐληλακέναι, οἷστρω τινὶ κακῷ συμβούλῳ
 εἰς τοῦτο ἐλαθέντα. καὶ τί οὐκ ἔμελλον πάσχειν
 δυσχεραίνων; ὥς γὰρ² εἰ μὲν τι τῶν ἐν σοὶ καλῶν
 D διαβωόμενον γνοίην, κέρδος οἰκείον ἡγοῦμαι, οὕτω³
 δέ τι τῶν δυσχερῶν, ὅπερ οὐκ οἶμαι, ἐξίσης ζημιώ-
 μα μᾶλλον ἐμὸν νομίζω. ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ἀνιῶμενόν
 με ἡ παρουσία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀετίου ἠΰφραι-
 νεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντος μὲν ἐναντία, ἡμῖν δὲ εὐκτά·
 καὶ γὰρ σπουδάζειν σε ἔφη εἰς οἴκους εὐχῶν, καὶ
 μὴ πόρρῳ τῆς μνείας τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπο-
 σπᾶσθαι, ὅλως δὲ ἔχεσθαι διεβεβαιούτο τῆς θεοσε-

¹ No number in Hertlein. First published by Vulcanius, Leyden, 1597; found only in *Palatinus* 209, *Barberinus* 132.

² γὰρ Hertlein would add.

³ οὕτω δὲ Hertlein suggests; εἰ δὲ Reiske; οὐ δὲ MSS.

¹ Nearly all the critics reject this letter as a Christian forgery, but it is defended by Seeck, *Geschichte d. Untergangs d. Antiken Welt*, IV. 124, 440, 6. Philostorgius 3. 27. 53, Bidez, says that Gallus, Julian's half-brother, who was a Christian, frequently sent Aetius to instruct Jnlian in Christian doctrine in order to counteract the influences

GALLUS CAESAR TO HIS BROTHER JULIAN

82

Letter from Gallus Caesar to his brother Julian ¹

GALLUS CAESAR to his brother Julian, Greeting.

My nearness to the country, I mean to Ionia,² has brought me the greatest possible gain. For it gave me comfort when I was troubled and pained at the first reports that came to me. You will understand what I mean. It came to my ears that you had abandoned your former mode of worship which was handed down by our ancestors, and goaded by some evil kind of madness that incited you to this, had betaken yourself to that vain superstition. What pain should I not have suffered? For just as whenever I learn by public rumour of any noble quality in you I regard it as a personal gain, so too if I hear of anything disturbing, which, however, I do not think I shall, in the same way I consider it even more my personal loss. Therefore when I was troubled about these matters, the presence of our father Aetius³ cheered me, for he reported the very contrary, which was what I prayed to hear. Moreover he said that you were zealous in attendance at the houses of prayer, and that you are not being drawn away from pious remembrance of the martyrs, and he affirmed that you entirely adhere to that inclined him to paganism. If genuine it must be dated between 351, when Gallus was made Caesar, and 354, as Gallus was put to death by Constantius in the latter year.

² Gallus Caesar resided at Antioch till 354 when he went to Constantinople. Julian, meanwhile, was studying at Pergamon and Ephesus. For his relations with Gallus, see Vol. 2, *To the Athenians* 273 A.

³ For Aetius see Introduction and *Letter* 15.

289

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

- 455 βείας τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἐγὼ δέ σοι τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποιμι
κατὰ¹ τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν Βάλλ' οὕτως, καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαύ-
ταις μνείαις εὐφραине τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας, μεμνη-
μένος ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τι θεοσεβείας ἀνώτερον. ἡ γὰρ
εἰς ἄκρον ἀρετὴ παιδεύει τὸ μὲν ψεῦδος ὡς ἀπατη-
λὸν μισεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἔχεσθαι, ὅπερ μάλιστα
ἐν τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον φαίνεται θρησκείᾳ. ὄχλος γὰρ
πάντως φιλόνεικον καὶ ἄστατον· τὸ δὲ μόνον σὺν
B ἐνὶ² ὑπουργὸν ὃν βασιλεύει τοῦ παντός, οὐκ ἐκ
δασμοῦ καὶ κλήρου, καθάπερ οἱ Κρόνου παῖδες,
ἀλλ' αὐτοαρχὴ ὃν, καὶ κρατοῦν τῶν ἀπάντων, οὐδὲ
δεξάμενον βία παρ' ἐτέρου,³ ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων ὃν.
τοῦτο ὄντως θεός, ὃνπερ σὺν τῷ ὀφειλομένῳ σεβάσ-
ματι προσκυνεῖν χρή. ἔρρωσο.

83

Ιουλιανῷ Εὐστάθιος φιλόσοφος⁴

Ὡς ὦνησέ γε τὸ σύνθημα ἡμῖν μελλήσαν· ἀντὶ
γὰρ τοῦ τρέμειν καὶ δεδιέναι φερόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς
δημοσίας ἀπήνης καὶ περιπίπτοντα κραιπαλῶσιν
ὀρεωκόμοις καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἀκοστήσασι καθ' Ὀμηρον
δι' ἀργίαν καὶ πλησμονὴν ἀνέχεσθαι κονιορτοῦ καὶ

¹ Reiske deletes *κατά*.

² Heyler suggests that οὐδενὶ ὑπουργὸν "subservient to none" would be more appropriate to Gallus, who was an Arian. In any case, Heyler's reading gives a better sense to ὑπουργόν.

³ παρ' ἐτέρου Reiske suggests; ἕτερον MSS., Hertlein.

⁴ Hertlein 72. The above is the correct title preserved in *Parisinus* 963 after the incorrect *Λιβανίῳ σοφιστῇ καὶ κοιαίστωρι* retained in brackets by Hertlein.

EUSTATHIUS TO JULIAN

the religion of our family. So I would say to you in the words of Homer,¹ "Shoot on in this wise," and rejoice those who love you by being spoken of in such terms, remembering that nothing is higher than religion. For supreme virtue teaches us to hate a lie as treachery and to cling to the truth, which truth is most clearly made manifest in the worship of the Divine Being. For a crowd² is wholly contentious and unstable; but the Deity, ministering alone with but one other,³ rules the universe, not by division or lot, like the sons of Cronos,⁴ but existing from the beginning and having power over all things, not having received it from another by violence, but existing before all. This is verily God, whom we must adore with the reverence that we owe to him. Farewell!

83

Eustathius⁵ the Philosopher to Julian

WHAT an advantage it was for me that the token⁶ came late! For instead of riding, in fear and trembling, in the public⁷ carriage and, in encounters with drunken mule-drivers and mules made restive, as Homer⁸ says, from idleness and overfeeding,

¹ *Iliad* 8. 282; Agamemnon to Teucer the archer.

² *i. e.* of the gods.

³ *i. e.* God the Word; but see critical note.

⁴ *i. e.* Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, whose separate realms are defined in *Iliad* 15. 187 foll.

⁵ See Introduction, under Eustathius.

⁶ The "tessera," whether ring, coin or document, served as a passport.

⁷ The epithet δημόσιος is used (1) of the public carriage, (2) of the "state," or reserved, carriage. The first is meant here.

⁸ *Iliad* 6. 506.

THE APOCRYPHAL LETTERS

φωνῆς ἀλλοκότου καὶ ψόφου μαστίγων, βαδίζειν ἐπὶ σχολῆς περιέστη μοι δι' ὁδοῦ συνηρεφοῦς καὶ ἐπισκίου, πολλὰς μὲν κρήνας, πολλὰς δὲ ἐχούσης καταγωγὰς ἐπιτηδείους τῇ ὥρᾳ μεταξὺ τὸν κόπον διαναπαύοντι, ἵνα μοι φανείη κατάλυσις εὖπνους τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆς ὑπὸ πλατάνοις τισὶν ἢ κυπαρίττοις, τὸν Φαῖδρον ἔχοντι ἐν χερσὶ ¹ ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν Πλάτωνος λόγων. ταῦτά τοι, ὦ φίλη κεφαλὴ, ἀπολαύων τῆς ἐλευθέρας ὁδοιπορίας, ἄτοπον ὑπέλαβον τὸ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο κοινώσασθαί σοι καὶ ἀποσημῆναι.

¹ After χερσὶ MSS add τὸν Μυρρινούσιον which Hertlein would delete as inappropriate to the title of Plato's dialogue.

EUSTATHIUS TO JULIAN

having to endure clouds of dust and a strange dialect and the cracking of whips, it was my lot to travel at leisure by a road arched over with trees and well-shaded, a road that had numerous springs and resting-places suitable to the summer season for a traveller who seeks relief from his weariness on the way; and where I always found a good place to stop, airy and shaded by plane trees or cypresses, while in my hand I held the *Phaedrus* or some other of Plato's dialogues. Now all this profit, O beloved, I gained from the freedom with which I travelled; therefore I considered that it would be unnatural not to communicate this also to you, and announce it.¹

¹ The journey of Eustathius is probably that for which Julian gave his permission in *Letter 44*.

FRAGMENTA BREVIORA¹

1

Τίς οὖν ἀγνοεῖ τὸν Αἰθιοπῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν τροφिमωτάτου σιτίου λόγον; ἀψάμενοι γὰρ τῆς μάξης θαυμάζειν ἔφασαν, ὅπως κόπρια σιτούμενοι ζῶμεν, εἴ τῳ πιστὸς ὁ Θούριος εἶναι λογοποιὸς δοκεῖ. ἰχθυοφάγων δὲ καὶ σαρκοφάγων ἀνθρώπων γένη μὴδ' ὄναρ ἰδόντα τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν δίαιταν οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην περιηγούμενοι γῆν ἱστοροῦσιν. ὦν εἴ τις παρ' ἡμῖν ζηλῶσαι τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιχειρήσει, οὐδὲν ἄμεινον διακείσεται τῶν τὸ κώνειον προσενεγκαμένων ἢ τὴν ἀκόνιτον ἢ τὸν ἐλλέβορον.²

2

Πρὸς τὴν Ἑρκυνίαν ὕλην ἐθέομεν, καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ χρῆμα ἐξαίσιον. ἰδοὺ γοῦν σοι θαρρῶν ἐγὼ ἐγγυῶμαι, μήποτε ὦφθαι τοιοῦτον μὴδέν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων. ἀλλ' εἴτε τὰ Θετταλικά Τέμπη δύσβατα νομίζει τις, εἴτε τὰς

¹ Hertlein *Fragments* 1 and 3 have been restored to their proper context in *Letter* 16, pp. 38 and 36.

² Hertlein *frag.* 2. Quoted by Suidas under Ἡρόδοτος and ὦν . . . ἐλλέβορον again under Ζηλῶσαι.

¹ Herodotus 3. 22 describes the amazement of the Ethiopians, who lived on boiled meat, at the diet of the Persians.

THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS

1

THEN who does not know the saying of the Ethiopians about the food that with us is held to be most nutritious? For when they first handled bread they said they wondered how we manage to live on a diet of dung, that is if one may believe the Thurian chronicler.¹ And those who write descriptions of the world relate that there are races of men who live on fish and flesh² and have never even dreamed of our kind of diet. But if anyone in our country tries to adopt their diet, he will be no better off than those who take a dose of hemlock or aconite or hellebore.

2

WE hastened to the Hercynian forest and it was a strange and monstrous thing that I beheld. At any rate I do not hesitate to engage that nothing of the sort has ever been seen in the Roman Empire, at least as far as we know. But if anyone considers Thessalian Tempe or Thermopylae or the

They said they were not surprised that men who lived on such food attained to a maximum of only eighty years. For the different temperaments and customs of different peoples cf. *Against the Galilaeans*, 143E.

² Cf. vol. 2, *Oration* 6. 191C for Julian's remarks on diet.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

Θερμοπύλας, εἴτε τὸν μέγαν καὶ διωλύγιον Ταῦρον,
ἐλάχιστα ἴστω χαλεπότητος ἕνεκα πρὸς τὸ
Ἑρκύνιον ὄντα.¹

3

Ἰουλιανὸς Κορινθίοις

. . . πατρώα μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχει φιλία·
καὶ γὰρ ὥκησε παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, καὶ
ἀναχθεὶς ἔνθεν,² ὥσπερ ἐκ Φαιάκων Ὀδυσσεύς,
τῆς πολυχρονίου πλάνης ἀπηλλάγη . . . ἐνταῦθα
ὁ πατήρ ἀνεπαύσατο.³

4

. . . καὶ ὁ κλεινὸς⁴ ἡμῖν ἔδειξε ἱεροφάντης
Ἰάμβλιχος . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἑμπεδοτίμῳ καὶ
Πυθαγόρᾳ πιστεύοντες οἷς τε ἐκείθεν λαβὼν
Ἑρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἔφη.⁵ . . .

¹ Hertlein 4. Quoted by Suidas under Χρῆμα.

² ἐνθένδε Hertlein.

³ Hertlein 5. Quoted by Libanius, *Oration* 14, 29, 30. For
Aristophanes (of Corinth). ⁴ ἦρως Asmus adds.

⁵ Hertlein 6. Quoted by Suidas from the *Kronia*, under
Ἑμπεδοτίμος and Ἰουλιανός. This fragment is all that survives
of Julian's *Kronia* or *Saturnalia*, written in 361; see Vol. 1,
Oration 4. 157c. We know nothing more as to its contents.

¹ Julian, *Oration* 2. 101 D. The Greek word is Platonic,
cf. *Theaetetus* 161 D.

² For Julian's knowledge of the Hercynian forest, which
in ancient Germany extended from the Black Forest on the
north-east to the Hartz Mountains, cf. Vol. 2, *Misopogon*
359b; Ammianus, 17. 1. 8 Cum prope silvam venisset
squalore tenebrarum horrendam . . . i.e. in his German
campaign in 357; Zosimus, 3. 4. 3 ἄχρι τῶν Ἑρκυνίων δρυμῶν
τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιδιώξας.

THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS

great and far-flung¹ Taurus to be impassable, let me tell him that for difficulty of approach they are trivial indeed compared with the Hercynian forest.²

3

To the Corinthians³

. . . My friendship with you dates from my father's⁴ time. For indeed my father lived in your city, and embarking thence, like Odysseus from the land of the Phaeacians, had respite from his long-protracted wanderings⁵. . . there my father found repose.

4

. . . and the famous hierophant Iamblichus showed it to us . . . and we, since we believed the account of Empedotimus⁶ and Pythagoras, as well as that of Heracleides of Pontus who derived it from them.⁷ . . .

³ This is all that remains of the manifesto sent to the Corinthians by Julian in 361, when he sought to justify his defection from Constantius.

⁴ Julius Constantius was murdered by his nephew, the Emperor Constantius, in 337.

⁵ Libanius says that Julian here spoke briefly about the "wicked stepmother" of Julius, the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, see Zosimus 2. 8 and 9.

⁶ For this famous Syracusan, who claimed to be immortal, see Vol. 2, 295B.

⁷ Geffcken points out that Julian's statement is derived from a commentary on Plato and quotes Proclus, *On Plato's Republic* 2. 119. 18. "The human soul may learn the sacred truth about the affairs of the underworld and report them to mankind. This is shown by the account of Empedotimus, which Heracleides of Pontus relates." Then follows the vision of Empedotimus in Hades; cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 385.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

5

. . . μόνον εὔχεσθαι ᾗδεσαν.¹

6

. . . ἵνα² μὴ ἀκονώμενοι τὴν γλῶτταν³ ἐτοίμως πρὸς τοὺς διαλεκτικούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαντῶσιν.

7

. . . τοῖς οἰκείοις γὰρ πτεροῖς κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν βαλλόμεθα. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων καθοπλιζόμενοι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναδέχονται πόλεμον.⁴

8

Τὸ μὴ προιδέσθαι τό τε δυνατόν καὶ τὸ ἀδύνατον ἐν πράγμασι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀπονοίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον.⁵

¹ Hertlein 7. Quoted by Zosimus 3. 3. 2 οἱ δὲ παρὰ Κωνσταντίου δοθέντες αὐτῷ . . . μόνον εὔχεσθαι, καθάπερ αὐτός πού φησιν, ᾗδεσαν, cf. Vol. 2, 277D, p. 267, Wright.

² Hertlein 8. Quoted by Socrates, *History of the Church* 3. 12; cf. Suidas under Μάρσις. Socrates is quoting from an edict forbidding Christians to teach the classics; but in the extant edict, *Letter* 36, these words do not occur.

³ Cf. Libanius, *Letter* 1588, *To Julian*, αὐτὴν (Sc. τὴν γλῶτταν) ἀκοιῶν.

⁴ Hertlein 9. Quoted by Theodoret, *History of the Church*, 3. 4. Theodoret, like Socrates *frag.* 6, quotes Julian on the Christian teachers of the classics.

⁵ Hertlein 10. Quoted by Suidas under Ἀπόνοια.

¹ Julian said this of the soldiers who were assigned to him by Constantius when he went to Gaul in 355; cf. Libanius

THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS

5

THEY only knew how to pray ¹

6

. . . that they ² may not, by sharpening their tongues,³ be prepared to meet their Hellenic opponents in debate.

7

. . . for in the words of the proverb, we are stricken by our own arrows.⁴ For from our own writings they⁵ take the weapons wherewith they engage in the war against us.

8

NOT to see beforehand what is possible and what impossible in practical affairs is a sign of the utmost foolishness.⁶

18. 94 ἕως αὐτῷ κατέλιπον ὀπίστας εὐξασθαι μόνον δυναμένους, said of the soldiers who were to be left with Julian when Constantius summoned the best of the Gallic army to the East in 360.

² i.e. the Christians.

³ i.e. by the study of rhetoric.

⁴ i.e. the arrows are feathered from our plumage; cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 808 τὰδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτέροις. The figure is used by Byron, Waller and Moore of a wounded eagle "Which on the shaft that made him die, espied a feather of his own." The original is Aeschylus, *Myrmidons*, frag. 139.

⁵ i.e. the Christians.

⁶ This is apparently a criticism of that lack of political instinct in the Christians of which Julian speaks in his treatise *Against the Galilaeans*, fragment 5. Hence Neumann regards the above fragment as derived from a lost part of the treatise.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

9

Λέγει (sc. ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς) οὖν ἐπιστέλλων· Σκύθαι
δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσι, ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεμήσουσιν.¹

10

Πρὸς τριβοῦνον Εὐθυμέλην²
Ἡδονὴ βασιλεῖ πόλεμος.

11

Ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν
τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ.³

12

Πρὸς δῆμον εὐφημήσαντα ἐν τῷ Τυχαίῳ⁴
Εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λαθὼν εἰσῆλθον, εὐφη-
μεῖτε· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε, καὶ

¹ Not in Hertlein. Preserved by Eunapius, *frag.* 22, p. 226, 15, Dindorf.

² Not in Hertlein. It occurs in *Ambrosianus*, B 4, with other sayings of the Emperor; Cumont, *Recherches*, p. 47, thinks that they are derived from some lost historical work.

³ Not in Hertlein. Preserved by Lydus, *De Mensibus*. See Cumont, *Recherches*, p. 17, note 1.

⁴ Hertlein, *Letter* 64. First published by Muratori in *Anecdota Graeca*, Padua, 1709.

¹ In 360 Constantius bribed the Scythians to aid him in his campaign against the Persians (Ammianus 20. 8. 1), and in 363 Julian employed Scythian auxiliaries for the same purpose (Ammianus 23. 2. 7). It is uncertain to which of these dates the fragment refers; Eunapius quotes this remark as evidence of Julian's foresight.

THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS

9

ACCORDINGLY he says in a letter: At present the Scythians¹ are not restless, but perhaps they will become restless.

10

To Euthymeles the Tribune

A KING delights in war.

11

For I am rebuilding with all zeal the temple of the Most High God.²

12

To the citizens who acclaimed him in the temple
of Fortune³

WHEN I enter the theatre unannounced,⁴ acclaim me, but when I enter the temples be silent⁵ and

¹ Lydus says that Julian wrote this to the Jews. The letter is lost. For Julian's design of rebuilding the Temple see *Letter* 51 and Introduction.

² At Constantinople there was a temple of Fortune (Τυχή) with a statue of the Goddess, cf. Socrates 3. 11. It was when Julian was sacrificing in this temple that he was denounced by the blind Bishop Maris of Chalcedon, as related by Sozomen 5. 4. But as Julian in the *Misopogon* 346B speaks twice of sacrificing at Antioch in the temple of Fortune, this admonition may have been addressed to the citizens of Antioch, late in 362 or early in 363.

³ For Julian's rare visits to the theatre, see *Misopogon* 339C, 368C. For his love of applause, Ammianus 25. 4. 18 *volgi plausibus laetus*.

⁴ Cf. Vol. 2. *Misopogon* 344B,C, where Julian reproves the citizens of Antioch for applauding him in the temples.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

μετενέγκατε ὑμῶν τὰς εὐφημίας εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς·
μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν εὐφημιῶν οὐ χρήζουσιν.

13

Πρὸς ζωγράφον ¹

Εἰ μὲν μὴ εἶχον ² καὶ ἐχαρίσω μοι, συγγνώμης
ἦσθα ἄξιος· εἰ δὲ εἶχον μὲν, οὐκ ἐχρησάμην δέ,
τοὺς θεοὺς ἔφερον, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν
ἐφερόμην. σύ μοι ἀλλότριον σχῆμα πῶς ἐδίδους,
ἐταῖρε ; οἷόν με εἶδες, τοιοῦτον καὶ γράψον.

14

Πρὸς ἐπισκόπους ³

ἔγνω, ἀνέγνω κατέγνω.

¹ Hertlein, *Letter* 65.

² εἰκὼν? Muratori.

³ Not in Hertlein. Quoted by Sozomen 5. 18. In some MSS. it occurs at the end of *Letter* 81, *To Basil*.

¹ This and the following fragment, wrongly placed among the letters by Hertlein and earlier editors, are, as Cumont saw, isolated *mots historiques* probably quoted from some historical work. They may have occurred in an edict.

² Sozomen 5. 17. says that Julian had himself painted "on the public pictures" in juxtaposition with Zeus or Ares or Hermes in order that the people might be compelled when they saluted the Emperor to salute the gods also, and that few

THE SHORTER FRAGMENTS

transfer your acclamations to the gods ; or rather the gods do not need acclamations.¹

13

To a Painter ²

If I did not possess it ³ and you had bestowed it on me, you would have deserved to be forgiven ; but if I possessed it and did not use it, I carried the gods, or rather was carried by them. Why, my friend, did you give me a form other than my own ? Paint me exactly as you saw me.

14

To the Bishops

I RECOGNISED, I read, I condemned.⁴

had the courage to refuse to conform with this established custom ; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 4. 81.

³ Whether because of mutilation or lack of context, the two first sentences are unintelligible ; we do not know the object of the verbs or what is meant by the reference to the gods ; but evidently Julian did not like his portrait.

⁴ Sozomen 5. 18 says that Julian, in order to ridicule the Christian substitutes for the Greek classics, composed chiefly by Apollinaris, after Julian had forbidden Christians to teach the originals, wrote these words to the Bishops. Their answer was as follows : " You have read, but you have not understood ; for, had you understood, you would not have condemned." See *Letter* 81, *To Basil*, p. 286.

EPIGRAMMATA

1

Εἰς οἶνον ἀπὸ κριθῆς

τίς πόθεν εἰς, Διόνυσε ; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀλαθέα
Βάκχον

οὐ σ' ἐπιγιγνώσκω τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.
κείνος νέκταρ ὄδωδε, σὺ δὲ τράγον. ἦ ῥά σε
Κελτοὶ

τῇ πενίῃ βοτρυῶν τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.
τῷ σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον, οὐ Διόνυσον,
πυρογενῇ μᾶλλον καὶ Βρόμον, οὐ Βρόμιον.¹

2

Εἰς τὸ ὄργανον²

ἀλλοίην ὁρώω δονάκων φύσιν. ἦπου ἀπ' ἄλλης
χαλκείης τάχα μᾶλλον ἀνεβλάστησαν ἀρούρης
ἄγριοι· οὐδ' ἀνέμοισιν ὑφ' ἡμετέροις³ δονέονται,
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ταυρείης προθορῶν σπήλυγγος ἀήτης
νέρθεν ἐϋτρήτων καλάμων ὑπὸ ῥίζαν ὀδεύει.

¹ Hertlein 1. *Palatine Anthology* 9. 365, and in several MSS.

² Hertlein 2 ; *The Greek Anthology* vol. 3, 365, Paton ; it is found in *Parisinus* 690.

³ ἡερίοις Cumont.

¹ i.e. beer, which Julian met with in Gaul and Germany.

EPIGRAMS

1

On wine made from barley¹

Who art thou and whence, O Dionysus? By the true Bacchus I recognise thee not; I know only the son of Zeus. He smells of nectar, but you smell of goat. Truly it was in their lack of grapes that the Celts brewed thee from corn-ears. So we should call thee Demetrius,² not Dionysus, wheat-born³ not fire-born, barley god not boisterous god.⁴

2

On the Organ

A STRANGE growth of reeds do I behold. Surely they sprang on a sudden from another brazen field, so wild are they. The winds that wave them are none of ours, but a blast leaps forth from a cavern of bull's hide and beneath the well-bored pipes travels to their roots. And a dignified person, with swift

² *i. e.* son of Demeter goddess of corn.

³ *πῦρογενῆ*, not *πῦρογενῆ*, a play on words. See *The Greek Anthology*, Vol. 3. 368, Paton.

⁴ *βρόμιος* means "oats"; Bromius "boisterous" was an epithet of Dionysus; it is impossible to represent the play on the words.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

καί τις ἀνὴρ ἀγέρωχος, ἔχων θαὰ δάκτυλα
χειρός,
ἴσταται ἀμφαφύων κανόνας συμφράδμονας
αὐλῶν,
οἱ δ' ἀπαλὸν σκιρτῶντες ἀποθλίβουσιν ἀοιδήν.

3

Αἶνιγμα εἰς κοντοπαίκτην¹

ἔστιν τι δένδρον τῶν ἀνακτόρων μέσον,
οὗ ῥίζα καὶ ζῆ καὶ λαλεῖ καρποῖς ἅμα·
μιᾷ δ' ἐν ᾧ καὶ φυτεύεται ξένως
καὶ καρπὸν αὖξει καὶ τρυγᾶται ῥιζόθεν.

4

εἰς τὸν παρόντα Ὀμηρικὸν στίχον ἐξ πόδας
ἔχοντα ὧν οἱ τρεῖς εἰσι δάκτυλοι²
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια
ἐξ ποσὶν ἐμβεβανῖα τριδάκτυλος ἐξεφαάνθη.

¹ Hertlein 3. *Palatine Anthology* vol. 2. p. 769.

² Hertlein 4. *Anthology* 2. 659.

¹ A note in the MS. (*Parisinus* 690) explains that Julian composed this poem during a procession, when he was leaving the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. He was

EPIGRAMS

moving fingers of the hand, stands there and handles the keys that pass the word to the pipes ; then the keys leap lightly, and press forth the melody.¹

3

Riddle on a performer with a pole

THERE is a tree between the lords, whose root has life and talks, and the fruits likewise. And in a single hour it grows in strange fashion, and ripens its fruit, and gets its harvest at the roots.²

4

On the Homeric hexameter which contains six feet of which three are dactyls

"THE daughter of Icarius, prudent Penelope," appears with three fingers³ and walks on six feet.

then a mere boy, pursuing his education in Constantinople, before he was interned in Cappadocia.

² The performer balances on his forehead, between his temples, a pole at the end of which is a cage or bar, supporting a child or children.

³ There is a play of words on δάκτυλος = "finger" and "dactyl," a metrical foot. In the title, "foot" and "dactyl" are metrical terms, in the riddle they are used in the original, physical sense. The hexameter quoted has three dactyls.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

5

Εἰς ἵπποκένταυρον¹

ἀνδρόθεν ἐκκέχυθ' ἵππος, ἀνέδραμε δ' ἱππόθεν
 ἀνὴρ,
ἀνὴρ νόσφι ποδῶν, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄτερ αἰόλος
 ἵππος·
ἵππος ἐρεύγεται ἄνδρα, ἀνὴρ δ' ἀποπέρδεται
 ἵππον.

6

Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου²

ὥς ἐθέλει τὸ φέρον σε
 φέρειν, φέρον· ἦν δ' ἀπιθήσης,
καὶ σαυτὸν βλάψεις, καὶ τὸ
 φέρον σε φέρει.

¹ Hertlein 6. Assigned to Julian by Tzetzes *Chiliades* 959; *Anthology*, vol. 2, p. 659.

EPIGRAMS

5

To a Hippocentaur

A HORSE has been poured from a man's mould, a man springs up from a horse. The man has no feet, the swift moving horse has no head. The horse belches forth as a man, the man breaks wind as a horse.

6

By Julian the Apostate

EVEN as Fate the Sweeper wills to sweep thee on, be thou swept. But if thou rebel, thou wilt but harm thyself, and Fate still sweeps thee on.¹

¹ Perhaps there is a similar meaning in the phrase *ὅπδ τῶν θεῶν ἐφερόμην* in the puzzling *frag.* 13, p. 303.

² Not in Hertlein. First ascribed to Julian, from *Baroccianus* 133, by Cumont, *Revue de Philologie*, 1892. Also ascribed to St. Basil; cf. a similar epigram in *Palatine Anthology* 10. 73, ascribed to Palladas.

•

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

INTRODUCTION

JULIAN, like Epictetus, always calls the Christians Galilaeans¹ because he wishes to emphasise that this was a local creed, "the creed of fishermen," and perhaps to remind his readers that "out of Galilee ariseth no prophet";² with the same intention he calls Christ "the Nazarene."³ His chief aim in the treatise was to show that there is no evidence in the Old Testament for the idea of Christianity, so that the Christians have no right to regard their teaching as a development of Judaism. His attitude throughout is that of a philosopher who rejects the claims of one small sect to have set up a universal religion. He speaks with respect of the God of the Hebrews, admires the Jewish discipline, their sacrifices and their prohibition of certain foods, plays off the Jews against the Christians, and reproaches the latter for having abandoned the Mosaic law; but he contrasts the jealous, exclusive "particular" (μερικός) Hebraic God with the universal Hellenic gods who do not confine their attentions to a small and unimportant portion of the world. Throughout Julian's works

¹ Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *First Inveictive Against Julian* 76 (115), Γαλιλαίους ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν ὀνομάσας καὶ καλεῖσθαι νομοθετήσας. This was ignored by Neumann in his reconstruction of the work, which he entitled *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*. Cf. Socrates 3. 12.

² *John* 7. 52.

³ In the fragmentary *Letter* 55, *To Photinus*, p. 189.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

there are scattered references, nearly always disdainful, to the Galilaeans, but his formal attack on their creed and on the inconsistencies of the Scriptures, which he had promised in *Letter 55, To Photinus*, the heretic, was not given to the general public, for whom he says he intends it, till he had left Antioch on his march to Persia in the early spring of 363. He probably compiled it at Antioch in the preceding winter.¹ Perhaps it was never completed, for at the time Julian had many things on his mind. It was written in three Books, but the fragments preserved are almost entirely from Book I. In the fifth century Cyril of Alexandria regarded the treatise as peculiarly dangerous, and said that it had shaken many believers. He undertook to refute it in a polemic of which about half survives, and from the quotations of Julian in Cyril's work Neumann has skilfully reconstructed considerable portions of the treatise. Cyril had rearranged Julian's hurriedly written polemic, in order to avoid repetitions and to bring similar subjects together. Moreover, he says that he omitted invectives against Christ and such matter as might contaminate the minds of Christians. We have seen that a similar mutilation of the letters occurred for similar reasons.

Julian's arguments against the Christian doctrine do not greatly differ from those used in the second century by Celsus, and by Porphyry in the third ; but

¹ Libanius, in his *Monody on Julian*, says that at Antioch there were composed by the Emperor βιβλίων συγγραφαὶ βοηθούντων θεοῖς ; in the *Epitaph on Julian*, that the attack on Christian doctrines was composed in the long nights of winter, i. e. 362-363, at Antioch, where he spent the winter with Julian.

INTRODUCTION

his tone is more like that of Celsus, for he and Celsus were alike in being embittered opponents of the Christian religion, which Porphyry was not. Those engaged in this sort of controversy use the same weapons over and over again ; Origen refutes Celsus, Cyril refutes Julian, in much the same terms. Both sides have had the education of sophists, possess the learning of their time, borrow freely from Plato, attack the rules or lack of rules of diet of the opponents' party, point out the inconsistencies in the rival creed, and ignore the weaknesses of their own.¹

For his task Julian had been well equipped by his Christian teachers when he was interned at Macellum in Cappadocia, and he here repays them for the enforced studies of his boyhood, when his naturally pagan soul rebelled against the Christian ritual in which he had to take part. In spite of his insistence on the inconsistency of the Christians in setting up a Trinity in place of the monotheism of Moses and the prophets, he feels the need of some figure in his own pantheon to balance that of Christ the Saviour, and uses, both in this treatise and in *Oration 4*, about Asclepius or Dionysus or Heracles almost the language of the Christians about Christ, setting these pagan figures up one after another as manifestations of the divine beneficence in making a link between the gods and mankind.

Though Julian borrowed from Porphyry's lost polemic in fifteen Books,² he does not discuss

¹ Geffcken, *Zwei Griechische Apologeten*, p. 259, speaks of a Chinese polemic against Christianity, composed according to the regular conventions of this type.

² On Julian's debt to Porphyry, and his lack of sympathy with Porphyry's attitude to religion, see Harnack, *Porphyrius*, Berlin, 1916 ; Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand, 1913.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

questions of the chronology and authorship of the Scriptures as Porphyry is known to have done. Libanius, always a blind admirer of Julian, says¹ that in this treatise the Emperor made the doctrines of the Christians look ridiculous, and that he was "wiser than the Tyrian old man," that is, Porphyry. But apparently the Christians of the next two centuries did not agree with Cyril as to the peculiarly dangerous character of Julian's invective. At any rate, the Council of Ephesus, in a decree dated 431, sentenced Porphyry's books to be burned, but did not mention Julian's; and again in a law of Theodosius II. in 448, Julian was ignored while Porphyry was condemned. When in 529 Justinian decreed that anti-Christian books were to be burned, Porphyry alone was named, though probably Julian was meant to be included. Not long after Julian's death his fellow-student at Athens, Gregory Nazianzen, wrote a long invective against him, in which he attacked the treatise *Against the Galilaeans* without making a formal refutation of Julian's arguments. Others in the fifth century, such as Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Philip Sideta, wrote refutations which are lost. But it was reserved for Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, writing between 429 and 441, to compose a long and formal refutation of Julian's treatise; the latter seems to have been no longer in circulation, or was at least neglected, and Neumann thinks that the bishop was urged to write his polemic by his dislike of the heretical views of other and earlier antagonists of Julian, especially Theodorus of Mopsuestia. This refutation, which was dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius II, was in at least twenty

¹ *Oration* 18. 178.

INTRODUCTION

Books. But for Cyril's quotations we should have a very vague idea of Julian's treatise, and as it is we are compelled to see it through the eyes of a hostile apologist. Cyril's own comments, and his summaries of portions of the treatise have been omitted from the following translation,¹ but the substance of the summaries has been given in the footnotes. The marginal numbers in the Greek text correspond with the pages of Spanheim's (1696) edition of Cyril's polemic *Pro Christiana Religione*, from which Neumann extracted and strung together Cyril's quotations of Julian. There is, therefore, an occasional lack of connection in Julian's arguments, taken apart from their context in Cyril's treatise.

¹ For a full discussion of the work of Cyril and the other Christian apologists who attempted to refute Julian, and for an explanation of Neumann's method of reconstruction, the reader is referred to the Latin *Prolegomena* to Neumann's Edition of Julian's polemic.

The numerous passages or expressions in this treatise that can be paralleled in Julian's other works have been collected by Asmus in his Concordance, *Julian's Galiläerschrift*, 1904.

ΙΟΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ Α¹

- 39 A Καλῶς ἔχειν ἔμοιγε φαίνεται τὰς αἰτίας ἐκθέσ-
θαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπείσθην ὅτι τῶν
39 B Γαλιλαίων ἡ σκευωρία πλάσμα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων
ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθέν. ἔχουσα μὲν οὐδὲν θεῖον,
ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ καὶ παιδαριώδει
καὶ ἀνοήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μορίῳ, τὴν τερατολογίαν
εἰς πίστιν ἤγαγεν ἀληθείας.
- 41 E Μέλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων
δογμάτων ἀπάντων ποιείσθαι τὸν λόγον, ἐκείνο
βούλομαι πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς ἐντυγχά-
νοντας, εἴπερ ἀντιλέγειν ἐθέλοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν δικα-
στηρίῳ μηδὲν ἔξωθεν πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδέ, τὸ
λεγόμενον, ἀντικατηγορεῖν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρ'
42 A αὐτοῖς² ἀπολογήσωνται. ἄμεινον μὲν γὰρ οὕτω,
καὶ σαφέστερον ἰδίαν μὲν ἐνστήσασθαι πραγμα-
τείαν, ὅταν τι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εὐθύνην θέλωσιν, ἐν
οἷς δὲ πρὸς τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν εὐθύνας ἀπολογοῦνται,
μηδὲν ἀντικατηγορεῖν.
- 42 E Μικρὸν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ἄξιον, ὅθεν ἡμῖν ἤκει καὶ
ὅπως ἐννοία θεοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα παραθεῖναι τὰ
παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὑπὲρ

¹ The marginal numbers in Neumann's text represent the
paging of the edition of Cyril by Spanheim, 1696, as rearranged

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

BOOK I

It is, I think, expedient to set forth to all mankind the reasons by which I was convinced that the fabrication of the Galilaeans is a fiction of men composed by wickedness. Though it has in it nothing divine, by making full use of that part of the soul which loves fable and is childish and foolish, it has induced men to believe that the monstrous tale is truth. Now since I intend to treat of all their first dogmas, as they call them, I wish to say in the first place that if my readers desire to try to refute me they must proceed as if they were in a court of law and not drag in irrelevant matter, or, as the saying is, bring counter-charges until they have defended their own views. For thus it will be better and clearer if, when they wish to censure any views of mine, they undertake that as a separate task, but when they are defending themselves against my censure, they bring no counter-charges.

It is worth while to recall in a few words whence and how we first arrived at a conception of God; next to compare what is said about the divine among the Hellenes and Hebrews; and finally

by Neumann. In the Introduction to his edition he defends his rearrangement of the text of Aubert 1638, given by Spanheim.

* τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Neumann; MS. τῶν πρώτων Gollwitzer would retain, taking ὑπὲρ τῶν πρώτων = πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 43 A τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανερέσθαι τοὺς οὔτε Ἑλληνας οὔτε Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὄντας αἰρέσεως, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἴλοντο τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τί δὴ ποτε μὴδ' ἐκείνοις ἐμμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινων ἀποστάντες ἰδίαν ὁδὸν ἐτράποντο. ὁμολογήσαντες μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν οὐδὲ τῶν σπουδαίων οὔτε τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὔτε τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀπὸ Μωυσέως Ἑβραίοις,¹ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν δὲ τὰς παραπεπηγυίας τούτοις τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὥσπερ τινὰς
- 43 B Κῆρας δρεπόμενοι, τὴν ἀθεότητα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ῥαδιουργίας, φαῦλον δὲ καὶ ἐπισεσυρμένον βίον ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ῥαθυμίας καὶ χυδαίότητος, τοῦτο τὴν ἀρίστην θεοσέβειαν ἠθέλησαν ὀνομάζεσθαι.
- 52 B Ὅτι δὲ οὐ διδακτόν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τὸ εἰδέναι θεὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τεκμήριον ἡμῖν ἔστω πρῶτον ἢ κοινὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ ἔθνη περὶ τὸ θεῖον προθυμία. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀδιδάκτως θεῖόν τι πεπιστεύκαμεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὔτε πᾶσι ῥάδιον γινώσκειν οὔτε τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν εἰπεῖν εἰς πάντα δυνατόν . . . ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐννοίᾳ πρόσεστι καὶ ἄλλη. πάντες γὰρ οὐρανῷ
- 52 C καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ φαινομένοις θεοῖς οὕτω δὴ τι φυσικῶς προσηρητήμεθα, ὥς καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλον ὑπέλαβε παρ' αὐτοὺς τὸν θεόν, οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ πάντως τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπένειμεν, οὐκ ἀποστήσας αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλ' οἶον ὥς εἰς τιμιώτερον τοῦ

¹ Klimek would delete Ἑβραίοις as a gloss.

¹ Some words are lost.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

to enquire of those who are neither Hellenes nor Jews, but belong to the sect of the Galilaeans, why they preferred the belief of the Jews to ours; and what, further, can be the reason why they do not even adhere to the Jewish beliefs but have abandoned them also and followed a way of their own. For they have not accepted a single admirable or important doctrine of those that are held either by us Hellenes or by the Hebrews who derived them from Moses; but from both religions they have gathered what has been engrafted like powers of evil, as it were, on these nations—atheism from the Jewish levity, and a sordid and slovenly way of living from our indolence and vulgarity; and they desire that this should be called the noblest worship of the gods.

Now that the human race possesses its knowledge of God by nature and not from teaching is proved to us first of all by the universal yearning for the divine that is in all men whether private persons or communities, whether considered as individuals or as races. For all of us, without being taught, have attained to a belief in some sort of divinity, though it is not easy for all men to know the precise truth about it, nor is it possible for those who do know it to tell it to all men. . . .¹ Surely, besides this conception which is common to all men, there is another also. [I mean that we are all by nature so closely dependent on the heavens and the gods that are visible therein, that even if any man conceives of another god besides these, he in every case assigns to him the heavens as his dwelling-place; not that he thereby separates him from the earth, but he so to speak establishes the King of

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

παντὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸν βασιλέα καθίσας τῶν ὅλων ἐφορᾶν ἐκείθεν ὑπολαμβάνων τὰ τῆδε.

- 69 B Τί δέ μοι¹ καλεῖν Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἑβραίους ἐνταῦθα μάρτυρας ; οὐδεὶς ἔστιν, ὃς οὐκ ἀνατείνει μὲν εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας εὐχόμενος, ὁμνῶν δὲ θεὸν ἥτοι θεούς, ἔννοιαν ὅλως τοῦ θείου λαμβάνων, ἐκείσε φέρεται. καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἔπαθον. ὁρῶντες γὰρ οὔτε πληθυνόμενον² οὔτε ἐλαττούμενον τι τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν οὔτε τρεπόμενον οὔτε πάθος ὑπομένον τι τῶν ἀτάκτων, ἀλλ' ἑναρμόνιον μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν κίνησιν, ἐμμελῆ δὲ τὴν τάξιν,
- 69 C ὠρισμένους δὲ φωτισμοὺς σελήνης, ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ὠρισμένας ἐν ὠρισμένοις αἰεταῖς, εἰκότως θεὸν καὶ θεοῦ θρόνον ὑπέλαβον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, ἅτε μηδεμιᾶ προσθήκῃ πληθυνόμενον μηδὲ ἐλαττούμενον ἀφαιρέσει, τῆς τε κατ' ἀλλοιώσιν καὶ τροπὴν ἐκτὸς ἱστάμενον μεταβολῆς πάσης καθαρεύει φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως, ἀθάνατον δὲ ὃν φύσει καὶ ἀνώλεθρον παντοίας ἐστὶ καθαρὸν κηλίδος· αἰδίου δὲ καὶ ἀεικίνητον, ὡς ὁρῶμεν, ἥτοι
- 69 D παρὰ ψυχῆς κρείττονος καὶ θειοτέρας ἐνοικούσης αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα παρὰ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχῆς, φέρεται κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν μέγαν δημιουργόν, ἥ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κίνησιν παραδεξάμενον τὸν ἄπειρον ἐξελίττει κύκλον ἀπαύστῳ καὶ αἰωνίῳ φορᾷ.

¹ Gollwitzer deletes μοι.

² οὔτε πληθυνόμενον Klimek adds, cf. 69 C.

¹ Cf. *Oration* 6. 183c, Vol. 2.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

the All in the heavens¹ as in the most honourable place of all, and conceives of him as overseeing from there the affairs of this world.

What need have I to summon Hellenes and Hebrews as witnesses of this? There exists no man who does not stretch out his hands towards the heavens when he prays; and whether he swears by one god or several, if he has any notion at all of the divine, he turns heavenward. And it was very natural that men should feel thus. For since they observed that in what concerns the heavenly bodies there is no increase or diminution or mutability, and that they do not suffer any unregulated influence, but their movement is harmonious and their arrangement in concert; and that the illuminations of the moon are regulated, and that the risings and settings of the sun are regularly defined, and always at regularly defined seasons, they naturally conceived that the heaven is a god and the throne of a god.² For a being of that sort, since it is not subject to increase by addition, or to diminution by subtraction, and is stationed beyond all change due to alteration and mutability, is free from decay and generation, and inasmuch as it is immortal by nature and indestructible, it is pure from every sort of stain. Eternal and ever in movement, as we see, it travels in a circuit about the great Creator, whether it be impelled by a nobler and more divine soul that dwells therein, just as, I mean, our bodies are by the soul in us, or having received its motion from God Himself, it wheels in its boundless circuit, in an unceasing and eternal career.

² Cyril 70A ridicules Julian for confusing here a god with a throne; but *καί* can be interpreted "or."

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 44 A Οὐκοῦν Ἕλληνες μὲν τοὺς μύθους ἔπλασαν ὑπὲρ
τῶν θεῶν ἀπίστους καὶ τερατώδεις. καταπιεῖν
44 B γὰρ ἔφασαν τὸν Κρόνον τοὺς παῖδας¹ εἰτ' αὖθις
ἐμέσαι. καὶ γάμους ἤδη παρανόμους· μητρὶ γὰρ
ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς
ἔγημε μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, μᾶλλον δὲ
οὐδὲ ἔγημεν, ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἀπλῶς ἄλλῃ παραδέ-
δωκεν² αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ
μελῶν κολλήσεις. τοιαῦτα οἱ μῦθοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
75 A φασίν. τοῦτοις παράβαλλε τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν διδασ-
καλίαν, καὶ τὸν φυτευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρά-
δεισον καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενον Ἀδάμ, εἶτα
τὴν γινομένην αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεός
“Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον· ποιήσωμεν
αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν,” πρὸς οὐδέν μὲν αὐτῷ
τῶν ὄλων βοηθήσασαν, ἐξαπατήσασαν δὲ καὶ
γενομένην παραίτιον αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἑαυτῇ
75 B τοῦ πεσεῖν ἔξω τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου τρυφῆς.
Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶ μυθώδη παντελῶς. ἐπεὶ πῶς
εὐλογον ἀγνοεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὅτι τὸ γινόμενον ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ πρὸς βοήθειαν οὐ πρὸς καλοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀλλὰ
86 A πρὸς κακοῦ τῷ λαβόντι γενήσεται; τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν
τὸν διαλεγόμενον πρὸς τὴν Εὐάν ποδαπῇ τι
χρῆσθαι φήσομεν διαλέκτῳ; ἄρα ἀνθρωπεία; καὶ
τί διαφέρει τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πεπλασμένων
89 A μύθων τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀπαγορεύειν
τὴν διάγνωσιν καλοῦ τε καὶ φαύλου τοῖς ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ πλασθεῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπερβολὴν

¹ Before εἰτ' Neumann adds καί, but this is not necessary.

² παρέδωκεν Klimek.

¹ Persephone.

² Hades.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

Now it is true that the Hellenes invented their myths about the gods, incredible and monstrous stories. For they said that Kronos swallowed his children and then vomited them forth; and they even told of lawless unions, how Zeus had intercourse with his mother, and after having a child by her, married his own daughter,¹ or rather did not even marry her, but simply had intercourse with her and then handed her over to another.² Then too there is the legend that Dionysus was rent asunder and his limbs joined together again. This is the sort of thing described in the myths of the Hellenes. Compare with them the Jewish doctrine, how the garden was planted by God and Adam was fashioned by Him, and next, for Adam, woman came to be. For God said, "It is not good that the man should be alone. Let us make him an help meet like him."³ Yet so far was she from helping him at all that she deceived him, and was in part the cause of his and her own fall from their life of ease in the garden.

This is wholly fabulous. For is it probable that God did not know that the being he was creating as a help meet would prove to be not so much a blessing as a misfortune to him who received her? Again, what sort of language are we to say that the serpent used when he talked with Eve? Was it the language of human beings? And in what do such legends as these differ from the myths that were invented by the Hellenes? Moreover, is it not excessively strange that God should deny to the human beings whom he had fashioned the power to distinguish between good

³ *Genesis* 2. 18.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- ἀτοπίας ἔχει ; τί γὰρ ἂν ἡλιθιώτερον γένοιτο τοῦ
 μὴ δυναμένου διαγινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν ;
 δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι τὰ μὲν οὐ φεύζεται, λέγω δὲ τὰ
 κακά, τὰ δὲ οὐ μεταδιώξει, λέγω δὲ τὰ καλά.
 κεφάλαιον δέ, φρονήσεως ἀπηγόρευσεν ὁ θεὸς
 89 B ἀνθρώπῳ γεύσασθαι, ἧς οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη τιμιώτερον
 93 D ἀνθρώπῳ.¹ ὅτι γὰρ ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ χείρονος
 διάγνωσις οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν ἔργον φρονήσεως, πρόδηλόν
 93 E ἐστὶ πού καὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις· ὥστε τὸν ὄφιν εὐερ-
 γέτην μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
 γενέσεως εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς δεῖ λέγεσθαι²
 βάσκανος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε μετασχόντα τῆς φρο-
 νήσεως τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα μὴ, φησί, γεύσῃται τοῦ
 ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὸν τοῦ παραδείσου
 διαρρήδην εἰπών· “Ἰδοὺ, Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἰς ἐξ
 ἡμῶν τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν. καὶ νῦν
 μήποτε ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου
 τῆς ζωῆς καὶ φύγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.”
 94 A τούτων τοίνυν ἕκαστον εἰ μὴ μῦθος ἔχων θεωρίαν
 ἀπόρρητον εἶη, ὅπερ ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πολλῆς γέ-
 μουσιν οἱ λόγοι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημίας. τὸ
 γὰρ ἀγνοῆσαι μὲν, ὡς ἡ γινομένη βοηθὸς αἰτία
 τοῦ πτώματος ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἀπαγορεῦσαι καλοῦ
 καὶ πονηροῦ γινώσιν,³ ὃ μόνον ἔοικε συνέχειν τὸν
 νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ πρόσετι τὸ ζηλοτυπήσαι,

¹ αὐτῷ Neumann, ἀνθρώπῳ MSS. ; Klimek would delete ἀνθρώπῳ ; Gollwitzer rightly retains as characteristic Julianic tautology.

² δεῖ λέγεσθαι Neumann ; λέγοιτ' ἂν Klimek ; λέγεται MSS. ; Gollwitzer deletes ἐπὶ.

³ Gollwitzer adds λαβεῖν ; Asmus ἀναλαβεῖν, cf. Vol. 2, 265A.

¹ *Genesis* 3. 22.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

and evil? What could be more foolish than a being unable to distinguish good from bad? For it is evident that he would not avoid the latter, I mean things evil, nor would he strive after the former, I mean things good. And, in short, God refused to let man taste of wisdom, than which there could be nothing of more value for man. For that the power to distinguish between good and less good is the property of wisdom is evident surely even to the witless; so that the serpent was a benefactor rather than a destroyer of the human race. Furthermore, their God must be called envious. For when he saw that man had attained to a share of wisdom, that he might not, God said, taste of the tree of life, he cast him out of the garden, saying in so many words, "Behold, Adam has become as one of us, because he knows good from bad; and now let him not put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat and thus live forever."¹ Accordingly, unless every one of these legends is a myth that involves some secret interpretation, as I indeed believe,² they are filled with many blasphemous sayings about God. For in the first place to be ignorant that she who was created as a help meet would be the cause of the fall; secondly to refuse the knowledge of good and bad, which knowledge alone seems to give coherence to the mind of man; and lastly to be jealous lest man should take of the

Jealous
God

² For Julian's belief that myths need allegorical interpretation cf. *Oration* 5. 169-170, Vol. 1, p. 475, note; see also *Caesars* 306c, *Oration* 7. 206c, 220, for myths as emblematic of the truth. This is the regular method of Neo-Platonic writers, such as Sallustius, in dealing with the unpleasant or incongruous elements in Greek mythology.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

μὴ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς μεταλαβὼν ἄνθρωπος
ἀθάνατος ἐκ θνητοῦ γένηται, φθονεροῦ καὶ βασκά-
νου λίαν ἐστίν.

96 C Ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἐκεῖνοί τε ἀληθῶς δοξάζουσιν ἡμῖν
τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν, ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος
ἔχει λόγος ὡδὶ¹ τὸν προσεχῆ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου
δημιουργόν. . . ὑπὲρ γὰρ θεῶν² τῶν ἀνωτέρω τούτου
Μωυσῆς μὲν εἴρηκεν οὐδὲν ὅλως, ὅς γε οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ

96 D τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐτόλμησέ τι φύσεως· ἀλλ' ὅτι
μὲν λειτουργοῦσι τῷ θεῷ πολλαχῶς καὶ πολλάκις
εἶπεν, εἴτε δὲ γεγονότες, εἴτε ἀγέννητοι, εἴτε ὑπ'
ἄλλου μὲν γεγονότες, ἄλλῳ δὲ λειτουργεῖν τεταγ-
μένοι, εἴτε ἄλλως πως, οὐδαμόθεν διώρισται.
περὶ δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τίνα
τρόπον διεκοσμήθη διέξεισι. καὶ τὰ μὲν φησι
κελεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ φῶς καὶ στε-
ρέωμα, τὰ δὲ ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν,
96 E ἡλιὸν τε καὶ σελήνην, τὰ δὲ ὄντα, κρυπτόμενα δὲ
τέως,³ διακρίναι, καθάπερ ὕδωρ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν
ξηράν. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ γενέσεως ἢ
περὶ ποιήσεως τοῦ πνεύματος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν,
ἀλλὰ μόνον “Καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω
τοῦ ὕδατος”· πότερον δὲ ἀγέννητόν ἐστιν ἢ γέγονεν,
οὐδὲν διασαφεῖ.

49 A Ἐνταῦθα παραβάλωμεν, εἰ βούλεσθε, τὴν
Πλάτωνος φωνήν. τί τοίνυν οὗτος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
δημιουργοῦ λέγει καὶ τίνας περιτίθῃσιν αὐτῷ

¹ ὡδὶ Asmus restores from MSS. ; οὐδὲ Neumann.

² Asmus deletes as superfluous θεῶν added by Neumann.

³ δέ, τέως Neumann ; δὲ τέως, Asmus.

¹ The pagan theory is missing and also part of the Jewish, according to Asmus.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

tree of life and from mortal become immortal,—this is to be grudging and envious overmuch.

Next to consider the views that are correctly held by the Jews, and also those that our fathers handed down to us from the beginning. Our account has in it the immediate creator of this universe, as the following shows. . . .¹ Moses indeed has said nothing whatsoever about the gods who are superior to this creator, nay, he has not even ventured to say anything about the nature of the angels. But that they serve God he has asserted in many ways and often; but whether they were generated or ungenerated, or whether they were generated by one god and appointed to serve another, or in some other way, he has nowhere said definitely. But he describes fully in what manner the heavens and the earth and all that therein is were set in order. In part, he says, God ordered them to be, such as light and the firmament, and in part, he says, God made them, such as the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon, and that all things which already existed but were hidden away for the time being, he separated, such as water, I mean, and dry land. But apart from these he did not venture to say a word about the generation or the making of the Spirit, but only this, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." But whether that spirit was ungenerated or had been generated he does not make at all clear.

Now, if you please, we will compare the utterance of Plato.² Observe then what he says about the creator, and what words he makes him speak

¹ In his *Letter to a Priest* 292, Vol. 2, Julian contrasts the Platonic account of the Creation with the Mosaic.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- φωνὰς ἐν τῇ κοσμογενείᾳ σκόπησον, ἵνα τὴν Πλάτωνος καὶ Μωυσέως κοσμογένειαν ἀντιπαραβάλωμεν ἀλλήλαις. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν φανείη, τίς ὁ κρείττων καὶ τίς ἄξιος τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λελατρευκὼς Πλάτων ἢ περὶ οὗ φησιν ἡ
- 49 B γραφή, ὅτι στόμα κατὰ στόμα ὁ θεὸς ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ. “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς, ὅτι καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκοτῶντος. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκοτῶν ἐκάλεσε νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτω
- 49 C στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά. καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου καὶ ξύλον κάρπιμον. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα ὦσιν εἰς φαῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ
- 49 D οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε ἄρχειν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός.”
- Ἐν δὲ τούτοις Μωυσῆς οὔτε τὴν ἄβυσσον πεποιησθαί φησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε τὸ σκοτῶν οὔτε τὸ ὕδωρ· καίτοι χρῆν δῆπουθεν εἰπόντα περὶ
- 330

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

at the time of the generation of the universe, in order that we may compare Plato's account of that generation with that of Moses. For in this way it will appear who was the nobler and who was more worthy of intercourse with God, Plato who paid homage to images, or he of whom the Scripture says that God spake with him mouth to mouth.¹ "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and without form, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. And God called the firmament Heaven. And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear; and it was so. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass for fodder, and the fruit tree yielding fruit. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven that they may be for a light upon the earth. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to rule over the day and over the night."²

In all this, you observe, Moses does not say that the deep was created by God, or the darkness or the waters. And yet, after saying concerning light

¹ *Numbers* 12. 8: "With him will I speak mouth to mouth."

² *Genesis* 1-17, with certain omissions.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- τοῦ φωτός, ὅτι προστάξαντος θεοῦ γέγονεν, εἰπεῖν
 ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ
 περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν εἶπεν ὡς περὶ οὐ¹
 γεγονότων ὅλως, καίτοι πολλάκις ἐπιμνησθεὶς
 αὐτῶν. πρὸς τούτοις οὔτε τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων μέ-
 μνηται γενέσεως ἢ ποιήσεως οὐδ' ὄντινα τρόπον
 49 E παρήχθησαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν μόνον
 καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν σωμάτων,² ὡς εἶναι τὸν θεὸν
 κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέα ἀσωμάτων μὲν οὐδενὸς ποιητὴν,
 ὕλης δὲ ὑποκειμένης κοσμήτορα. τὸ γὰρ “Ἡ δὲ
 γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος” οὐδὲν ἑτερόν
 ἐστίν ἢ τὴν μὲν ὑγρὰν καὶ ξηρὰν οὐσίαν ὕλην ποι-
 οῦντος, κοσμήτορα δὲ αὐτῆς τὸν θεὸν εἰσάγοντος.
 57 B “Ὁ γε μὴν Πλάτων ἄκουε περὶ τοῦ κόσμου τί
 57 C φησιν. “Ὁ δὴ πᾶς οὐρανὸς ἢ κόσμος—ἢ καὶ ἄλλο,
 ὃ τί ποτε ὀνομαζόμενος μάλιστα ἂν δέχοιτο, τοῦτο
 ἡμῖν ὠνομάσθω—πότερον ἦν αἰεὶ, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν
 ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξά-
 μενος; γέγονεν· ὁρατὸς γὰρ ἄπτος τέ ἐστι καὶ
 σῶμα ἔχων. πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰσθητά, τὰ
 δὲ αἰσθητά, δόξῃ περιληπτὰ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως,
 γιγνόμενα καὶ γεννητὰ ἐφάνη . . . οὕτως οὖν κατὰ
 τὸν λόγον τὸν εἰκότα δεῖ λέγειν τόνδε τὸν κόσμον
 ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἔνουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
 57 D θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν.”
 57 E “Ὑν δὲ ἐνὶ παραβάλωμεν μόνον· τίνα καὶ ποδα-

¹ Klimek ὡς περὶ οὐ; Neumann ὡς περὶ.

² Neumann σκηνωμάτων from Marcianus 123; σωμάτων Wright from Marcianus 122.

¹ Timaeus 28B, C.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

that God ordered it to be, and it was, surely he ought to have gone on to speak of night also, and the deep and the waters. But of them he says not a word to imply that they were not already existing at all, though he often mentions them. Furthermore, he does not mention the birth or creation of the angels or in what manner they were brought into being, but deals only with the heavenly and earthly bodies. It follows that, according to Moses, God is the creator of nothing that is incorporeal, but is only the disposer of matter that already existed. For the words, "And the earth was invisible and without form" can only mean that he regards the wet and dry substance as the original matter and that he introduces God as the disposer of this matter.

Now on the other hand hear what Plato says about the universe: "Now the whole heaven or the universe,—or whatever other name would be most acceptable to it, so let it be named by us,—did it exist eternally, having no beginning of generation, or has it come into being starting from some beginning? It has come into being. For it can be seen and handled and has a body; and all such things are the objects of sensation, and such objects of sensation, being apprehensible by opinion with the aid of sensation are things that came into being, as we saw, and have been generated. . . .¹ It follows, therefore, according to the reasonable theory, that we ought to affirm that this universe came into being as a living creature possessing soul and intelligence in very truth, both by the providence of God."²

Let us but compare them, point by point. What

¹ *Timaeus* 30B; cf. Julian, *Oration* 5. 170D.

πὴν ποιεῖται δημηγορίαν ὁ θεὸς ὁ παρὰ Μωυσῆ καὶ ποδαπὴν ὁ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ;

- 58 A “Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν. καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρπετῶν τῶν ἐρπόντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς. καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς.”

“Ἀκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ τῆς Πλατωνικῆς δημηγορίας, ἦν τῷ τῶν ὅλων περιτίθησι δημιουργῷ.

- 58 C “Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων ἅλυστα ἔσται ἐμοῦ γε ἐθέλοντος. τὸ μὲν δὲ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὐλύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. διὸ ἐπεὶ περ γεγέννησθε, οὐκ ἀθάνατοι μὲν ἐστε οὐδὲ ἅλυστοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὔτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτε ἐγίνεσθε ξυνεδεῖσθε. νῦν οὖν ὃ λέγω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνδεικνύμενος μάθετε. θνητὰ ἔτι γένη λοιπὰ τρία ἀγέννητα, τούτων δὲ μὴ γενομένων οὐρανοῦς ἀτελὲς ἔσται. τὰ γὰρ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ γένη ζῶων οὐχ ἔξει· ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ταῦτα γενόμενα καὶ βίου μετα-

¹ Genesis 26. 27. 28.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

and what sort of speech does the god make in the account of Moses, and what the god in the account of Plato?

“And God said, Let us make man in our image, and our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them, and said, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over all the cattle and over all the earth.”¹

Now, I say, hear also the speech which Plato puts in the mouth of the Artificer of the All.

“Gods of Gods! Those works whose artificer and father I am will abide indissoluble, so long as it is my will. Lo, all that hath been fastened may be loosed, yet to will to loose that which is harmonious and in good case were the act of an evil being. Wherefore, since ye have come into being, ye are not immortal or indissoluble altogether, nevertheless ye shall by no means be loosed or meet with the doom of death, since ye have found in my will a bond more mighty and more potent than those wherewith ye were bound when ye came into being. Now therefore hearken to the saying which I proclaim unto you: Three kinds of mortal beings still remain unborn, and unless these have birth the heaven will be incomplete. For it will not have within itself all the kinds of living things. Yet if these should come into being and receive a share of life at

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- σχόντα θεοῖς ισάξοιτο ἄν. ἵν' οὖν θνητά τε ἢ τό τε
 πᾶν τόδε ὄντως ἅπαν ἢ, τρέπεσθε κατὰ φύσιν
 58 D τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γένεσιν. καὶ
 καθ' ὅσον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀθανάτοις ὁμῶνυμον εἶναι
 προσήκει, θεῖον λεγόμενον ἡγεμονοῦν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς
 τῶν αἰεὶ δίκη καὶ ὑμῖν ἐθελόντων ἔπεσθαι, σπείρας
 καὶ ὑπαρξάμενος ἐγὼ παραδώσω. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
 ὑμεῖς, ἀθανάτῳ θνητὸν προσυφαίνοντες ἀπεργά-
 ζεσθε ζῶα καὶ γεννᾶτε τροφήν τε διδόντες αὐξάνετε
 καὶ φθίνοντα πάλιν δέχεσθε.”
- 65 A Ἄλλ' ἄρα μὴ τοῦτο ὄναρ ἐστὶν ἐννοήσαντες
 65 B αὐτὸ μαθέτε. θεοὺς ὀνομάζει Πλάτων τοὺς ἐμ-
 φανεῖς, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν,
 ἀλλ' οὗτοι τῶν ἀφανῶν εἰσιν εἰκόνες· ὁ φαινόμενος
 τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ἥλιος τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ μὴ
 φαινομένου, καὶ πάλιν ἡ φαινομένη τοῖς ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς ἡμῶν σελήνη καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἕκαστον εἰκόνες
 εἰσὶ τῶν νοητῶν. ἐκείνους οὖν τοὺς νοητοὺς καὶ
 65 C ἀφανεῖς θεοὺς ἐννυπάρχοντας καὶ συννυπάρχοντας
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γεννηθέντας καὶ
 προελθόντας ὁ Πλάτων οἶδεν. εἰκότως οὖν φησιν
 ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ “θεοί,” πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀφανεῖς λέγων, “θεῶν,” τῶν ἐμφανῶν δηλονότι.
 κοινὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέρων δημιουργὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ
 τεχνησάμενος οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ

¹ *Timaeus* 41A, B, C. Julian may have been quoting from memory, as there are omissions and slight variations from our text of the *Timaeus*.

² Cf. Julian, Vol. 1, *Oration* 4. 149A, 156D.

³ Julian's *Fourth Oration*, Vol. 1. is an exposition of this theory held by the late Neo-Platonists; in the present treatise he does not, as in the *Fourth* and *Fifth Orations*,

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

my hands they would become equal to gods. Therefore in order that they may be mortal, and that this All may be All in very truth, turn ye according to your nature to the contriving of living things, imitating my power even as I showed it in generating you. And such part of them as is fitted to receive the same name as the immortals, which is called divine and the power in them that governs all who are willing ever to follow justice and you, this part I, having sowed it and originated the same, will deliver to you. For the rest, do you, weaving the mortal with the immortal, contrive living beings and bring them to birth; then by giving them sustenance increase them, and when they perish receive them back again.”¹

But since ye are about to consider whether this is only a dream, do ye learn the meaning thereof. Plato gives the name gods to those that are visible, the sun and moon, the stars and the heavens, but these are only the likenesses of the invisible gods. The sun which is visible to our eyes is the likeness of the intelligible and invisible sun,² and again the moon which is visible to our eyes and every one of the stars are likenesses of the intelligible.³ Accordingly Plato knows of those intelligible and invisible gods which are immanent in and coexist with the creator himself and were begotten and proceeded from him. Naturally, therefore, the creator in Plato's account says “gods” when he is addressing the invisible beings, and “of gods,” meaning by this, evidently, the visible gods. And the common creator of both these is he who fashioned the heavens and distinguish the intelligible (*νοητοί*) gods from the intellectual (*νοετοί*).

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ἄστρο καὶ γεννήσας ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὰ τούτων ἀρχέτυπα.

Σκόπει οὖν,¹ ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις καλῶς. “Λεῖπει” γάρ φησι “τρία θνητὰ γένη,” δηλονότι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ τῶν ζώων καὶ τὸ τῶν φυτῶν· τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἰδίῳ ὥρισται λόγοις.

65 D “Εἰ μὲν οὖν” φησι “καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ γένοιτο, παντάπασιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀθάνατον αὐτὸ γενέσθαι.” καὶ γὰρ τοῖς νοητοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τῆς ἀθανασίας αἷτιον καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ κόσμῳ ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γενέσθαι. ὅτι οὖν φησιν “Ὅποσον ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ τούτοις παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δεδόσθαι,” τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ. “Τὸ δὲ λοιπόν” φησιν “ὕμεις

65 E ἀθανάτῳ θνητὸν προσυφαίνετε.” δῆλον οὖν ὅτι παραλαβόντες οἱ δημιουργικοὶ² θεοὶ παρὰ τοῦ σφῶν πατρὸς τὴν δημιουργικὴν δύναμιν, ἀπεγέννησαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ θνητὰ τῶν ζώων. εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν ἔμελλε διαφέρειν οὐρανὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία θηρίου καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτῶν τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ νηχομένων ἰχθυοῖν, ἔδει τὸν δημιουργὸν ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πάντων. εἰ δὲ πολὺ τὸ μέσον ἐστὶν ἀθανάτων καὶ

66 A θνητῶν, οὐδεμιᾷ προσθήκη μείζον οὐδὲ ἀφαιρέσει μειούμενον οὐδὲ μιγνύμενον πρὸς τὰ θνητὰ καὶ ἐπίκηρα³ αἷτιον εἶναι προσήκει τούτων μὲν ἄλλους, ἐτέρων δὲ ἐτέρους.

Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδήπερ οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ προσεχοῦς τοῦ

¹ οὖν ἔτι Klimek suggests.

² δημιουργικοὶ Asmus; δημιουργοὶ Neumann.

³ Asmus adds οὐδὲ μιγνύμενον retains πρὸς—ἐπίκηρα; Neu-

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

the earth and the sea and the stars, and begat in the intelligible world the archetypes of these.

Observe then that what follows is well said also. "For," he says, "there remain three kinds of mortal things," meaning, evidently, human beings, animals and plants; for each one of these has been defined by its own peculiar definition. "Now," he goes on to say, "if each one of these also should come to exist by me, it would of necessity become immortal." And indeed, in the case of the intelligible gods and the visible universe, no other cause for their immortality exists than that they came into existence by the act of the creator. When, therefore, he says, "Such part of them as is immortal must needs be given to these by the creator," he means the reasoning soul. "For the rest," he says, "do ye weave mortal with immortal." It is therefore clear that the creative gods received from their father their creative power and so begat on earth all living things that are mortal. For if there were to be no difference between the heavens and mankind and animals too, by Zeus, and all the way down to the very tribe of creeping things and the little fish that swim in the sea, then there would have had to be one and the same creator for them all. But if there is a great gulf fixed between immortals and mortals, and this cannot become greater by addition or less by subtraction, nor can it be mixed with what is mortal and subject to fate, it follows that one set of gods were the creative cause of mortals, and another of immortals.

Accordingly, since Moses, as it seems, has failed

mann deletes *πρὸς—ἐπίκηρα*; Gollwitzer *μειούμενον ὥσπερ τὰ θνητὰ καὶ ἐπίκηρα*.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

κόσμου τούτου δημιουργοῦ πάντα διειλεγμένος
 Μωυσῆς φαίνεται, τήν τε Ἑβραίων καὶ τὴν τῶν
 99 E ἡμετέρων πατέρων δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἔθνων τούτων ἀντι-
 παραθῶμεν ἀλλήλαις.

Ὁ Μωυσῆς φησι τὸν τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργὸν
 ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔθνος καὶ προσέχειν
 ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ καὶ ἐκείνου φροντίσαι καὶ δίδωσιν
 αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ μόνου. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
 ἔθνων, ὅπως ἡ ὑφ' οἷσιν διοικοῦνται θεοῖς, οὐδ'
 ἡντινοῦν μνείαν πεποίηται· πλὴν εἰ μή τις ἐκείνα
 συγχωρήσειεν, ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν σελή-
 νην ἀπένειμεν. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων καὶ μικρὸν
 100 A ὕστερον. πλὴν ὅτι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸν μόνου θεὸν
 καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τούτους ἐκλεκτούς φησιν
 αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων προφήται καὶ Ἰησοῦς
 ὁ Ναζωραῖος ἐπιδείξω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πάντας
 πανταχοῦ τοὺς πώποτε γόητας καὶ ἀπατεώνας
 ὑπερβαλλόμενον Παῦλον. ἀκούετε δὲ τῶν λέξεων
 αὐτῶν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μωυσέως· “Σὺ δὲ
 ἐρεῖς τῷ Φαραῶ· υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραὴλ.
 εἶπον δέ· ἐξαπόστειλον τὸν λαόν μου, ἵνα μοι
 100 B λατρεύσῃ. σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐβούλου ἐξαποστεῖλαι
 αὐτόν.” καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον· “Καὶ λέγουσιν
 αὐτῷ· ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς.
 πορευσόμεθα οὖν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν
 τριῶν, ὅπως θύσωμεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν.” καὶ
 μετ' ὀλίγα πάλιν ὁμοίως· “Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν
 Ἑβραίων ἐξαπέσταλκέ με πρὸς σὲ λέγων· ἐξαπό-
 340

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

also to give a complete account of the immediate creator of this universe, let us go on and set one against another the opinion of the Hebrews and that of our fathers about these nations.

Moses says that the creator of the universe chose out the Hebrew nation, that to that nation alone did he pay heed and cared for it, and he gives him charge of it alone. But how and by what sort of gods the other nations are governed he has said not a word,—unless indeed one should concede that he did assign to them the sun and moon.¹ However of this I shall speak a little later. Now I will only point out that Moses himself and the prophets who came after him and Jesus the Nazarene, yes and Paul also, who surpassed all the magicians and charlatans of every place and every time, assert that he is the God of Israel alone and of Judaea, and that the Jews are his chosen people. Listen to their own words, and first to the words of Moses: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Israel is my son, my firstborn. And I have said to thee, Let my people go that they may serve me. But thou didst refuse to let them go."² And a little later, "And they say unto him, The God of the Hebrews hath summoned us; we will go therefore three days' journey into the desert, that we may sacrifice unto the Lord our God."³ And soon he speaks again in the same way, "The Lord the God of the Hebrews hath sent

¹ *Deuteronomy* 4. 19: "And lest . . . when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all the peoples under the whole heaven."

² *Exodus* 4. 22.

³ *Exodus* 4. 23.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

στελλον τὸν λαόν μου, ἵνα λατρεύσωσιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ."

- 106 A 'Αλλ' ὅτι μὲν Ἰουδαίων μόνων ἐμέλησε τῷ
 106 B θεῷ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ κληῖρος αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὗτος
 ἐξαίρετος, οὐ Μωυσῆς μόνον καὶ Ἰησοῦς, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ Παῦλος εἰρηκῶς φαίνεται· καίτοι τοῦτο ἄξιον
 θαυμάσαι περὶ τοῦ Παύλου. πρὸς γὰρ τύχας,
 ὥσπερ χρώτα οἱ πολὺποδες πρὸς τὰς πέτρας,
 ἀλλάττει τὰ περὶ θεοῦ δόγματα, ποτὲ μὲν Ἰου-
 δαίους μόνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κληρονομίαν εἶναι
 διατεινόμενος, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀναπείθων
 αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι, λέγων· "Μὴ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθνῶν· ναὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν." δίκαιον
 106 C οὖν ἐρέσθαι τὸν Παῦλον, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦν
 ὁ θεὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τοῦ χάριν
 πολὺ μὲν εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔπεμπε τὸ προφητικὸν
 χάρισμα καὶ τὸν Μωυσέα καὶ τὸ χρίσμα καὶ τοὺς
 προφήτας καὶ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ τὰ
 τεράστια τῶν μύθων; ἀκούεις γὰρ αὐτῶν βοών-
 των· "Ἄρτον ἀγγέλων ἔφαγεν ἄνθρωπος." ἐπὶ
 τέλους δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔπεμψεν ἐκείνοις, ἡμῖν
 δὲ οὐ προφήτην, οὐ χρίσμα, οὐ διδάσκαλον, οὐ
 106 D κήρυκα περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ὀψέ ποτε γοῦν ἔσεσ-
 θαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ περιεΐδεν ἐτῶν μυριάδας, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς βούλεσθε,
 χιλιάδας ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ τοιαύτῃ τοῖς εἰδώλοις, ὥς
 φατε, λατρεύοντας τοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου
 μέχρι δυομένου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ἄχρι
 μεσημβρίας ἔξω καὶ μικροῦ γένους οὐδὲ πρὸ δισ-

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

me unto thee, saying, Let my people go that they may serve me in the wilderness."¹

But that from the beginning God cared only for the Jews and that He chose them out as his portion, has been clearly asserted not only by Moses and Jesus but by Paul as well ; though in Paul's case this is strange. For according to circumstances he keeps changing his views about God, as the polypus changes its colours to match the rocks,² and now he insists that the Jews alone are God's portion, and then again, when he is trying to persuade the Hellenes to take sides with him, he says : " Do not think that he is the God of Jews only, but also of Gentiles : yea of Gentiles also." ³ Therefore it is fair to ask of Paul why God, if he was not the God of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles, sent the blessed gift of prophecy to the Jews in abundance and gave them Moses and the oil of anointing, and the prophets and the law and the incredible and monstrous elements in their myths ? For you hear them crying aloud : " Man did eat angels' food." ⁴ And finally God sent unto them Jesus also, but unto us no prophet, no oil of anointing, no teacher, no herald to announce his love for man which should one day, though late, reach even unto us also. Nay he even looked on for myriads, or if you prefer, for thousands of years, while men in extreme ignorance served idols, as you call them, from where the sun rises to where he sets, yes and from North to South, save only that

¹ *Exodus* 5. 3 : the sayings of Jesus and the prophets, which Julian said he would quote, are missing.

² For this proverb, derived from Theognis, cf. *Misopogon* 349D, Vol. 2.

³ *Romans* 3. 29 ; *Galatians* 3. 28.

⁴ *Psalms* 78. 25.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- χιλίων ὄλων ἐτῶν ἐν¹ ἐνὶ μέρει συνοικισθέντος
 τῆς Παλαιστίνης. εἰ γὰρ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐστι
 θεὸς καὶ πάντων δημιουργὸς ὁμοίως, τί περιεΐδεν
 100 C ἡμᾶς ; προσήκει τοίνυν τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων θεὸν
 οὐχὶ δὴ παντὸς κόσμου γενεσιουργὸν ὑπάρχειν
 οἶεσθαι καὶ κατεξουσιάζειν τῶν ὄλων, συνεστάλ-
 θαι δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πεπερασμένην ἔχοντα τὴν
 106 ἀρχὴν ἀναμίξ τοῖς ἄλλοις νοεῖσθαι θεοῖς. ἔτι
 D, E προσέξομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεὸν ἄκρι-
 ψιλῆς γοῦν ἐννοίας ὑμεῖς ἢ τῆς ὑμετέρας τις
 ἐφαντάσθη ῥίξης ; οὐ μερικὰ πάντα ταῦτά ἐστι ;
 θεὸς ζηλωτής· ζηλοῖ γὰρ διὰ τί καὶ ἀμαρτίας
 ἐκδικῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ;
 115 D Ἀλλὰ δὴ σκοπεῖτε πρὸς ταῦτα πάλιν τὰ παρ'
 ἡμῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἡμέτεροι τὸν δημιουργὸν φασιν
 ἀπάντων μὲν εἶναι κοινὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα,
 νενεμῆσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν
 ἐθνάρχαις καὶ πολιοῦχοις θεοῖς, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐπι-
 τροπεύει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λῆξιν οἰκείως ἑαυτῷ. ἐπειδὴ
 115 E γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα τέλεια καὶ ἐν πάντα,
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεριστοῖς ἄλλη παρ' ἄλλῳ κρατεῖ
 δύνამεις, Ἄρης μὲν ἐπιτροπεύει τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν
 ἐθνῶν, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ τὰ μετὰ φρονήσεως πολεμικά,
 Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὰ συνετώτερα μᾶλλον ἢ τολμηρότερα,
 καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην οὐσίαν τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν ἔπεται
 καὶ τὰ ἐπιτροπευόμενα παρὰ σφῶν ἔθνη. εἰ μὲν
 οὖν οὐ μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις ἡ πείρα,
 πλάσμα μὲν ἔστω τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ πιθανότης

¹ ἐν Klimek supplies.

¹ Exodus 20. 5.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

little tribe which less than two thousand years before had settled in one part of Palestine. For if he is the God of all of us alike, and the creator of all, why did he neglect us? Wherefore it is natural to think that the God of the Hebrews was not the begetter of the whole universe with lordship over the whole, but rather, as I said before, that he is confined within limits, and that since his empire has bounds we must conceive of him as only one of the crowd of other gods. Then are we to pay further heed to you because you or one of your stock imagined the God of the universe, though in any case you attained only to a bare conception of Him? Is not all this partiality? God, you say, is a jealous God. But why is he so jealous, even avenging the sins of the fathers on the children?¹

But now consider our teaching in comparison with this of yours. Our writers say that the creator is the common father and king of all things, but that the other functions have been assigned by him to national gods of the peoples and gods that protect the cities; every one of whom administers his own department in accordance with his own nature. For since in the father all things are complete and all things are one, while in the separate deities one quality or another predominates, therefore Ares rules over the warlike nations, Athene over those that are wise as well as warlike, Hermes over those that are more shrewd than adventurous; and in short the nations over which the gods preside follow each the essential character of their proper god. Now if experience does not bear witness to the truth of our teachings, let us grant that our traditions are a figment and a misplaced

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

116 A ἄκαιρος, τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ ἐπαινείσθω· εἰ δὲ πᾶν
τοῦναντίον οἷς μὲν ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ἐξ αἰῶνος ἡ
πέιρα μαρτυρεῖ, τοῖς ὑμετέροις δὲ λόγοις οὐδὲν
οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται σύμφωνον, τί τοσαύτης τῆς
φιλονεικίας ἀντέχεσθε;

Λεγέσθω γάρ μοι, τίς αἰτία τοῦ Κελτοὺς μὲν
εἶναι καὶ Γερμανοὺς θρασεῖς, Ἕλληνας δὲ καὶ
Ῥωμαίους ὥς ἐπίπαν πολιτικούς καὶ φιλανθρώ-
πους μετὰ τοῦ στερροῦ τε καὶ πολεμικοῦ, συνε-
τωτέρους δὲ καὶ τεχνικωτέρους Αἰγυπτίους,
ἀπολέμους δὲ καὶ τρυφηλοὺς Σύρους μετὰ τοῦ
συνετοῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ κούφου καὶ εὐμαθοῦς.

116 B ταύτης γὰρ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διαφορᾶς εἰ μὲν
οὐδεμίαν τις αἰτίαν συνροφῇ, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὰ
φησι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου συμπεσεῖν, πῶς ἔτι
προνοία διοικεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον οἴεται; εἰ δὲ
τούτων αἰτίας εἶναί τις τίθεται, λεγέτω μοι πρὸς

131 B αὐτοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ διδασκέτω. τοὺς μὲν
γὰρ νόμους εὖδηλον, ὥς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθετο
φύσις οἰκείους ἑαυτῇ, πολιτικούς μὲν καὶ φιλαν-

131 C θρώπους, οἷς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐντέθραπτο τὸ φιλάν-
θρωπον, ἀγρίους δὲ καὶ ἀπανθρώπους, οἷς ἐναντία
φύσις ὑπῆν καὶ ἐνυπήρχε τῶν ἡθῶν. οἱ γὰρ
νομοθέται μικρὰ ταῖς φύσεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιτηδειό-
τησι διὰ τῆς ἀγωγῆς προσέθεσαν. οὐκ οὖν Ἀνά-
χαρσιν οἱ Σκύθαι βακχεύοντα παρεδέξαντο· οὐδὲ

¹ In *Misopogon* 359B Julian speaks of the fierceness of the Celts compared with the Romans.

² A Scythian prince who travelled in search of knowledge and was counted by some among the seven sages. On his return to Thrace he is said to have been killed while celebrating the rites of Cybele, which were new to the Scythians; Herodotus 4. 76, tells the tale to illustrate the

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

attempt to convince, and then we ought to approve the doctrines held by you. If, however, quite the contrary is true, and from the remotest past experience bears witness to our account and in no case does anything appear to harmonise with your teachings, why do you persist in maintaining a pretension so enormous?

Come, tell me why it is that the Celts and the Germans are fierce,¹ while the Hellenes and Romans are, generally speaking, inclined to political life and humane, though at the same time unyielding and warlike? Why the Egyptians are more intelligent and more given to crafts, and the Syrians unwarlike and effeminate, but at the same time intelligent, hot-tempered, vain and quick to learn? For if there is anyone who does not discern a reason for these differences among the nations, but rather declares that all this so befell spontaneously, how, I ask, can he still believe that the universe is administered by a providence? But if there is any man who maintains that there are reasons for these differences, let him tell me them, in the name of the creator himself, and instruct me. As for men's laws, it is evident that men have established them to correspond with their own natural dispositions; that is to say, constitutional and humane laws were established by those in whom a humane disposition had been fostered above all else, savage and inhuman laws by those in whom there lurked and was inherent the contrary disposition. For lawgivers have succeeded in adding but little by their discipline to the natural characters and aptitudes of men. Accordingly the Scythians would not receive Anacharsis² among them when he

Scythian hatred of foreign, and especially of Greek, customs; cf. Lucian, *Anacharsis*.

- τῶν Ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν εὖροις ἂν τινας εὐκόλως
 πλὴν ὀλίγων σφόδρα ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ γεω-
 μετρεῖν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ηὐτρεπισμένους, καίτοι
 131 D κρατούσης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤδη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμο-
 νίας. ἀλλ' ἀπολαύουσι μόνον τῆς διαλέξεως καὶ
 τῆς ῥητορείας οἱ λίαν εὐφυεῖς, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς
 μεταλαμβάνουσι μαθήματος. οὕτως ἰσχυρον
 ἔοικεν ἡ φύσις εἶναι. τίς οὖν ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν
 ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ;
- 134 D Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μωυσῆς αἰτίαν ἀποδέδωκε κομιδῇ
 μυθώδη τῆς περὶ τὰς διαλέκτους ἀνομοιότητος.
 ἔφη γὰρ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντας
- 134 E πόλιν ἐθέλειν οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ πύργον ἐν αὐτῇ μέγαν,
 φάναι δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὅτι χρή κατελθεῖν καὶ τὰς
 διαλέκτους αὐτῶν συγχέαι. καὶ ὅπως μὴ τίς με
 νομίση ταῦτα συκοφαντεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Μωυσέως
 ἀναγνώσόμεθα τὰ ἐφεξῆς. “Καὶ εἶπον· δεῦτε,
 οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πόλιν καὶ πύργον, οὗ
 ἔσται ἡ κεφαλὴ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ποιήσωμεν
 ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἐπὶ προσώπου
 πάσης τῆς γῆς. καὶ κατέβη κύριος ἰδεῖν τὴν
 πόλιν καὶ τὸν πύργον, ὃν ὠκοδόμησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εἶπε κύριος· ἰδοὺ, γένος ἐν καὶ
- 135 A χεῖλος ἐν πάντων, καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο ποιῆσαι
 καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἀπ’ αὐτῶν πάντα, ὅσα ἂν
 ἐπίθωνται ποιεῖν. δεῦτε, καταβάντες ἐκεῖ συγ-
 χέωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἵνα μὴ ἀκούωσιν
 ἕκαστος τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ πλησίον. καὶ διέσπειρεν
 αὐτοὺς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς
 γῆς καὶ ἐπαύσαντο οἰκοδομοῦντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ
 τὸν πύργον.” εἶτα τούτοις ἀξιούτε πιστεύειν

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

was inspired by a religious frenzy, and with very few exceptions you will not find that any men of the Western nations¹ have any great inclination for philosophy or geometry or studies of that sort, although the Roman Empire has now so long been paramount. But those who are unusually talented delight only in debate and the art of rhetoric, and do not adopt any other study; so strong, it seems, is the force of nature. Whence then come these differences of character and laws among the nations?

Now of the dissimilarity of language Moses has given a wholly fabulous explanation. For he said that the sons of men came together intending to build a city, and a great tower therein, but that God said that he must go down and confound their languages. And that no one may think I am falsely accusing him of this, I will read from the book of Moses what follows: "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, before we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men had builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they have begun to do; and now nothing will be withholden from them which they purpose to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that no man may understand the speech of his neighbour. So the Lord God scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city and the tower."² And then you demand that we should

¹ He means the Gauls and Iberians, since the Germans at that time were distinguished only in warfare.

² *Genesis* 11. 4-8.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- ἡμᾶς, ἀπιστεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς τοῖς ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγο-
 μένοις ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀλωαδῶν, ὥς ἄρα τρία ἐπ'
 135 B ἀλλήλοις ὄρη θεῖναι διεννοοῦντο, “ἔν' οὐρανὸς
 ἀμβατὸς εἶη.” φημὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο παρα-
 πλησίως ἐκείνῳ μυθῶδες εἶναι. ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀποδε-
 χόμενοι τὸ πρότερον, ἀνθ' ὅτου πρὸς θεῶν ἀποδο-
 κιμάζετε τὸν Ὀμήρου μῦθον; ἐκεῖνο γὰρ οἶμαι
 δεῖν σιωπᾶν πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀμαθεῖς, ὅτι κἂν μιᾷ
 φωνῇ καὶ γλώσση πάντες οἱ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 οἰκουμένην ἄνθρωποι χρήσωνται, πύργον οἰκοδο-
 μεῖν οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφικνού-
 μενον,¹ κἂν ἐκπλινθεύσωσι τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν.
 135 C ἀπείρων γὰρ δεήσει πλίνθων ἰσομεγεθῶν τῇ γῇ
 ξυμπᾶση τῶν δυνησομένων ἄχρι τῶν σελήνης
 ἐφικέσθαι κύκλων. ὑποκείσθω γὰρ πάντας μὲν
 ἀνθρώπους συνεληλυθέναι γλώσση καὶ φωνῇ μιᾷ
 κεχρημένους, πᾶσαν δὲ ἐκπλινθεῦσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ
 ἐκλατομήσαι, πότε ἂν μέχρις οὐρανοῦ φθάσειεν,
 εἰ καὶ λεπτότερον ἄρπεδόνος ἐκμηρυομένων αὐτῶν
 ἐκταθείη; τοῦτον οὖν οὕτω φαιερὸν ὄντα τὸν
 μῦθον ἀληθῇ νενομικότες καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξά-
 ζοντες, ὅτι πεφόβηται τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν μαι-
 135 D φονίαν τούτου τε χάριν καταπεφοίτηκεν αὐτῶν
 συγχέαι τὰς διαλέκτους, ἔτι τολμᾶτε θεοῦ γνώσιν
 αὐχεῖν;
 137 E Ἐπάνειμι δὲ αὐθις πρὸς ἐκείνο, τὰς μὲν γὰρ
 διαλέκτους ὅπως ὁ θεὸς συνέχεεν. εἴρηκεν ὁ
 Μωυσῆς τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν, ὅτι φοβηθεὶς μή τι κατ'
 αὐτοῦ πράξωσι προσβατὸν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 138 A κατεργασάμενοι, ὁμόγλωττοι ὄντες καὶ ὁμόφρονες

¹ ἐφικνούμενον Klimek.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

believe this account, while you yourselves disbelieve Homer's narrative of the Aloadae, namely that they planned to set three mountains one on another, "that so the heavens might be scaled."¹ For my part I say that this tale is almost as fabulous as the other. But if you accept the former, why in the name of the gods do you discredit Homer's fable? For I suppose that to men so ignorant as you I must say nothing about the fact that, even if all men throughout the inhabited world ever employ one speech and one language, they will not be able to build a tower that will reach to the heavens, even though they should turn the whole earth into bricks. For such a tower will need countless bricks each one as large as the whole earth, if they are to succeed in reaching to the orbit of the moon. For let us assume that all mankind met together, employing but one language and speech, and that they made the whole earth into bricks and hewed out stones, when would it reach as high as the heavens, even though they spun it out and stretched it till it was finer than a thread? Then do you, who believe that this so obvious fable is true, and moreover think that God was afraid of the brutal violence of men, and for this reason came down to earth to confound their languages, do you, I say, still venture to boast of your knowledge of God?

But I will go back again to the question how God confounded their languages. The reason why he did so Moses has declared: namely, that God was afraid that if they should have one language and were of one mind, they would first construct for themselves a path to the heavens and then do some

¹ *Odyssey* 11. 316.

- ἀλλήλοις· τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ὅπως ἐποίησεν οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ μόνον, ὅτι κατελθὼν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ—μὴ δυνάμενος ἄνωθεν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ μὴ κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὰ ἡθῆ καὶ τὰ νόμιμα διαφορᾶς οὔτε Μωυσῆς οὔτε ἄλλος ἀπεσάφησέ τις. καίτοι τῷ παντὶ μείζων ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς περὶ τὰς διαλέκτους διαφορᾶς.
- 138 B γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀδελφῇ, τίς δὲ θυγατρί, τίς δὲ μητρί φησι δεῖν μίγνυσθαι; τοῦτο δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἐν Πέρσαις κρίνεται. τί με χρή καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπιέναι, τὸ φιλελεύθερόν τε καὶ ἀνυπότακτον Γερμανῶν ἐπέξιόντα, τὸ χειρόηθες καὶ τιθασὸν Σύρων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν πρὸς ἔω καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βαρβάρων καὶ ὅσα καὶ τὰς βασιλείας ἀγαπᾷ κεκτημένα δεσποτικωτέρας; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄνευ προνοίας μείζονος καὶ θειοτέρας ταῦτα συνηνέχθη τὰ μείζω καὶ τιμιώτερα, τί
- 138 C μάτην περιεργαζόμεθα καὶ θεραπεύομεν τὸν μηδὲν προνοοῦντα; ὧ γὰρ οὔτε βίων οὔτε ἡθῶν οὔτε τρόπων οὔτε εὐνομίας οὔτε πολιτικῆς ἐμέλησε καταστάσεως, ἂρ' ἔτι προσήκει μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τιμῆς; οὐδαμῶς. ὁρᾶτε, εἰς ὅσην ὑμῖν¹ ἀτοπίαν ὁ λόγος ἔρχεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν ὅσα περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον θεωρεῖται βίον, ἡγείται μὲν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἔπεται δὲ τὰ τοῦ σώματος. εἰ τοίνυν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν κατωλιγώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῆς φυσικῆς ἡμῶν κατασκευῆς προ-

¹ ὑμῖν Klimek; ὑμῶν Neumann.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

mischief against him. But how he carried this out Moses does not say at all, but only that he first came down from heaven,—because he could not, as it seems, do it from on high, without coming down to earth. But with respect to the existing differences in characters and customs, neither Moses nor any one else has enlightened us. And yet among mankind the difference between the customs and the political constitutions of the nations is in every way greater than the difference in their language. What Hellene, for instance, ever tells us that a man ought to marry his sister or his daughter or his mother? Yet in Persia this is accounted virtuous. But why need I go over their several characteristics, or describe the love of liberty and lack of discipline of the Germans, the docility and tameness of the Syrians, the Persians, the Parthians, and in short of all the barbarians in the East and the South, and of all nations who possess and are contented with a somewhat despotic form of government? Now if these differences that are greater and more important came about without the aid of a greater and more divine providence, why do we vainly trouble ourselves about and worship one who takes no thought for us? For is it fitting that he who cared nothing for our lives, our characters, our manners, our good government, our political constitution, should still claim to receive honour at our hands? Certainly not. You see to what an absurdity your doctrine comes. For of all the blessings that we behold in the life of man, those that relate to the soul come first, and those that relate to the body are secondary. If, therefore, he paid no heed to our spiritual blessings, neither took thought for our physical conditions, and moreover,

- 138 D νοησάμενος, οὔτε ἡμῖν ἔπεμψε διδασκάλους ἢ νομοθέτας ὥσπερ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ προφήτας, ὑπὲρ τίνος ἔξομεν αὐτῷ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖν ;
- 141 C Ἄλλ' ὁρᾶτε, μή ποτε καὶ ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡγνοήκατε θεοὺς τε καὶ προστάτας ἀγαθοὺς, οὐδὲν ἐλάττονας τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τιμωμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἥσπερ ἐκεῖνος προνοεῖν ἔλαχε μόνης, ὥσπερ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἔφη καὶ
- 141 D οἱ μετ' ἐκείνον ἄχρις ἡμῶν. εἰ δὲ ὁ προσεχῆς εἴη τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργὸς ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τιμώμενος, ἔτι καὶ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διανοήθημεν ἡμεῖς ἀγαθὰ τε ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνων μείζονα τὰ τε περὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐροῦμεν ὀλίγου ὕστερον, ἔστειλέ τε καὶ ἔφ' ἡμᾶς νομοθέτας οὐδὲν Μωυσέως χείρονας, εἰ μὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς μακρῷ κρείττονας.
- 143 A Ὅπερ οὖν ἐλέγομεν, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἐθνάρχης τις θεὸς ἐπιτροπεύων ἄγγελός τε ὑπ'
- 143 B αὐτῷ καὶ δαίμων καὶ ἥρω¹ καὶ ψυχῶν ἰδιάζον γένος ὑπηρετικὸν καὶ ὑπουργικὸν τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἔθετο τὴν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι διαφορότητα, δεικνύσθω, παρ' ἄλλου πῶς γέγονε ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀπόχρη λέγειν. “Εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐγένετο.” ὁμολογεῖν γὰρ χρὴ τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν γινομένων τὰς φύσεις. ὃ δὲ λέγω, σαφέστερον ἐρῶ. ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἄνω φέρεσθαι

¹ Asmus adds καὶ ἥρω^ς from *Oration*, 4. 145C ἀγγέλοις, δαίμοσιν, ἥρωσι, ψυχαῖς τε μερισταῖς.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

did not send to us teachers or lawgivers as he did for the Hebrews, such as Moses and the prophets who followed him, for what shall we properly feel gratitude to him?

But consider whether God has not given to us also gods¹ and kindly guardians of whom you have no knowledge, gods in no way inferior to him who from the beginning has been held in honour among the Hebrews of Judaea, the only land that he chose to take thought for, as Moses declared and those who came after him, down to our own time. But even if he who is honoured among the Hebrews really was the immediate creator of the universe, our beliefs about him are higher than theirs, and he has bestowed on us greater blessings than on them, with respect both to the soul and to externals. Of these, however, I shall speak a little later. Moreover, he sent to us also lawgivers not inferior to Moses, if indeed many of them were not far superior.

Therefore, as I said, unless for every nation separately some presiding national god (and under him an angel,² a demon, a hero, and a peculiar order of spirits which obey and work for the higher powers) established the differences in our laws and characters, you must demonstrate to me how these differences arose by some other agency. Moreover, it is not sufficient to say, "God spake and it was so." For the natures of things that are created ought to harmonise with the commands of God. I will say more clearly what I mean. Did God ordain that fire should mount upwards by chance and earth

¹ Cf. *Oration* 4, 140A, Vol. 1, on the creative gods.

² Cf. *Oration* 4. 141B, note, and 145C, note; Plato, *Laws* 713D.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- τὸ πῦρ, εἰ τύχοι, κάτω δὲ τὴν γῆν; οὐχ ἵνα τὸ
 πρόσταγμα γένηται τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐχρῆν εἶναι
 κοῦφον, τὸ δὲ βρίθειν; οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτέρων
 143 C ὁμοίως . . . τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
 θείων. αἴτιον δέ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπί-
 κηρόν ἐστι καὶ φθαρτὸν γένος. εἰκότως οὖν αὐτοῦ
 φθαρτὰ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ μεταβλητὰ καὶ παντο-
 दाπῶς τρεπόμενα· τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ὑπάρχοντος αἰδίου,
 καὶ τὰ προστάγματα τοιαῦτ' εἶναι προσήκει.
 τοιαῦτα δὲ ὄντα ἤτοι φύσεις εἰσὶ τῶν ὄντων ἢ τῇ
 φύσει τῶν ὄντων ὁμολογούμενα. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ
 φύσις τῷ προστάγματι μάχοιτο τοῦ θεοῦ; πῶς
 143 D δ' ἂν ἔξω πίπτει τῆς ὁμολογίας; οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ
 προσέταξεν ὥσπερ τὰς γλώσσας συγχυθῆναι καὶ
 μὴ συμφωνεῖν ἀλλήλαις, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ
 τῶν ἐθνῶν, οὐκ ἐπιτάγματι δὲ μόνον ἐποίησε
 τοιαῦτα καὶ πεφυκέναι, οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς πρὸς ταύτην
 κατεσκεύασε τὴν διαφωνίαν. ἐχρῆν γὰρ πρῶτον
 διαφόρους ὑπεῖναι φύσεις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δια-
 φόρως ἐσομένοις. ὁρᾶται γοῦν τοῦτο, καὶ τοῖς
 σώμασιν εἴ τις ἀπίδοι Γερμανοὶ καὶ Σκύθαι
 143 E Λιβύων καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ὁπόσον διαφέρουσιν. ἄρα
 καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι ψιλὸν ἐπίταγμα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὃ ἀήρ
 οὐδὲ ἡ χώρα τῷ πῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ χρῶμα θεοῖς
 συμπράττει;
 146 A Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐπεκάλυπτε τὸ τοιοῦτον
 146 B εἰδὼς οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν διαλέκτων σύγχυσιν ἀνατέ-

¹ A few words are lost.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

sink down? Was it not necessary, in order that the ordinance of God should be fulfilled, for the former to be light and the latter to weigh heavy? And in the case of other things also this is equally true. . . .¹ Likewise with respect to things divine. But the reason is that the race of men is doomed to death and perishable. Therefore men's works also are naturally perishable and mutable and subject to every kind of alteration. But since God is eternal, it follows that of such sort are his ordinances also. And since they are such, they are either the natures of things or are accordant with the nature of things. For how could nature be at variance with the ordinance of God? How could it fall out of harmony therewith? Therefore, if he did ordain that even as our languages are confounded and do not harmonise with one another, so too should it be with the political constitutions of the nations, then it was not by a special, isolated decree that he gave these constitutions their essential characteristics, or framed us also to match this lack of agreement.² For different natures must first have existed in all those things that among the nations were to be differentiated. This at any rate is seen if one observes how very different in their bodies are the Germans and Scythians from the Libyans and Ethiopians. Can this also be due to a bare decree, and does not the climate or the country have a joint influence with the gods in determining what sort of complexion they have?

Furthermore, Moses also consciously drew a veil over this sort of enquiry, and did not assign the

² *i.e.* if there were to be differences of speech and political constitution, they must have been adapted to pre-existing differences of nature in human beings.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

θεικε τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον κατελθεῖν οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἓνα συγκατελθεῖν αὐτῷ, πλείονας δέ, καὶ τούτους οἵτινές εἰσιν οὐκ εἶπεν· εὐδηλον δέ, ὅτι παραπλησίους αὐτῷ τοὺς συγκατιόντας ὑπελάμβανεν. εἰ τοίνυν πρὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν τῶν διαλέκτων οὐχ ὁ κύριος μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατέρχονται, πρόδηλον, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν τῶν ἡθῶν οὐχ ὁ κύριος μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλέκτους συγχέοντες εἰκότως ἂν ὑπολαμβάνοντο ταύτης εἶναι τῆς διαστάσεως αἷτιοι.

- 148 B Τί οὖν, οὐκ ἐν μακροῖς εἰπεῖν βουλόμενος, τοσαῦτα ἐπεξῆλθον; ὥς, εἰ μὲν ὁ προσεχῆς εἴη τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργὸς ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωυσέως κηρυττόμενος, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βελτίους ἔχομεν δόξας οἱ κοινὸν μὲν ἐκείνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπάντων δεσπότην, ἐθνάρχας δὲ ἄλλους, οἱ τυγχάνουσι μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνον, εἰσὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπαρχοὶ βασιλέως, ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διαφερόντως ἐπαν-
- 148 C ορθούμενος φροντίδα· καὶ οὐ καθίσταμεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἀντιμερίτην τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεῶν καθισταμένων. εἰ δὲ μερικὸν τινα τιμήσας ἐκείνος ἀντιτίθῃσιν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμονίαν, ἄμεινον τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν ἡμῖν πειθομένους ἐπιγνώναι μετὰ τοῦ μηδὲ ἐκείνον ἀγνοῆσαι, ἢ τὸν τοῦ ἐλαχίστου μέρους εἰληχότα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντων τιμᾶν δημιουργοῦ.
- 152 B Ὁ νόμος ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Μωυσέως θαυμαστός, ἡ

¹ *Genesis* 11. 7. "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language." . . . The word "us" has been variously interpreted.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

confusion of dialects to God alone. For he says¹ that God did not descend alone, but that there descended with him not one but several, and he did not say who these were. But it is evident that he assumed that the beings who descended with God resembled him. If, therefore, it was not the Lord alone but his associates with him who descended for the purpose of confounding the dialects, it is very evident that for the confusion of men's characters, also, not the Lord alone but also those who together with him confounded the dialects would reasonably be considered responsible for this division.

Now why have I discussed this matter at such length, though it was my intention to speak briefly? For this reason: If the immediate creator of the universe be he who is proclaimed by Moses, then we hold nobler beliefs concerning him, inasmuch as we consider him to be the master of all things in general, but that there are besides national gods who are subordinate to him and are like viceroys of a king, each administering separately his own province; and, moreover, we do not make him the sectional rival of the gods whose station is subordinate to his. But if Moses first pays honour to a sectional god, and then makes the lordship of the whole universe contrast with his power, then it is better to believe as we do, and to recognise the God of the All, though not without apprehending also the God of Moses; this is better, I say, than to honour one who has been assigned the lordship over a very small portion, instead of the creator of all things.

That is a surprising law of Moses, I mean the

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

δεκάλογος ἐκείνη· “Οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ
 152 C ἠρώμασιν ἐκάστη τῶν ἐντολῶν, ἃς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φησι
 γεγράφθαι τοῦ θεοῦ.

“Ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, ὃς ἐξήγαγέ σε ἐκ
 γῆς Αἰγύπτου.” δευτέρα μετὰ τοῦτο· “Οὐκ ἔσον-
 ταί σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ. οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ
 εἰδωλον.” καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν προστίθησιν· “Ἐγὼ
 γάρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, θεὸς ζηλωτῆς, ἀποδι-
 δούς πατέρων ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρίτης
 γενεᾶς.” “Οὐ λήψῃ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ
 σου ἐπὶ ματαίῳ.” “Μνήσθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν
 152 D σαββάτων.” “Τίμα σου τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν
 μητέρα.” “Οὐ μοιχεύσεις.” “Οὐ φονεύσεις.” “Οὐ
 κλέψεις.” “Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.” “Οὐκ ἐπι-
 θυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου.”

Ποῖον ἔθνος ἐστί, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔξω τοῦ “Οὐ
 προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις” καὶ τοῦ “Μνήσθητι
 τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν σαββάτων,” ὃ μὴ τὰς ἄλλας
 οἶεται χρῆναι φυλάττειν ἐντολάς, ὥς καὶ τιμωρίας
 κείσθαι τοῖς παραβαίνουσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ μὲν σφο-
 δροτέρας, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ παραπλησίας ταῖς παρὰ
 Μωυσέως νομοθετείσαις, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ φιλαν-
 θρωποτέρας ;

155 C Ἀλλὰ τὸ “Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις”—
 ὃ δὴ μετὰ μεγάλης περὶ τὸν θεόν φησι διαβολῆς.
 “Θεὸς γὰρ ζηλωτῆς” φησι· καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πάλιν·
 155 D “Ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκον.” εἰτα ἄνθρωπος
 ζηλωτῆς καὶ βάσκανος ἄξιος εἶναί σοι φαίνεται

¹ τοῖς Klimek adds.

¹ Exodus 20. 2-3.

² Exodus 20. 4.

³ Exodus 20. 13-17.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

famous decalogue! "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not bear false witness." But let me write out word for word every one of the commandments which he says were written by God himself.

"I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt."¹ Then follows the second: "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image."² And then he adds the reason: "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third generation." "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." "Remember the sabbath day." "Honour thy father and thy mother." "Thou shalt not commit adultery." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not bear false witness." "Thou shalt not covet anything that is thy neighbour's."³

Now except for the command "Thou shalt not worship other gods," and "Remember the sabbath day," what nation is there, I ask in the name of the gods, which does not think that it ought to keep the other commandments? So much so that penalties have been ordained against those who transgress them, sometimes more severe, and sometimes similar to those enacted by Moses, though they are sometimes more humane. ✓

But as for the commandment "Thou shalt not worship other gods," to this surely he adds a terrible libel upon God. "For I am a jealous God," he says, and in another place again, "Our God is a consuming fire."⁴ Then if a man is jealous and envious you think him blameworthy, whereas if God

⁴ *Deuteronomy* 4. 24; *Hebrews* 12. 29.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- μέμψεως, ἐκθειάζεις δέ, εἰ ζηλότυπος ὁ θεὸς λέγεται ; καίτοι πῶς εὐλογον οὕτω φανερόν πρᾶγμα τοῦ θεοῦ καταψεύδестαι ; καὶ γὰρ εἰ ζηλότυπος, ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ θεοὶ προσκυνοῦνται καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖ. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ ἀνέστειλεν αὐτὸς ζηλῶν οὕτω καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος προσκυνεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἑαυτόν ; ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν ἡ οὐδὲ τὴν
- 155 E ἀρχὴν ἡβουλήθη κωλύσαι μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ; ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσεβές, τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἡδύνατο· τὸ δεύτερον δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἔργοις ὁμολογεῖ. ἄφετε τοῦτον τὸν λῆρον καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔλκετε
- 159 E βλασφημίαν. εἰ γὰρ οὐδένα θέλει προσκυνεῖσθαι, τοῦ χάριν αὐτοῦ τὸν νόθον υἱὸν τοῦτον προσκυνεῖτε καὶ ὃν ἐκείνος ἴδιον οὔτε ἐνόμισεν οὐθ' ἡγήσατο πώποτε. καὶ δείξω γε τοῦτο ῥαδίως. ὑμεῖς δέ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν, ὑπόβλητον αὐτῷ προστίθετε
- 160 D Οὐδαμοῦ χαλεπαίνων ὁ θεὸς φαίνεται οὐδὲ ἀγανακτῶν οὐδὲ ὀργιζόμενος οὐδὲ ὀμνύων οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ταχέως ῥέπων οὐδὲ στρεπτός,¹ ὡς ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Φινεές. εἴ τις ὑμῶν ἀνέγνω τοὺς ἀριθμούς, οἶδεν ὃ λέγω. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Φινεές τὸν τελεσθέντα τῷ Βεελφεγῶρ μετὰ τῆς ἀναπεισάσης αὐτὸν γυναικὸς αὐτοχειρίᾳ λαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν αἰτχρῷ καὶ ὀδυνηροτάτῳ τραύματι, διὰ τῆς μῆ-

¹ Neumann suggests οὐδὲ στρεπτός or οὐδὲ μεταβλητός to represent *neque mutabilis esse*, the translation of one MS., *Oecolampadius*.

¹ According to Cyril's summary, Julian next reproaches the Christians for having forsaken the Greek doctrines about God.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

is called jealous you think it a divine quality? And yet how is it reasonable to speak falsely of God in a matter that is so evident? For if he is indeed jealous, then against his will are all other gods worshipped, and against his will do all the remaining nations worship their gods. Then how is it that he did not himself restrain them, if he is so jealous and does not wish that the others should be worshipped, but only himself? Can it be that he was not able to do so, or did he not wish even from the beginning to prevent the other gods also from being worshipped? However, the first explanation is impious, to say, I mean, that he was unable; and the second is in accordance with what we do ourselves. Lay aside this nonsense and do not draw down on yourselves such terrible blasphemy. For if it is God's will that none other should be worshipped, why do you worship this spurious son of his whom he has never yet recognised or considered as his own? This I shall easily prove. You, however, I know not why, foist on him a counterfeit son. . . .¹

Nowhere² is God shown as angry, or resentful, or wroth, or taking an oath, or inclining first to this side, then suddenly to that, or as turned from his purpose, as Moses tells us happened in the case of Phinehas. If any of you has read the *Book of Numbers* he knows what I mean. For when Phinehas had seized with his own hand and slain the man who had dedicated himself to Baal-peor, and with him the woman who had persuaded him, striking her with a shameful and most painful wound through

¹ *i. e.* in the Greek accounts of the gods; probably Julian refers to Plato and a phrase to this effect may have dropped out at the beginning of the sentence.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 160 E τρας, φησί, παίσας τὴν γυναῖκα, πεποιήται λέγων ὁ θεός· “Φινεὲς υἱὸς Ἑλεάζαρ υἱοῦ Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως κατέπαυσε τὸν θυμὸν μου ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ ζηλωσαί μου τὸν ζῆλον ἐν αὐτοῖς. καὶ οὐκ ἐξανήλωσα τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ ζήλω μου.” τί κουφότερον τῆς αἰτίας, δι’ ἣν θεὸς ὀργισθεὶς οὐκ ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γράψαντος ταῦτα
- 161 A πεποιήται; τί δὲ ἀλογώτερον, εἰ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, κείσθω δὲ καὶ ἑκατόν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ χιλίους ἐροῦσι—θῶμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ τοσοῦτους τολμήσαντάς τι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμένων νόμων παραβῆναι· ἐξακοσίας ἐχρῆν διὰ τοὺς ἅπαξ χιλίους ἀναλωθῆναι χιλιάδας; ὥς ἔμοιγε κρεῖττον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ φαίνεται χιλίοις ἀνδράσι βελτίστοις ἓνα συνδιασῶσαι πονηρὸν ἢ συνδιαφθεῖραι τοὺς χιλίους ἐνί. . . .
- Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐνὸς ἡρώων καὶ οὐκ ἐπισήμου δαίμονος δύσοιστος ἡ ὀργὴ χώραις τε καὶ πόλεσιν ὀλοκλήροις, τίς ἂν ὑπέστη τοσοῦτον θεοῦ δαίμοσιν
- 168 B ἢ ἀγγέλοις ἢ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιμηνίσαντος; ἄξιόν γέ ἐστι παραβαλεῖν αὐτὸν τῇ Λυκούργου πραότητι
- 168 C καὶ τῇ Σόλωνος ἀνεξικακία ἢ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς
- 171 D τοὺς ἡδίκηκότας ἐπιεικεία καὶ χρηστότητι. πόσῳ δὲ δὴ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς κρεῖττονα, καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε σκοπεῖτε. μιμῆσθαι κελεύουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ φιλόσοφοι κατὰ δύναμιν τοὺς θεούς, εἶναι δὲ ταύτην τὴν μίμησιν ἐν θεωρίᾳ τῶν ὄντων. ὅτι
- 171 E δὲ τοῦτο δίχα πάθους ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ κεῖται,

¹ Numbers 25. 11.

² According to Cyril, Julian then argued that the Creator ought not to have given way so often to violent anger against and even wished to destroy, the whole Jewish people.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

the belly, as Moses tells us, then God is made to say :
“ Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them ; and I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy.”¹ What could be more trivial than the reason for which God was falsely represented as angry by the writer of this passage ? What could be more irrational, even if ten or fifteen persons, or even, let us suppose, a hundred, for they certainly will not say that there were a thousand,—however, let us assume that even as many persons as that ventured to transgress some one of the laws laid down by God ; was it right that on account of this one thousand, six hundred thousand should be utterly destroyed ? For my part I think it would be better in every way to preserve one bad man along with a thousand virtuous men than to destroy the thousand together with that one. . . .²

For if the anger of even one hero or unimportant demon is hard to bear for whole countries and cities, who could have endured the wrath of so mighty a God, whether it were directed against demons or angels or mankind ? It is worth while to compare his behaviour with the mildness of Lycurgus and the forbearance of Solon, or the kindness and benevolence of the Romans towards transgressors. But observe also from what follows how far superior are our teachings to theirs. The philosophers bid us imitate the gods so far as we can, and they teach us that this imitation consists in the contemplation of realities. And that this sort of study is remote from passion and is indeed based on freedom from passion,

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- πρόδηλόν ἐστί που, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω· καθ' ὅσον
 ἄρα ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ γινόμεθα, τεταγμένοι περὶ τῶν
 ὄντων τὴν¹ θεωρίαν, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξομοιούμεθα
 τῷ θεῷ. τίς δὲ ἡ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὑμνουμένη τοῦ
 θεοῦ μέμῃσις; ὀργὴ καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ζῆλος ἄγριος.
 “Φινεές” γάρ φησι “κατέπαυσε τὸν θυμόν μου
 ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ ζηλωσάει τὸν ζῆλόν μου
 ἐν αὐτοῖς.” εὐρὼν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὸν συναγανα-
 κτοῦντα καὶ συναλγούντα ἀφείς τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν
 172 A φαίνεται. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοῦ ἕτερα
 πεποιήται λέγων ὁ Μωυσῆς οὐκ ὀλιγαχοῦ τῆς
 γραφῆς.
- 176 “Ὅτι δὲ οὐχ Ἑβραίων μόνον ἐμέλησε τῷ θεῷ,
 AB πάντων δὲ ἐθνῶν κηδόμενος ἔδωκεν ἐκείνοις μὲν
 οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον ἢ μέγα, ἡμῖν δὲ μακρῷ κρείττονα
 καὶ διαφέροντα, σκοπεῖτε λοιπὸν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.
 ἔχουσι μὲν εἰπεῖν καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς
 ἀπαριθμούμενοι σοφῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ὀνόματα, πολ-
 λούς ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρμοῦ διαδοχῆς,
 Ἑρμοῦ δὲ φημι τοῦ τρίτου ἐπιφοιτήσαντος τῇ
 Αἰγύπτῳ, Χαλδαῖοι δὲ καὶ Ἀσσύριοι τοὺς ἀπ'
 Ὠάννου καὶ Βήλου, μυρίους δὲ Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἀπὸ
 176 C Χείρωνος. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ πάντες ἐγένοντο τελε-
 στικοὶ φύσει καὶ θεολογικοί, καθὼ δὴ δοκοῦσι
 μόνον Ἑβραῖοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀποσεμνύνειν

¹ τὴν Klimek adds.

¹ A reference to Hermes Trismegistus, “thrice greatest Hermes,” whom the Greeks identified with the Egyptian god Thoth. The Neo-Platonists ascribed certain mystic writings to this legendary being and regarded him as a sage.

² A Babylonian fish-god described by Berosus in his *History of Babylonia*. He was supposed to have taught the Chaldeans the arts of civilisation and has some analogy with the serpent of *Genesis*.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

is, I suppose, evident, even without my saying it. In proportion then as we, having been assigned to the contemplation of realities, attain to freedom from passion, in so far do we become like God. But what sort of imitation of God is praised among the Hebrews? Anger and wrath and fierce jealousy. For God says: "Phinehas hath turned away my wrath from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them." For God, on finding one who shared his resentment and his grief, thereupon, as it appears, laid aside his resentment. These words and others like them about God Moses is frequently made to utter in the Scripture.

Furthermore observe from what follows that God did not take thought for the Hebrews alone, but though he cared for all nations, he bestowed on the Hebrews nothing considerable or of great value, whereas on us he bestowed gifts far higher and surpassing theirs. For instance the Egyptians, as they reckon up the names of not a few wise men among themselves, can boast that they possess many successors of Hermes, I mean of Hermes who in his third manifestation visited Egypt;¹ while the Chaldaeans and Assyrians can boast of the successors of Oannes² and Belos;³ the Hellenes can boast of countless successors of Cheiron.⁴ For thenceforth all Hellenes were born with an aptitude for the mysteries and theologians, in the very way, you observe, which the Hebrews claim as their own peculiar boast. . . .⁵

¹ This is the Greek version of the Assyrian *bil*, "lord" or "god," the Baal of the Bible.

² The Centaur who taught Achilles.

³ According to Cyril's summary, Julian then ridicules David and Samson and says that they were not really brave warriors, but far inferior to the Hellenes and Egyptians, and their dominion was very limited.

- 178 A Ἄλλ' ἀρχὴν ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐπιστήμης ἢ μάθημα
 φιλόσοφον; καὶ ποῖον; ἡ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰ φαι-
 178 B νόμενα θεωρία παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐτελειώθη, τῶν
 πρώτων τηρήσεων παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν Βαβυ-
 λῶνι γενομένων· ἡ δὲ περὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀπὸ
 τῆς γεωδαισίας τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν λα-
 βούσα πρὸς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος ἠϋξήθη· τὸ δὲ
 περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Φοινίκων ἐμπόρων
 ἀρξάμενον τέως εἰς ἐπιστήμης παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 κατέστη πρόσχημα. ταῦτα¹ δὴ τρία μετὰ² τῆς
 συναρίθμου³ μουσικῆς Ἕλληνες εἰς ἓν συνῆψαν,
 ἀστρονομίαν γεωμετρίαν προσυφῆναντες, ἀμφοῖν
 δὲ προσαρμόσαντες τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὸ ἐν τού-
 τοις ἑναρμόνιον κατανοήσαντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἔθεντο
 τῇ παρὰ σφίσι μουσικῇ τοὺς ὄρους, εὐρόντες τῶν
 ἀρμονικῶν λόγων πρὸς τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς
 ἄπταιστον ὁμολογίαν ἢ ὅτι τούτου μάλιστα ἐγγύς.
 184 B Πότερον οὖν χρή με κατ' ἄνδρα ὀνομάζειν ἢ
 κατ' ἐπιτηδεύματα; ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἷον Πλά-
 τωνα, Σωκράτην, Ἀριστείδην, Κίμωνα, Θαλῆν,
 Λυκοῦργον, Ἀγησίλαον, Ἀρχίδαμον—ἢ μᾶλλον
 τὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων γένος, τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, τὸ
 τῶν δημιουργῶν, τὸ τῶν νομοθετῶν; εὐρεθήσονται
 γὰρ οἱ μοχθηρότατοι καὶ βδελυρώτατοι τῶν στρα-
 184 C τηγῶν ἐπιεικέστερον χρησάμενοι τοῖς ἡδικηκόσι τὰ
 μέγιστα ἢ Μωυσῆς τοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξημαρτηκόσιν.
 190 C τίνα οὖν ὑμῖν ἀπαγγείλω βασιλείαν; πότερά τὴν
 Περσέως ἢ τὴν Αἰακοῦ ἢ Μίνω τοῦ Κρητός, ὃς
 ἐκάθηρε μὲν ληστευομένην τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐκβα-

¹ ταῦτα Klimek, τὰ Neumann.

² Klimek defends μετὰ, Neumann suggests μαθήματα.

³ For συναρίθμου corrupt, Neumann suggests εὐρύθμον.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

But has God granted to you to originate any science or any philosophical study? Why, what is it? For the theory of the heavenly bodies was perfected among the Hellenes, after the first observations had been made among the barbarians in Babylon.¹ And the study of geometry took its rise in the measurement of the land in Egypt, and from this grew to its present importance. Arithmetic began with the Phoenician merchants, and among the Hellenes in course of time acquired the aspect of a regular science. These three the Hellenes combined with music into one science, for they connected astronomy with geometry and adapted arithmetic to both, and perceived the principle of harmony in it. Hence they laid down the rules for their music, since they had discovered for the laws of harmony with reference to the sense of hearing an agreement that was infallible, or something very near to it.²

Need I tell over their names man by man, or under their professions? I mean, either the individual men, as for instance Plato, Socrates, Aristides, Cimon, Thales, Lycurgus, Agesilaus, Archidamus,—or should I rather speak of the class of philosophers, of generals, of artificers, of lawgivers? For it will be found that even the most wicked and most brutal of the generals behaved more mildly to the greatest offenders than Moses did to those who had done no wrong. And now of what monarchy shall I report to you? Shall it be that of Perseus, or Aeacus, or Minos of Crete, who purified the sea

¹ Cf. *Oration* 4. 156c, the Hellenes perfected the astronomy of the Chaldaeans and Egyptians.

² They had discovered the laws of musical intervals.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

λὼν καὶ ἐξελάσας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄχρι Συρίας καὶ Σικελίας, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα προβάς τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὀρίοις, οὐ μόνων δὲ τῶν νήσων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παραλίων ἐκράτει ; καὶ διελόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ῥαδάμανθυν, οὗτι τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτίθει παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνων τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὸ δικαστικὸν ἡφίει μέρος ἀναπληροῦν

- 193 C Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ κτισθεῖσαν αὐτὴν πολλοὶ μὲν περιέστησαν πόλεμοι, πάντων δὲ ἐκράτει καὶ κατηγωνίζετο καί, παρ' αὐτὰ μᾶλλον αὐξανομένη τὰ δεινὰ, τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐδεῖτο μείζονος, αὐθις ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν φιλοσοφώτατον αὐτῇ Νουμᾶν ἐφίστησιν. οὗτος ἦν ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ
- 193 D Νουμᾶς, ἄλσεσιν ἐρήμοις ἐνδιατρίβων καὶ συνῶν ἀεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἀκραιφνεῖς αὐτοῦ νοήσεις. . . . οὗτος τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἱερα-
- 194 B τικῶν κατέστησε νόμους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ κατοχῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας θείας ἔκ τε τῶν τῆς Σιβύλλης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἳ δὴ γεγόνασι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον κατὰ τὴν πάτριον φωνὴν χρησμολόγοι, φαίνεται δοὺς ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ πόλει. τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀέρος πεσοῦσαν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ λόφῳ κεφαλὴν
- 194 C φανείσαν, ὅθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τοῦνομα προσέλαβεν ἡ

¹ According to Cyril, Julian then related stories about Minos, and the myth of Dardanus, the account of the flight of Aeneas, his emigration to Italy and the founding of Rome. ² i. e. Rome.

³ Numa Pompilius, a legendary king who is supposed to have succeeded Romulus ; various portents manifested the favour of the gods towards Numa. Cf. Julian, *Oration* 4. 155A, note, Vol. 1.

⁴ A few words are missing.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

of pirates, and expelled and drove out the barbarians as far as Syria and Sicily, advancing in both directions the frontiers of his realm, and ruled not only over the islands but also over the dwellers along the coasts? And dividing with his brother Rhadamanthus, not indeed the earth, but the care of mankind, he himself laid down the laws as he received them from Zeus, but left to Rhadamanthus to fill the part of judge. . . .¹

But when after her² foundation many wars encompassed her, she won and prevailed in them all; and since she ever increased in size in proportion to her very dangers and needed greater security, then Zeus set over her the great philosopher Numa.³ This then was the excellent and upright Numa who dwelt in deserted groves and ever communed with the gods in the pure thoughts of his own heart. . . .⁴ It was he who established most of the laws concerning temple worship. Now these blessings, derived from a divine possession and inspiration which proceeded both from the Sibyl and others who at that time uttered oracles in their native tongue, were manifestly bestowed on the city by Zeus. And the shield which fell from the clouds⁵ and the head which appeared on the hill,⁶ from which, I suppose,

⁵ A small shield, *ancile*, on whose preservation the power of Rome was supposed to depend, was said to have fallen from the sky in Numa's reign. Livy 1. 20 refers to it in the plural, *caelestia arma quae ancilia appellantur*; cf. also *Aeneid* 8. 664, *lapsa ancilia coelo*.

⁶ When the foundations were dug for the temple of Jupiter a human head, *caput*, was found; this was regarded as an omen, and hence the Capitoline Hill received its name; cf. Livy 1. 55. For Julian's belief in such traditions cf. *Oration* 5. Vol. 1, 161B on the legend of Claudia and the image of Cybele.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- τοῦ μεγάλου Διὸς ἔδρα, πότερον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἢ τοῖς δευτέροις ἀριθμήσωμεν τῶν δώρων ; εἶτα, ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἄνθρωποι, σωζομένου τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ὅπλου διοπετοῦς, δὲ κατέπεμψεν ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς ἥτοι πατὴρ Ἀρης, ἐνέχυρον διδοὺς οὐ λόγον, ἔργον δέ, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς προασπίσει, προσκυνεῖν ἀφείτες καὶ σέβεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ προσκυνεῖτε ξύλον, εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ σκιαγραφοῦντες ἐν
- 194 D τῷ μετώπῳ καὶ πρὸ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐγγράφοντες.
- Ἄρα ἀξίως ἂν τις τοὺς συνετωτέρους ὑμῶν μισήσειεν ἢ τοὺς ἀφρονεστέρους ἐλεήσειεν, οἱ κατακολουθοῦντες ὑμῖν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλθον ὀλέθρου, ὥστε τοὺς αἰωνίους ἀφέντες θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰου-
- 197 C δαίων μεταβῆναι νεκρόν ; . . . παρήμι γὰρ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν μυστήρια καὶ ζηλῶ τὸν Μάριον.
- 198 B . . . τὸ γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνούμενον
- C πνεῦμα σπανιάκεις μὲν καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις γίνεται καὶ οὔτε πάντα ἄνδρα τούτου μετασχεῖν ῥάδιον οὔτε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ. ταύτῃ τει καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἑβραίοις προφητικὸν πνεῦμα ἐπέλιπεν, οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς τοῦτο σώζεται. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰ αὐτοφυῆ χρηστήρια σιγῆσαι ταῖς τῶν χρόνων εἰκόντα περιόδοις. ὃ δὲ φιλόανθρωπος ἡμῶν δεσπότης καὶ πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἐννοήσας, ὥς ἂν μὴ παντάπασι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποστερηθῶμεν κοινωνίας, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τεχνῶν
- 198 D ἐπίσκεψιν, ὑφ' ἧς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἔχομεν τὴν ἀποχρῶσαν βοήθειαν.

¹ Here Cyril retorts that Julian admired what others condemn, e.g. the cruel and superstitious Marius, who, said he, was given to the Romans by the gods. The worship of Cybele was another gift from heaven to Rome. Julian then referred to various kinds of divination.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

the seat of mighty Zeus received its name, are we to reckon these among the very highest or among secondary gifts? And yet, ye misguided men, though there is preserved among us that weapon which flew down from heaven, which mighty Zeus or father Ares sent down to give us a warrant, not in word but in deed, that he will forever hold his shield before our city, you have ceased to adore and reverence it, but you adore the wood of the cross and draw its likeness on your foreheads and engrave it on your housefronts.

Would not any man be justified in detesting the more intelligent among you, or pitying the more foolish, who, by following you, have sunk to such depths of ruin that they have abandoned the ever-living gods and have gone over to the corpse of the Jew.¹ . . . For I say nothing about the Mysteries of the Mother of the Gods, and I admire Marius. . . . For the spirit that comes to men from the gods is present but seldom and in few, and it is not easy for every man to share in it or at every time. Thus it is that the prophetic spirit has ceased among the Hebrews also, nor is it maintained among the Egyptians, either, down to the present. And we see that the indigenous oracles² of Greece have also fallen silent and yielded to the course of time. Then lo, our gracious lord and father Zeus took thought of this, and that we might not be wholly deprived of communion with the gods has granted us through the sacred arts³ a means of enquiry by which we may obtain the aid that suffices for our needs.

² Julian is thinking of the oracle of Delphi which he had in vain endeavoured to restore.

³ *i. e.* of divination by entrails and other omens.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 200 A Ἐλαθέ με μικροῦ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἑλίου καὶ
 Διὸς δώρων. εἰκότως δὲ αὐτὸ ἐφύλαξα ἐν¹ τῷ
 τέλει. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἰδίον ἐστὶν ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλ',
 οἶμαι, κοινὸν πρὸς Ἑλληνας, τοὺς ἡμετέρους συγ-
 γενεῖς. ὁ γάρ τοι Ζεὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐξ
 ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐγέννησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν
 διὰ τῆς Ἑλίου γονίμου ζωῆς ἐξέφηνεν. οὗτος ἐπὶ
 γῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρόοδον, ἐνοειδῶς
 μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ περὶ τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον
 200 B ἀνεφάνη, πληθυνόμενος δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ταῖς προόδοις
 ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὥρεξε τὴν γῆν τὴν σωτήριον ἑαυτοῦ
 δεξιάν. ἦλθεν εἰς Πέργαμον, εἰς Ἰωνίαν, εἰς
 Τάραντα μετὰ ταῦθ', ὕστερον ἦλθεν. εἰς τὴν
 Ῥώμην. ὥχετο δὲ εἰς Κῶ, ἐνθένδε εἰς Αἰγὰς.
 εἶτα πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ καὶ θαλάσσης. οὐ καθ'
 ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐπιφοιτᾷ, καὶ ὅμως ἐπανορθοῦται
 ψυχὰς πλημμελῶς διακειμένας καὶ τὰ σώματα
 ἀσθενῶς ἔχοντα.
- 201 E Τί δὲ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς Ἑβραῖοι καυχῶνται
 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι, πρὸς οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀφ' ἡμῶν
 αὐτομολήσαντες πείθεσθε; εἰ τοῖς ἐκείνων γοῦν
 προσείχετε λόγοις, οὐκ ἂν παντάπασιν ἐπεπρά-
 γειτε δυστυχῶς, ἀλλὰ χεῖρον μὲν ἢ πρότερον,
 ὁπότε σὺν ἡμῖν ἦτε, οἷστ' αὖ δὲ ὅμως ἐπεπόνθειτε
 ἂν καὶ φορητά. ἓνα γὰρ ἀντὶ πολλῶν θεὸν² ἐσέ-
 βεσθε ἂν οὐκ ἄνθρωπον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλοὺς ἀν-
 202 A θρώπους δυστυχεῖς. καὶ νόμῳ σκληρῷ μὲν καὶ
 τραχεῖ καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἄγριον ἔχοντι καὶ βάρβαρον
 ἀντὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων

¹ Klimek would omit ἐν.

² θεὸν Klimek; θεῶν MSS., Neumann.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

I had almost forgotten the greatest of the gifts of Helios and Zeus. But naturally I kept it for the last. And indeed it is not peculiar to us Romans only, but we share it, I think, with the Hellenes our kinsmen. I mean to say that Zeus engendered Asclepius from himself among the intelligible gods,¹ and through the life of generative Helios he revealed him to the earth. Asclepius, having made his visitation to earth from the sky, appeared at Epidaurus singly, in the shape of a man; but afterwards he multiplied himself, and by his visitations stretched out over the whole earth his saving right hand. He came to Pergamon, to Ionia, to Tarentum afterwards; and later he came to Rome. And he travelled to Cos and thence to Aegae. Next he is present everywhere on land and sea. He visits no one of us separately, and yet he raises up souls that are sinful and bodies that are sick.

But what great gift of this sort do the Hebrews boast of as bestowed on them by God, the Hebrews who have persuaded you to desert to them? If you had at any rate paid heed to their teachings, you would not have fared altogether ill, and though worse than you did before, when you were with us, still your condition would have been bearable and supportable. For you would be worshipping one god instead of many, not a man, or rather many wretched men.² And though you would be following a law that is harsh and stern and contains much that is savage and barbarous, instead of our mild and humane laws,

¹ See Vol. 1, Introduction to *Oration* 4, p. 349; and for Asclepius, *Oration* 4. 144B, where Julian, as here, opposes Asclepius to Christ; and 153B for Asclepius the saviour.

² The martyrs.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- χρώμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χείρονες ἂν ᾗτε, ἀγνότεροι
 δὲ καὶ καθαρώτεροι τὰς ἀγιστείας. νῦν δὲ ὑμῖν
 συμβέβηκεν ὥσπερ ταῖς βδέλλαις τὸ χερίστον
 ἔλκειν αἷμα ἐκείθεν, ἀφείναι δὲ τὸ καθαρώτερον.
 191 D ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀναπείσας τὸ χερίστον τῶν παρ'
 191 E ὑμῖν, ὀλίγους πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς
 ὀνομάζεται, ἐργασάμενος παρ' ὃν ἔξῃ χρόνον οὐδὲν
 ἀκοῆς ἄξιον, εἰ μὴ τις οἴεται τοὺς κυλλοὺς καὶ
 τυφλοὺς ἰάσασθαι καὶ δαιμονῶντας ἐξορκίζειν ἐν
 Βηθσαιδᾷ καὶ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ταῖς κώμαις τῶν μεγί-
 205 E στων ἐργῶν εἶναι. ἀγνείας μὲν οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πεποιή-
 ται μνήμην ἐπίστασθε· ζηλοῦτε δὲ Ἰουδαίων τοὺς
 θυμοὺς καὶ τὴν πικρίαν, ἀνατρέποντες ἱερὰ καὶ
 206 A βωμοὺς καὶ ἀπεσφάζατε οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον τοὺς
 τοῖς πατρώοις¹ ἐμμένοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰσῆς
 ὑμῶν πεπλανημένων αἵρετικοὺς τοὺς μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον ὑμῶν τὸν νεκρὸν θρηνοῦντας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
 ὑμέτερα μᾶλλον ἐστίν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ οὔτε Ἰησοῦς
 αὐτὰ παραδέδωκε κελεύων ὑμῖν οὔτε Παῦλος.
 αἷτιον δέ, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἤλπισαν εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίξεσθαι
 ποτε δυνάμεως ὑμᾶς· ἡγάπων γάρ, εἰ θεραπαίνας
 ἐξαπατήσουσι καὶ δούλους καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰς
 206 B γυναικάς ἄνδρας τε, οἷους Κορνήλιος καὶ Σέργιος.
 ὦν εἰς ἐὰν φανῇ τῶν τηνικαῦτα γνωριζομένων
 ἐπιμνηθεῖς—ἐπὶ Τιβερίου γὰρ ἦτοι Κλαυδίου
 ταῦτα ἐγένετο—, περὶ πάντων ὅτι ψεύδομαι
 νομίζετε.

¹ πατρίοις Asinus, but Julian uses both forms.

¹ Cf. *Misopogon* 361B, Vol. 2.

² For the massacres of heretics by the Christians cf. Julian's letter *To the Citizens of Bostra*, p. 129.

³ Jesus Christ; cf. above, 194D.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

and would in other respects be inferior to us, yet you would be more holy and purer than now in your forms of worship. But now it has come to pass that like leeches you have sucked the worst blood from that source and left the purer. Yet Jesus, who won over the least worthy of you, has been known by name for but little more than three hundred years: and during his lifetime he accomplished nothing worth hearing of, unless anyone thinks that to heal crooked and blind men and to exorcise those who were possessed by evil demons in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany can be classed as a mighty achievement. As for purity of life you do not know whether he so much as mentioned it; but you emulate the rages and the bitterness of the Jews, overturning temples and altars,¹ and you slaughtered not only those of us who remained true to the teachings of their fathers, but also men who were as much astray as yourselves, heretics,² because they did not wail over the corpse³ in the same fashion as yourselves. But these are rather your own doings; for nowhere did either Jesus or Paul hand down to you such commands. The reason for this is that they never even hoped that you would one day attain to such power as you have; for they were content if they could delude maidservants and slaves, and through them the women, and men like Cornelius⁴ and Sergius.⁵ But if you can show me that one of these men is mentioned by the well-known writers of that time,—these events happened in the reign of Tiberius or Claudius,—then you may consider that I speak falsely about all matters.

⁴ *Acts* 10, the story of Cornelius the centurion.

⁵ *Acts* 13. 6-12; Sergius was the proconsul.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 209 D Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ὥσπερ ἐπιπνεόμε-
νος ἐφθεγξάμην, ὅθεν δὲ ἐξέβην, ὅτι "Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰου-
δαίους ἠντομολήσατε, τί τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀχαριστή-
σαντες θεοῖς ;" ἄρ' ὅτι βασιλεύειν ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοὶ
τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ἐλευ-
θέρους εἶναι, δουλεῦσαι δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ παροικῆσαι ;
209 E σκόπει τὸν Ἀβραάμ· οὐχὶ πάροικος ἦν ἐν ἄλλο-
τρία ; τὸν Ἰακώβ· οὐ πρότερον μὲν Σύροις, ἐξῆς
δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Παλαιστινοῖς, ἐν γῆρὰ δὲ Αἰγυπ-
τίοις ἐδούλευσεν ; οὐκ ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας ἐξαγα-
γεῖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐν
βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ ; κατοικήσαντες δὲ τὴν Παλαι-
στίνην, οὐ πυκνότερον ἡμειψαν τὰς τύχας ἢ τὸ
χρῶμά φασιν οἱ τεθεαμένοι τὸν χαμαιλέοντα, νῦν
μὲν ὑπακούοντες τοῖς κριταῖς, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλο-
φύλοις δουλεύοντες ; ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐβασιλεύθησαν—
ἀφείσθω δὲ νῦν ὅπως· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐκὼν αὐτοῖς
τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι συνεχώρησεν, ὡς ἡ γραφὴ φησιν,
210 A ἀλλὰ βιασθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προδιαστείλαμενος,
ὅτι ἄρα φαύλως βασιλευθήσονται. πλὴν ἀλλ'
ᾤκησαν γοῦν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐγεώργησαν ὀλίγα
πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν. ἐξ ἐκείνου πρῶτον
Ἀσσυρίοις, εἶτα Μήδοις, ὕστερον Πέρσαις ἐδού-
213 A λευσαν, εἶτα νῦν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν
κηρυττόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς ἣν τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπη-
κόων. εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε, μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀποδείξω·
μᾶλλον δὲ ἤδη λεγέσθω. φατέ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπογράψασθαι καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ
Κυρηνίου.

¹ See above 201E.

² Exodus 6. 6.

³ Judges 2. 16.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

But I know not whence I was as it were inspired to utter these remarks. However, to return to the point at which I digressed,¹ when I asked, "Why were you so ungrateful to our gods as to desert them for the Jews?" Was it because the gods granted the sovereign power to Rome, permitting the Jews to be free for a short time only, and then forever to be enslaved and aliens? Look at Abraham: was he not an alien in a strange land? And Jacob: was he not a slave, first in Syria, then after that in Palestine, and in his old age in Egypt? Does not Moses say that he led them forth from the house of bondage out of Egypt "with a stretched out arm"?² And after their sojourn in Palestine did they not change their fortunes more frequently than observers say the chameleon changes its colour, now subject to the judges,³ now enslaved to foreign races? And when they began to be governed by kings,—but let me for the present postpone asking how they were governed: for as the Scripture tells us,⁴ God did not willingly allow them to have kings, but only when constrained by them, and after protesting to them beforehand that they would thus be governed ill,—still they did at any rate inhabit their own country and tilled it for a little over three hundred years. After that they were enslaved first to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, later to the Persians, and now at last to ourselves. Even Jesus, who was proclaimed among you, was one of Caesar's subjects. And if you do not believe me I will prove it a little later, or rather let me simply assert it now. However, you admit that with his father and mother he registered his name in the governorship of Cyrenius.⁵

¹ 1 *Samuel* 8.

⁵ *Luke* 2. 2.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 213 B Ἄλλὰ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος¹ τίνων ἀγαθῶν αἷτιος κατέστη τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγενέσιν ; οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησαν, φασίν, ὑπακοῦσαι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. τί δέ ; ὁ σκληροκάρδιος καὶ λιθοτράχηλος ἐκείνος λαὸς πῶς ὑπήκουσε τοῦ Μωυσέως· Ἰησοῦς δέ, ὁ τοῖς πνεύμασιν ἐπιτάττων καὶ βαδίζων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐξελαύνων, ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς λέγετε, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπεργασάμενος—οὐ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τετόλμηκέ τις εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν
- 213 C μαθητῶν, εἰ μὴ μόνος Ἰωάννης οὐδὲ αὐτὸς σαφῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς· ἀλλ' εἰρηκέναι γε συγκεχωρήσθω—οὐκ ἡδύνατο τὰς προαιρέσεις ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν μεταστῆσαι ;
- 218 A Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον, ὅταν ἰδίᾳ περὶ τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελίων τερατουργίας καὶ σκευωρίας ἐξετάζειν ἀρξώμεθα. νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκρίνεσθέ μοι πρὸς ἐκείνο. πότερον ἄμεινον τὸ διηνεκῶς μὲν
- 218 B ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ἐν δισχιλίοις δὲ ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἄρξαι τὸ πλεῖον γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἢ τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ πρὸς ἐπίταγμα ζῆν ἀλλότριον ; οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀναίσχυντος, ὡς ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον τὸ δεύτερον. ἀλλὰ τὸ πολέμῳ κρατεῖν οἰήσεται τις τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι χειρόν ; οὕτω τίς ἐστὶν ἀναίσθητος ; εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ φάμεν, ἓνα μοι κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον δείξατε στρατηγόν, ἓνα κατὰ Καίσαρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρ' ὑμῖν. καίτοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι περιυβρίζω τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐμνημόνευσα δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς γνωρίμων. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τούτων ἐλάττους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοοῦνται, ὧν ἕκαστος
- 218 C

¹ ἄνθρωπος Neumann would add.

¹ Ezekiel 3. 7,

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

But when he became man what benefits did he confer on his own kinsfolk? Nay, the Galilaeans answer, they refused to hearken unto Jesus. What? How was it then that this hardhearted¹ and stubborn-necked people hearkened unto Moses; but Jesus, who commanded the spirits² and walked on the sea, and drove out demons, and as you yourselves assert made the heavens and the earth,—for no one of his disciples ventured to say this concerning him, save only John, and he did not say it clearly or distinctly; still let us at any rate admit that he said it—could not this Jesus change the dispositions of his own friends and kinsfolk to the end that he might save them?

However, I will consider this again a little later when I begin to examine particularly into the miracle-working and the fabrication of the gospels. But now answer me this. Is it better to be free continuously and during two thousand whole years to rule over the greater part of the earth and the sea, or to be enslaved and to live in obedience to the will of others? No man is so lacking in self-respect as to choose the latter by preference. Again, will anyone think that victory in war is less desirable than defeat? Who is so stupid? But if this that I assert is the truth, point out to me among the Hebrews a single general like Alexander or Caesar! You have no such man. And indeed, by the gods, I am well aware that I am insulting these heroes by the question, but I mentioned them because they are well known. For the generals who are inferior to them are unknown to the multitude, and yet every one of them deserves

¹ *Mark* 1. 27.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις γεγονότων ἐστὶ
θαυμαστότερος.

- 221 E Ἄλλ' ὁ τῆς πολιτείας θεσμός καὶ τύπος τῶν
δικαστηρίων, ἡ δὲ περὶ τὰς πόλεις οἰκονομία καὶ
τῶν νόμων¹ τὸ κάλλος, ἡ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν
ἐπίδοσις, ἡ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις τέχναις ἄσκησις
- 222 A οὐχ Ἑβραίων μὲν ἦν ἀθλία καὶ βαρβαρική; καί-
τοι βούλεται ὁ μοχθηρὸς Εὐσέβιος εἶναί τινα καὶ
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξάμετρα, καὶ φιλοτιμεῖται λογικὴν
εἶναι πραγματείαν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἥς τοῦ-
νομα ἀκήκοε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι. ποῖον ἱατρικῆς
εἶδος ἀνεφάνη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ὥσπερ ἐν
Ἑλλησι τῆς Ἱπποκράτους καὶ τινων ἄλλων μετ'
- 224 C ἐκεῖνον αἰρέσεων; ὁ σοφώτατος Σολομῶν παρό-
μοιός ἐστι τῷ παρ' Ἑλλησι Φωκυλίδῃ ἢ Θεόγνιδι
ἢ Ἴσοκράτει; πόθεν; εἰ γοῦν παραβάλοις τὰς
Ἴσοκράτους παραινέσεις ταῖς ἐκείνου παροιμίαις,
- 224 D εὖροις ἄν, εἰ οἶδα, τὸν τοῦ Θεοδώρου κρείττονα τοῦ
σοφωτάτου βασιλέως. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος, φασί, καὶ
περὶ θεουργίαν ἥσκητο. τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ
Σολομῶν οὗτος τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐλάτρευσε θεοῖς,
ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐξαπατηθείς; ὦ
μέγεθος ἀρετῆς. ὦ σοφίας πλούτος. οὐ περιγέ-
γονεν ἡδονῆς, καὶ γυναικὸς λόγοι τοῦτον παρή-
γαγον. εἴπερ οὖν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἡπατήθη, τοῦτον
σοφὸν μὴ λέγετε. εἰ δὲ πεπιστεύκατε σοφόν, μὴ
τοι παρὰ γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ἐξηπατήσθαι νομίζετε,

¹ After καὶ a lacuna; Gollwitzer, followed by Asmus, suggests τῶν νόμων; Neumann τῶν πολιτῶν.

¹ Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* 11. 5. 5 says that Mose and David wrote in "the heroic metre."

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

more admiration than all the generals put together whom the Jews have had.

Further, as regards the constitution of the state and the fashion of the law-courts, the administration of cities and the excellence of the laws, progress in learning and the cultivation of the liberal arts, were not all these things in a miserable and barbarous state among the Hebrews? And yet the wretched Eusebius¹ will have it that poems in hexameters are to be found even among them, and sets up a claim that the study of logic exists among the Hebrews, since he has heard among the Hellenes the word they use for logic. What kind of healing art has ever appeared among the Hebrews, like that of Hippocrates among the Hellenes, and of certain other schools that came after him? Is their "wisest" man Solomon at all comparable with Phocylides or Theognis or Isocrates among the Hellenes? Certainly not. At least, if one were to compare the exhortations of Isocrates with Solomon's proverbs, you would, I am very sure, find that the son of Theodorus is superior to their "wisest" king. "But," they answer, "Solomon was also proficient in the secret cult of God." What then? Did not this Solomon serve our gods also, deluded by his wife, as they assert?² What great virtue! What wealth of wisdom! He could not rise superior to pleasure, and the arguments of a woman led him astray! Then if he was deluded by a woman, do not call this man wise. But if you are convinced that he was wise, do not believe that he was deluded by a woman, but that, trusting to his

¹ 1 *Kings* 11. 4: "His wives turned away his heart after other gods." Julian may allude to Pharaoh's daughter, see 1 *Kings*, 3. 1.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 224 E κρίσει δὲ οἰκεία καὶ συνέσει καὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῦ
φανέντος αὐτῷ θεοῦ διδασκαλία πειθόμενον λελα-
τρευκέναι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. φθόνος γὰρ καὶ
ζήλος οὐδὲ ἄχρι τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνθρώπων ἀφικνεῖ-
ται, τοσοῦτον ἄπεστιν ἀγγέλων καὶ θεῶν. ὑμεῖς
δὲ ἄρα περὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν δυνάμεων στρέφεσθε, ἃ
δὴ δαιμόνιά τις εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐξαμαρτάνει. τὸ γὰρ
φιλότιμον ἐνταῦθα καὶ κενόδοξον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς
οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει καὶ τοιοῦτον.
- 229 C Τοῦ χάριν ὑμεῖς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι παρεσθίετε
μαθημάτων, εἴπερ αὐτάρκης ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν
ὑμετέρων γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσις; καίτοι κρεῖττον
ἐκείνων εἴργειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ τῆς τῶν ἱεροθύ-
των ἐδωδῆς. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνης, καθὰ καὶ ὁ
Παῦλος λέγει, βλάπτεται μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ προσφερό-
μενος, ἡ δὲ συνείδησις τοῦ βλέποντος ἀδελφοῦ
σκανδαλισθεῖν ἂν καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὧ σοφώτατοι καὶ
ὑπερήφανοι.¹ διὰ δὲ τῶν μαθημάτων τούτων ἀπέ-
στη τῆς ἀθεότητος πᾶν ὅτι περ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ φύσις
ἦνεγκε γενναῖον. ὅτῳ οὖν ὑπῆρξεν εὐφυΐας καὶ
μικρὸν μόριον, τούτῳ τάχιστα συνέβη τῆς παρ'
ὑμῖν ἀθεότητος ἀποστήναι. βέλτιον οὖν εἴργειν
μαθημάτων, οὐχ ἱερείῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλ'
ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τὸ διάφορον εἰς
σύνεσιν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν γραφῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας,²
καὶ ὥς ἐκ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο γενναῖος
ἀνὴρ, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπιεικής, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρ'
ἡμῖν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πᾶς ἂν γένοιτο καλλίων, εἰ καὶ
- 229 E παντάπασιν ἀφυῆς τις εἴη. φύσεως δὲ ἔχων εὖ

¹ After σοφώτατοι lacuna, for which Neumann suggests καὶ ὑπερήφανοι.

² After ἡμετέρας Neumann suggests κακόν, unnecessary.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

own judgement and intelligence and the teaching that he received from the God who had been revealed to him, he served the other gods also. For envy and jealousy do not come even near the most virtuous men, much more are they remote from angels and gods. But you concern yourselves with incomplete and partial powers,¹ which if anyone call daemonic he does not err. For in them are pride and vanity, but in the gods there is nothing of the sort.

If the reading of your own scriptures is sufficient for you, why do you nibble at the learning of the Hellenes? And yet it were better to keep men away from that learning than from the eating of sacrificial meat. For by that, as even Paul says,² he who eats thereof is not harmed, but the conscience of the brother who sees him might be offended according to you, O most wise and arrogant men! But this learning of ours has caused every noble being that nature has produced among you to abandon impiety. Accordingly everyone who possessed even a small fraction of innate virtue has speedily abandoned your impiety. It were therefore better for you to keep men from learning rather than from sacrificial meats. But you yourselves know, it seems to me, the very different effect on the intelligence of your writings as compared with ours; and that from studying yours no man could attain to excellence or even to ordinary goodness, whereas from studying ours every man would become better than before, even though he were altogether without natural fitness. But when a man is naturally well endowed, and

¹ Julian seems to refer to the saints

² 1 *Corinthians* 8. 7-13.

καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων προσλαχὼν παιδείας ἀτεχνῶς γίνεται τῶν θεῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δῶρον, ἥτοι φῶς ἀνάψας ἐπιστήμης ἢ πολιτείας γένος ὑφηγησάμενος¹ ἢ πολεμίους πολλοὺς τρεψάμενος ἢ καὶ πολλὴν μὲν γῆν, πολλὴν δὲ ἐπελθὼν θάλασσαν καὶ τούτῳ φανεῖς ἥρωικός. . . .

229 E Τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο σαφές· ἐκ πάντων ὑμῶν

230 A ἐπιλεξάμενοι παῖδιά ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐμμελετῆσαι
παράσκευάσατε. κὰν φανῇ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων εἰς
ἄνδρας² τελέσαντα σπουδαιότερα, ληρεῖν ἐμὲ
καὶ μελαγχολᾶν νομίζετε. εἴτα οὕτως ἐστὲ δυσ-
τυχεῖς καὶ ἀνόητοι, ὥστε νομίζειν θεῖους μὲν
ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους, ὑφ' ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο
φρονιμώτερος οὐδὲ ἀνδρειότερος οὐδ' ἑαυτοῦ
κρείττων· ὑφ' ὧν δὲ ἔνεστιν ἀνδρείαν, φρόνη-
σιν, δικαιοσύνην προσλαβεῖν, τούτους ἀποδίδοτε
τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς τῷ σατανᾷ λατρεύουσιν.

235 B Ἰᾶται Ἀσκληπιὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα, παιδεύου-
σιν ἡμῶν αἱ Μοῦσαι σὺν Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ἀπόλ-
λωνι καὶ Ἑρμῇ λογίῳ τὰς ψυχάς, Ἄρης³ δὲ καὶ
Ἐννὼ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συναγωνίζεται, τὰ δὲ
εἰς τέχνας Ἡφαιστος ἀποκληροῖ καὶ διανέμει,

235 C ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Ἀθηνᾶ μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς παρθένος
ἀμήτωρ πρυτανεύει. σκοπεῖτε οὖν, εἰ μὴ καθ'
ἕκαστον τούτων ὑμῶν ἐσμεν κρείττους, λέγω δὲ τὰ
περὶ τὰς τέχνας καὶ σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν· εἴτε γὰρ
τὰς πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν σκοπήσεως, εἴτε τὰς τοῦ
καλοῦ χάριν μιμητικάς, οἶον ἀγαλματοποιητικήν,

¹ For lacuna after γένος Neumann suggests ὑφηγησάμενος.

² ἄνδρας Asmus, cf. *Misopogon* 356c. ; ἄνδρα Neumann.

³ Ἄρει Neumann because verb in singular, but no change is necessary.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

moreover receives the education of our literature, he becomes actually a gift of the gods to mankind, either by kindling the light of knowledge, or by founding some kind of political constitution, or by routing numbers of his country's foes, or even by travelling far over the earth and far by sea, and thus proving himself a man of heroic mould. . . .¹

Now this would be a clear proof: Choose out children from among you all and train and educate them in your scriptures, and if when they come to manhood they prove to have nobler qualities than slaves, then you may believe that I am talking nonsense and am suffering from spleen. Yet you are so misguided and foolish that you regard those chronicles of yours as divinely inspired, though by their help no man could ever become wiser or braver or better than he was before; while, on the other hand, writings by whose aid men can acquire courage, wisdom and justice, these you ascribe to Satan and to those who serve Satan!

Asclepius heals our bodies, and the Muses with the aid of Asclepius and Apollo and Hermes, the god of eloquence, train our souls; Ares fights for us in war and Enyo also; Hephaistus apportions and administers the crafts, and Athene the Motherless Maiden with the aid of Zeus presides over them all. Consider therefore whether we are not superior to you in every single one of these things, I mean in the arts and in wisdom and intelligence; and this is true, whether you consider the useful arts or the imitative arts whose end is beauty, such as the statuary's art,

¹ Some words are missing. The summary of Cyril shows that Julian next attacked the Old Testament and ridiculed it because it is written in Hebrew.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- γραφικὴν, ἢ οἰκονομικὴν, ἰατρικὴν τὴν ἐξ Ἀσκλη-
 πιοῦ, οὐ πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ χρηστήρια, ἃ δίδωσιν
 ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μεταλαγχάνειν διηνεκῶς. ἐμὲ γοῦν
 235 D ἰάσατο πολλάκις Ἀσκληπιὸς κάμνοντα ὑπαγορεύ-
 σας φάρμακα· καὶ τούτων μάρτυς ἐστὶ Ζεὺς. εἰ
 τοίνυν οὐ¹ προσιείμαντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ τῆς ἀποστα-
 σίας πνεύματι τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν ἄμεινον ἔχομεν καὶ
 περὶ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἀφέντες
 ταῦτα ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα βαδίζετε ;
- 238 A Ἄνθ' ὅτου δὲ μηδὲ τοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς λόγοις ἐμ-
 238 B μένετε μήτε ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν νόμον, ὃν δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς
 ἐκείνοις, ἀπολιπόντες δὲ τὰ πάτρια καὶ δόντες
 ἑαυτοὺς οἷς ἐκήρυξαν οἱ προφῆται, πλεόν ἐκείνων
 ἢ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπέστητε ; τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἴ τις
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐθέλοι σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσει τὴν ὑμετέραν
 ἀσέβειαν ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς τόλμης καὶ τῆς
 παρὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀδιαφορίας καὶ χυδαιότητος
 συγκειμένην. ἐξ ἀμφοῖν γὰρ οὗτι τὸ κάλλιστον,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ χεῖρον ἐλκύσαντες παρυφὴν κακῶν εἰργά-
 σασθε. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις ἀκριβῆ τὰ περὶ
 238 C θρησκείαν ἐστὶ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ σεβάσματα καὶ
 φυλάγματα μυρία καὶ δεόμενα βίου καὶ προαι-
 ρέσεως ἱερατικῆς. ἀπαγορεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ νομο-
 θέτου τὸ πᾶσι μὴ δουλεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐνὶ δὲ
 μόνον, οὐ “ μερίς ἐστὶν Ἰακώβ καὶ σχοίνισμα κλη-
 ρονομίας Ἰσραὴλ,” οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον εἰπόντος,
 ἀλλὰ γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ προσθέντος “ Οὐ κακολογήσεις

¹ οὐ Klimek ; οἱ Neumann, who regards προσιείμαντες—
 πνεύματι as a quotation from a Christian polemic against the
 Pagans.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

painting, or household management, and the art of healing derived from Asclepius whose oracles are found everywhere on earth, and the god grants to us a share in them perpetually. At any rate, when I have been sick, Asclepius has often cured me by prescribing remedies; and of this Zeus is witness. Therefore, if we who have not given ourselves over to the spirit of apostasy, fare better than you in soul and body and external affairs, why do you abandon these teachings of ours and go over to those others?

And why is it that you do not abide even by the traditions of the Hebrews or accept the law which God has given to them? Nay, you have forsaken their teaching even more than ours, abandoning the religion of your forefathers and giving yourselves over to the predictions of the prophets? For if any man should wish to examine into the truth concerning you, he will find that your impiety is compounded of the rashness of the Jews and the indifference and vulgarity of the Gentiles.¹ For from both sides you have drawn what is by no means their best but their inferior teaching, and so have made for yourselves a border² of wickedness. For the Hebrews have precise laws concerning religious worship, and countless sacred things and observances which demand the priestly life and profession. But though their law-giver forbade them to serve all the gods save only that one, whose "portion is Jacob, and Israel an allotment of his inheritance";³ though he did not say this only, but methinks added also "Thou shalt not revile the

¹ Cf. 43b.

² *παρυφή*, Latin *clavus*, is the woven border of a garment.

³ Cf. *Deuteronomy* 32. 9.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- θεούς," ἡ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων βδελυρία τε καὶ τόλμα,
 βουλομένη πᾶσαν εὐλάβειαν ἐξελεῖν τοῦ πλήθους,
 ἀκολουθεῖν ἐνόμισε τῷ μὴ θεραπεύειν τὸ βλασφη-
 238 D μείν, ὃ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐντεῦθεν εἰλκύσατε μόνον· ὡς
 τῶν γε ἄλλων οὐθὲν ὑμῖν τέ ἐστι κακείνοις παρα-
 πλῆσιον. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἑβραίων καινοτομίας
 τὸ βλασφημεῖν τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν τιμωμένους θεοὺς
 ἡρπάσατε. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν θρησκείας τὸ
 μὲν εὐσεβές τε ὁμοῦ πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν κρείττονα
 φύσιν καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀγαπητικὸν ἀπολελοί-
 πατε, μόνον δ' ἐκτήσασθε τὸ πάντα ἐσθίειν ὡς
 λάχανα χόρτου. καὶ εἰ χρή τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἐπι-
 τεῖναι τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐφιλοτιμήθητε χυδαιότητα.¹
 238 E τοῦτο δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ μαλ' εἰκότως, συμβαίνει πᾶσιν
 ἔθνεσιν· καὶ βίοις ἀνθρώπων εὐτελῶν,² καπήλων,
 τελωνῶν, ὀρχηστῶν, ἐταιροτρόφων καὶ ἀρμόττειν
 φήθητε τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν.
 245 A "Ὅτι δὲ οὐχ οἱ νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οἱ
 245 B πρῶτοι παραδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον παρὰ τοῦ Παύ-
 λου τοιοῦτοί τινες γεγόνασιν, εὐδηλον ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς
 ὁ Παῦλος μαρτυρεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς γράφων. οὐ γὰρ
 ἦν οὕτως ἀναίσχυντος, οἶμαι, ὡς μὴ συνειδὼς αὐ-
 τοῖς ὀνειδῆ τοσαῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαίνους ἔγραψε το-
 σούτους αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ ἀληθεῖς ἐτύγχανον, ἐρυθριᾶν

¹ χυδαιότητα.—καὶ Klimek ; χυδαιότητα, καὶ <γὰρ> Neu-
 mann, failing to see the parenthesis.

² Asmus ; ἐτέρων MSS , Neumann ; Asmus πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς
 ἔθεσιν καὶ—εὐτελῶν—φήθητε χρῆναι : "For you thought you
 must adapt your ways to all the customs and lives of
 worthless men."

¹ *Exodus* 22. 28.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

gods";¹ yet the shamelessness and audacity of later generations, desiring to root out all reverence from the mass of the people, has thought that blasphemy accompanies the neglect of worship. This, in fact, is the only thing that you have drawn from this source; for in all other respects you and the Jews have nothing in common. Nay, it is from the new-fangled teaching of the Hebrews that you have seized upon this blasphemy of the gods who are honoured among us; but the reverence for every higher nature, characteristic of our religious worship, combined with the love of the traditions of our forefathers, you have cast off, and have acquired only the habit of eating all things, "even as the green herb."² But to tell the truth, you have taken pride in outdoing our vulgarity, (this, I think, is a thing that happens to all nations, and very naturally) and you thought that you must adapt your ways to the lives of the baser sort, shopkeepers,³ tax-gatherers, dancers and libertines.

But that not only the Galilaeans of our day but also those of the earliest time, those who were the first to receive the teaching from Paul, were men of this sort, is evident from the testimony of Paul himself in a letter addressed to them. For unless he actually knew that they had committed all these disgraceful acts, he was not, I think, so impudent as to write to those men themselves concerning their conduct, in language for which, even though in the same letter he included as many eulogies of them, he ought to have blushed, yes, even if those

¹ Cf. 314c and *Oration* 6. 192D, Vol. 2, where he quotes with a sneer "these words of the Galilaeans," from *Genesis* 9. 3.

² Cf. *Letter* 36 for Julian's reproach against the Christian rhetoricians that they behave like hucksters.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- ἦν, εἰ δὲ ψευδεῖς καὶ πεπλασμένοι, καταδύεσθαι
 φεύγοντα τὸ μετὰ θωπείας λάγνου καὶ ἀνελευ-
 θέρου κολακείας ἐντυγχάνειν δοκεῖν. ἃ δὲ γράφει
 245 C περὶ τῶν ἀκροασαμένων αὐτοῦ Παῦλος πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς ἐκείνους, ἐστὶ ταῦτα· “Μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε
 εἰδωολάτραι, οὔτε μοιχοί, οὔτε μαλακοί, οὔτε
 ἄρσενοκοῖται, οὔτε κλέπται, οὔτε πλεονέκται, οὐ
 μέθυσοι, οὐ λοῖδοροι, οὐχ ἄρπαγες βασιλείαν θεοῦ
 κληρονομήσουσι. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελ-
 φοί, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε. ἀλλ’ ἀπελού-
 σασθε, ἀλλ’ ἡγιάσθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ.” ὁρᾷς, ὅτι καὶ τούτους γενέσθαι φησὶ
 τοιούτους, ἀγιασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι, ῥύ-
 πτειν ἱκανοῦ καὶ διακαθαίρειν ὕδατος εὐπορή-
 245 D σαντος, ὃ μέχρι ψυχῆς εἰσδύσεται; καὶ τοῦ μὲν
 λεπροῦ τὴν λέπραν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ βάπτισμα,
 οὐδὲ λειχήνας οὐδὲ ἀλφούς οὔτε ἀκροχορδῶνας
 οὐδὲ ποδάγραν οὐδὲ δυσεντερίαν, οὐχ ὕδρον, οὐ
 παρωνυχίαν, οὐ μικρόν, οὐ μέγα τῶν τοῦ σώματος
 ἁμαρτημάτων, μοιχείας δὲ καὶ ἄρπαγὰς καὶ πάσας
 ἀπλῶς τῆς ψυχῆς παρανομίας ἐξελεῖ;
 253 A Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς νυνὶ Ἰουδαίους δια-
 φέρεσθαί φασιν, εἶναι δὲ ἀκριβῶς Ἰσραηλῖται
 253 B κατὰ τοὺς προφῆτας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ Μωυσῇ
 μάλιστα πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν
 Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιγενομένοις προφήταις, ἰδωμεν, κατὰ
 τί μάλιστα ὁμολογοῦσιν αὐτοῖς. ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν
 ἀπὸ τῶν Μωυσέως, ὃν δὴ καὶ αὐτόν φασι προκη-

¹ 1 Corinthians 6. 9–11.

² In Cyril's summary, Julian next compares the Christian converts with slaves who run away from their masters in the

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

eulogies were deserved, while if they were false and fabricated, then he ought to have sunk into the ground to escape seeming to behave with wanton flattery and slavish adulation. But the following are the very words that Paul wrote concerning those who had heard his teaching, and were addressed to the men themselves: "Be not deceived: neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And of this ye are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also; but ye washed yourselves, but ye were sanctified in the name of Jesus Christ."¹ Do you see that he says that these men too had been of such sort, but that they "had been sanctified" and "had been washed," water being able to cleanse and winning power to purify when it shall go down into the soul? And baptism does not take away his leprosy from the leper, or scabs, or pimples, or warts, or gout, or dysentery, or dropsy, or a whitlow, in fact no disorder of the body, great or small, then shall it do away with adultery and theft and in short all the transgressions of the soul? . . .²

Now since the Galilaeans say that, though they are different from the Jews, they are still, precisely speaking, Israelites in accordance with their prophets, and that they obey Moses above all and the prophets who in Judaea succeeded him, let us see in what respect they chiefly agree with those prophets. And let us begin with the teaching of Moses, who himself also, as they claim, foretold the birth of

belief that, even if they do not succeed in escaping, their state will be no worse than before.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- ρύξαι τὴν ἐσομένην Ἰησοῦ γέννησιν. ὁ τοίνυν
 Μωσῆς οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις οὐδὲ τρίς, ἀλλὰ
 πλειστάκις ἓνα θεὸν μόνον ἀξιοῖ τιμᾶν, ὃν δὴ
 καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὀνομάζει, θεὸν δὲ ἕτερον οὐδαμοῦ·
 253 C ἀγγέλους δὲ ὀνομάζει καὶ κυρίους καὶ μέντοι καὶ
 θεοὺς πλείονας, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὸν πρῶτον, ἄλλον
 δὲ οὐχ ὑπέιληφε δεύτερον οὔτε ὅμοιον οὔτε ἀνό-
 μοιον, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἐπεξεύργασθε. εἰ δέ ἐστὶ
 που παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων μία Μωυσέως ῥῆσις,
 ταύτην ἐστὲ δίκαιοι προφέρειν. τὸ γὰρ "Προ-
 φήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν
 ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε" μάλιστα
 253 D μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐκ
 Μαρίας. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἔνεκα συγχωρήσειεν,
 ἐαυτῷ φησιν αὐτὸν ὅμοιον γενήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τῷ
 θεῷ, προφήτην ὥσπερ ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων,
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ. καὶ τὸ "Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων
 ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ"
 μάλιστα μὲν οὐκ εἴρηται περὶ τούτου, ἀλλὰ περὶ
 τῆς τοῦ Δαβὶδ βασιλείας, ἣ δὴ κατέληξεν εἰς
 Σεδεκίαν τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ δὴ ἡ γραφὴ διπλῶς
 πῶς ἔχει "ἕως ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ," παρα-
 πεποιήκατε δὲ ὑμεῖς "ἕως ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται."
 253 E ὅτι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν τῷ Ἰησοῦ προσήκει, πρό-
 δηλον· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξ Ἰούδα. πῶς γὰρ ὁ καθ'
 ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐξ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγίου πνεύματος
 γεγονώς; τὸν Ἰωσήφ γὰρ γενεαλογοῦντες εἰς
 τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀναφέρετε καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐδυνήθητε

¹ Acts 3. 22; Deuteronomy 18. 18.

² Genesis 49. 10.

³ Or "whose it is"; Julian follows the Septuagint. The version "until Shiloh come" was not then current; cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 522. It is still debated whether these

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

Jesus that was to be. Moses, then, not once or twice or thrice but very many times says that men ought to honour one God only, and in fact names him the Highest; but that they ought to honour any other god he nowhere says. He speaks of angels and lords and moreover of several gods, but from these he chooses out the first and does not assume any god as second, either like or unlike him, such as you have invented. And if among you perchance you possess a single utterance of Moses with respect to this, you are bound to produce it. For the words "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; to him shall ye hearken,"¹ were certainly not said of the son of Mary. And even though, to please you, one should concede that they were said of him, Moses says that the prophet will be like him and not like God, a prophet like himself and born of men, not of a god. And the words "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins,"² were most certainly not said of the son of Mary, but of the royal house of David, which, you observe, came to an end with King Zedekiah. And certainly the Scripture can be interpreted in two ways when it says "until there comes what is reserved for him"; but you have wrongly interpreted it "until he comes for whom it is reserved."³ But it is very clear that not one of these sayings relates to Jesus; for he is not even from Judah. How could he be when according to you he was not born of Joseph but of the Holy Spirit? For though in your genealogies you trace Joseph back to Judah, you could not invent

words refer to the Davidic kingdom or to a future Messiah, and there is no universally accepted rendering of the Hebrew original.

πλάσαι καλῶς. ἐλέγχονται γὰρ Ματθαῖος καὶ
 261 E Λουκᾶς περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας αὐτοῦ διαφωνοῦντες
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦτου μέλλοντες
 ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκριβῶς
 ἐξετάζειν, ὑπερτιθέμεθα. συγκεχωρήσθω δὲ καὶ
 ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐ “θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ” κατὰ τὰ παρ’
 ὑμῶν λεγόμενα οὐδὲ “Τὰ πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο
 καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.” ἀλλ’ εἴρηται
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς. “Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ
 καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ.”¹ τοῦθ’ ὅτι τῷ Δαβίδ
 προσήκει καὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, πρόδηλόν ἐστί
 πον· τοῦ γὰρ Ἰεσσαὶ παῖς ἦν ὁ Δαβίδ.

Εἴπερ οὖν ἐκ τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖτε συμβιβάζειν,
 ἐπιδείξατε μίαν ἐκείθεν ἐλκύσαντες ῥῆσιν, ὅποι
 πολλὰς πάνν ἐγώ. ὅτι δὲ θεὸν τὸν ἓνα τὸν τοῦ
 Ἰσραήλ νενόμικεν, ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ φησίν·
 “Ὡστε εἰδέναι σε, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, οὗτος
 θεὸς εἰς ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ.”
 262 B καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ· “Καὶ ἐπιστραφήσῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ
 σου, ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου οὗτος θεὸς ἐν τῷ
 οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
 πλὴν αὐτοῦ.” καὶ πάλιν· “Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ,
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἰς ἐστί.” καὶ πάλιν·
 “Ἰδετε, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς πλὴν ἐμοῦ.”
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἓνα διατεινόμενος
 μόνον εἶναι θεόν. ἀλλ’ οὗτοι τυχὸν ἐροῦσιν·
 οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς δύο λέγομεν οὐδὲ τρεῖς. ἐγὼ δὲ
 λέγοντας μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦτο δείξω, μαρτυ-

¹ Neumann in view of the next two sentences would read
 Ἰεσσαί, “Jesse.”

¹ Cf. *Matthew* 1. 1–17 with *Luke* 3. 23–38.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

even this plausibly. For Matthew and Luke are refuted by the fact that they disagree concerning his genealogy.¹ However, as I intend to examine closely into the truth of this matter in my Second Book, I leave it till then.² But granted that he really is "a sceptre from Judah," then he is not "God born of God," as you are in the habit of saying, nor is it true that "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made."³ But, say you, we are told in the *Book of Numbers* also: "There shall arise a star out of Jacob, and a man out of Israel."⁴ It is certainly clear that this relates to David and to his descendants; for David was a son of Jesse.

If therefore you try to prove anything from these writings, show me a single saying that you have drawn from that source whence I have drawn very many. But that Moses believed in one God, the God of Israel, he says in *Deuteronomy*: "So that thou mightest know that the Lord thy God he is one God; and there is none else beside him."⁵ And moreover he says besides, "And lay it to thine heart that this the Lord thy God is God in the heaven above and upon the earth beneath, and there is none else."⁶ And again, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord."⁷ And again, "See that I am and there is no God save me."⁸ These then are the words of Moses when he insists that there is only one God. But perhaps the Galilaeans will reply: "But we do not assert that there are two gods or three." But I will show that they do assert this

¹ Cyril's reply to this part of Julian's Second Book is lost, so that the Emperor's more detailed discussion cannot be reconstructed. ² *John* 1. 3. ⁴ *Numbers* 24. 17.

⁵ *Deuteronomy* 4. 35.

⁶ *Deuteronomy* 4. 39.

⁷ *Deuteronomy* 6. 4.

⁸ *Deuteronomy* 32. 39.

262 C ρόμενος Ἰωάννην λέγοντα· “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.” ὁρᾷς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἶναι λέγεται; εἴτε ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθεὶς εἴτε ἄλλος τίς ἐστίν—ἵν’ ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς Φωτεινὸν ἀποκρίνωμαι—, διαφέρει τοῦτο νῦν οὐδέν· ἀφίημι δῆτα τὴν μάχην ὑμῖν. ὅτι μέντοι φησὶ “πρὸς θεὸν” καὶ “ἐν ἀρχῇ,” τοῦτο ἀπόχρη μαρτύρασθαι. πῶς οὖν ὁμολογεῖ ταῦτα τοῖς Μωυσέως;

Ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἡσαΐου, φασίν, ὁμολογεῖ. λέγει γὰρ Ἡσαΐας· “Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν.” ἔστω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο λεγόμενον
262 D ὑπὲρ θεοῦ, καίτοι μηδαμῶς εἰρημένον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν παρθένος ἡ γεγαμημένη καὶ πρὶν ἀποκυῆσαι συγκατακλιθεῖσα τῷ γήμαντι· δεδοσθω δὲ λέγεσθαι περὶ ταύτης—μή τι θεὸν φησιν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου τεχθήσεσθαι; θεοτόκον δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ παύεσθε Μαρίαν καλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ πού φησι τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου γεννώμενον “υἱὸν θεοῦ μονογενῆ” καὶ “πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως”;¹ ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου “Πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν” ἔχει τις ἐν ταῖς
262 E προφητικαῖς δεῖξαι φωναῖς; ἃ δὲ ἡμεῖς δείκνυμεν, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐξῆς ἀκούετε· “Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ἐκτὸς σοῦ ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν”. πεποίηται δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐζεκίας ὁ βασιλεὺς

¹ κτίσεως; Neumann, κτίσεως. MSS.

¹ John 1. 1.

² The heretical bishop Photinus of Sirmium was tried under Constantius before the synod at Milan in 351 for denying the divinity of Christ; see Julian's letter to him, p. 187.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

also, and I call John to witness, who says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God."¹ You see that the Word is said to be with God? Now whether this is he who was born of Mary or someone else,—that I may answer Photinus² at the same time,—this now makes no difference; indeed I leave the dispute to you; but it is enough to bring forward the evidence that he says "with God," and "in the beginning." How then does this agree with the teachings of Moses?

"But," say the Galilaeans, "it agrees with the teachings of Isaiah. For Isaiah says, 'Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son.'"³ Now granted that this is said about a god, though it is by no means so stated; for a married woman who before her conception had lain with her husband was no virgin,—but let us admit that it is said about her,—does Isaiah anywhere say that a god will be born of the virgin? But why do you not cease to call Mary the mother of God, if Isaiah nowhere says that he that is born of the virgin is the "only begotten Son of God"⁴ and "the firstborn of all creation"?⁵ But as for the saying of John, "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made,"⁶ can anyone point this out among the utterances of the prophets? But now listen to the sayings that I point out to you from those same prophets, one after another. "O Lord our God, make us thine; we know none other beside thee."⁷ And Hezekiah the king has been represented by

¹ *Isaiah* 7. 14.

⁴ *John* 1. 18.

⁵ *Colossians* 1. 15.

⁶ *John* 1. 3.

⁷ A paraphrase of *Isaiah* 26. 13.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- εὐχόμενος· “Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ, σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος.” μή τι
 276 E τῷ δευτέρῳ καταλείπει χώραν; ἀλλ’ εἰ θεὸς ἐκ
 θεοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐξέφυ
 τοῦ πατρός, θεοτόκον ὑμεῖς ἀνθ’ ὅτου τὴν παρθένον
 εἶναι φάτε; πῶς γὰρ ἂν τέκοι θεὸν ἄνθρωπος
 οὔσα καθ’ ὑμᾶς; καὶ πρὸς γε τούτῳ λέγοντος
 277 A ἐναργῶς θεοῦ “Ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ
 σώζων,” ὑμεῖς σωτήρα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν
 τετολμήκατε;
 290 B “Ὅτι δὲ Μωυσῆς ὀνομάζει θεοὺς τοὺς ἀγγέλους,
 ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἀκούσατε· “Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ
 290 C υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι
 καλαὶ εἰσιν, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν
 ὧν ἐξελέξαντο.” καὶ μικρὸν ὑποβάς· “Καὶ μετ’
 ἐκείνο ὡς ἂν εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς
 τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγεννῶσαν
 ἑαυτοῖς· ἐκείνοι ἦσαν οἱ γίγαντες οἱ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος
 οἱ ὀνομαστοί.” ὅτι τοίνυν τοὺς ἀγγέλους φησὶν,
 εὐδελὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἔξωθεν οὐ προσπαρακείμενον,¹
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ φάναι, οὐκ ἀνθρώπους,
 ἀλλὰ γίγαντας γεγονέναι παρ’ ἐκείνων. δῆλον
 γάρ, ὡς, εἴπερ ἀνθρώπους ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῶν εἶναι
 290 D τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ κρείττονος καὶ ἰσχυρο-
 τέρας τινὸς φύσεως, οὐκ ἂν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἶπε
 γεννηθῆναι τοὺς γίγαντας· ἐκ γὰρ θνητοῦ καὶ
 ἀθανάτου μίξεως ἀποφήνασθαί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τῶν
 γιγάντων ὑποστήναι γένος. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς υἱοὺς
 ὀνομάζων θεοῦ καὶ τούτους οὐκ ἀνθρώπους, ἀγγέ-
 λους δέ, τὸν μονογενῆ λόγον θεὸν ἢ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἢ

¹ After προσπαρακείμενον Klimek adds μόνον.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

them as praying as follows : " O Lord God of Israel, that sittest upon the Cherubim, thou art God, even thou alone." ¹ Does he leave any place for the second god? But if, as you believe, the Word is God born of God and proceeded from the substance of the Father, why do you say that the virgin is the mother of God? For how could she bear a god since she is, according to you, a human being? And moreover, when God declares plainly " I am he, and there is none that can deliver beside me," ² do you dare to call her son Saviour?

And that Moses calls the angels gods you may hear from his own words, " The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair ; and they took them wives of all which they chose." ³ And a little further on : " And also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became the giants which were of old, the men of renown." ⁴ Now that he means the angels is evident, and this has not been foisted on him from without, but it is clear also from his saying that not men but giants were born from them. For it is clear that if he had thought that men and not beings of some higher and more powerful nature were their fathers, he would not have said that the giants were their offspring. For it seems to me that he declared that the race of giants arose from the mixture of mortal and immortal. Again, when Moses speaks of many sons of God and calls them not men but angels, would he not then have revealed to mankind, if he had known thereof, God

¹ *Isaiah* 37. 16.

² Apparently a paraphrase of *Deuteronomy* 32. 39.

³ *Genesis* 6. 2.

⁴ *Genesis* 6. 4.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 290 E ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν καλῆτε,¹ εἶπερ ἐγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἂν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐμήνυσεν; ὅτι δὲ οὐ μέγα τοῦτο ἐνόμιζεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ φησιν. “υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραήλ”; τί οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτ’ ἔφη Μωυσῆς; ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἐδίδασκε θεόν, υἱοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς τοὺς κατανειμαμένους τὰ ἔθνη. πρωτότοκον δὲ υἱὸν θεοῦ² ἢ θεὸν λόγον ἢ τι τῶν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ὕστερον ψευδῶς συντεθέντων οὔτε ἤδει κατ’ ἀρχὴν οὔτε ἐδίδασκε φανερώς. αὐτοῦ τε Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπηκούσατε
- 291 A προφητῶν. ὁ οὖν Μωυσῆς πολλὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πολλαχοῦ λέγει. “Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.” πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις παραδέδοται προστάττων “Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος,” εἶπερ μὴ³ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύειν ἔμελλον; ἀκόλουθα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑμεῖς διανοούμενοι μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς θεολογεῖτε τὸν υἱόν . . .
- 299 B Ὅτι δὲ ἀποτροπαίων ἐπάκουσον πάλιν ὅσα λέγει. “Καὶ λήψεται δύο τράγους ἐξ αἰγῶν περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ κριὸν ἓνα εἰς ὅλοκαύτωμα. καὶ προσάξει ὁ Ἀαρὼν τὸν μόσχον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ

¹ καλῆτε Klimek; καλεῖτε Neumann.

² θεοῦ Neumann adds.

³ Neumann εἶπερ καὶ αὐτῷ, referring αὐτῷ to Moses; Gollwitzer adds μὴ to improve sense; αὐτῷ refers to Jesus.

¹ Exodus 4. 22.

² Deuteronomy 6. 13.

³ Matthew 28. 19.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

the "only begotten Word," or a son of God or however you call him? But is it because he did not think this of great importance that he says concerning Israel, "Israel is my firstborn son?"¹ Why did not Moses say this about Jesus also? He taught that there was only one God, but that he had many sons who divided the nations among themselves. But the Word as firstborn son of God or as a God, or any of those fictions which have been invented by you later, he neither knew at all nor taught openly thereof. You have now heard Moses himself and the other prophets. Moses, therefore, utters many sayings to the following effect and in many places: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve."² How then has it been handed down in the Gospels that Jesus commanded: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"³ if they were not intended to serve him also? And your beliefs also are in harmony with these commands, when along with the Father you pay divine honours to the son. . . .⁴

And now observe again how much Moses says about the deities that avert evil: "And he shall take two he-goats of the goats for a sin-offering, and one ram for a burnt offering. And Aaron shall bring also his bullock of the sin-offering, which is for him-

⁴ According to Cyril's summary, Julian says that the Hellenes, unlike the Christians, observe the same laws and customs as the Jews, except that they worship more than one god and practise soothsaying. Circumcision is approved by the temple priests of Egypt, the Chaldaeans and Saracens. All alike offer the various sorts of sacrifice, including those for atonement and purification. Moses sacrificed to the abominable deities who avert evil, the *di averrunci*.

- ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ.
καὶ λήψεται τοὺς δύο τράγους καὶ στήσει αὐτοὺς
ἐναντι κυρίου παρὰ τὴν θύραν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ
μαρτυρίου. καὶ ἐπιθήσει Ἀαρὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο
τράγους κλῆρον ἓνα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ κλῆρον ἓνα
τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ," ὥστε ἐκπέμψαι αὐτόν, φησίν,
ἀποπομπήν, καὶ ¹ ἀφεῖναι αὐτόν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον.
ὁ μὲν οὖν τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ πεμπόμενος οὕτως
ἐκπέμπεται. τὸν δέ γε ἕτερον τράγον φησί· "Καὶ
299 C σφάξει τὸν τράγον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ
λαοῦ ἐναντι κυρίου, καὶ εἰσίοισι τοῦ αἵματος
αὐτοῦ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, καὶ ῥανεῖ
τὸ αἷμα ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ
ἐξιλάσεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν
τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδικημάτων αὐτῶν
305 B περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν." ὥς μὲν οὖν
τοὺς τῶν θυσιῶν ἠπίστατο τρόπους Μωυσῆς,
εὐδηλὸν ἐστί που διὰ τῶν ῥηθέντων. ὅτι δὲ οὐχ
ὥς ὑμεῖς ἀκάθαρτα ἐνόμισεν αὐτά, πάλιν ἐκ τῶν
ἐκείνου ῥημάτων ἐπακούσατε· "Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ, ἥτις
ἐὰν φάγῃ ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν τῆς θυσίας τοῦ σωτη-
ρίου, ὃ ἐστί κυρίου, καὶ ἡ ἀκαθαρσία αὐτοῦ ἐπ'
αὐτῷ, ἀπολεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ
αὐτῆς." αὐτὸς οὕτως εὐλαβῆς ὁ Μωυσῆς περὶ
τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδωδήν.
- 305 D Προσῆκει δὲ λοιπὸν ἀναμνησθῆναι τῶν ἔμπρο-
σθεν, ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐρρήθη καὶ ταῦτα. διὰ τί
γὰρ ἀποστάντες ἡμῶν οὐχὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων
ἀγαπᾶτε νόμον οὐδὲ ἐμμένετε τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου
λεγομένοις; ἐρεῖ πάντως τις ὁξὺ βλέπων· οὐδὲ

¹ καὶ Neumann adds.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

self, and make an atonement for himself and for his house. And he shall take the two goats and present them before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle of the covenant. And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord and the other lot for the scape-goat”¹ so as to send him forth, says Moses, as a scape-goat, and let him loose into the wilderness. Thus then is sent forth the goat that is sent for a scape-goat. And of the second goat Moses says: “Then shall he kill the goat of the sin-offering that is for the people before the Lord, and bring his blood within the vail, and shall sprinkle the blood upon the altar-step,² and shall make an atonement for the holy place, because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel and because of their transgressions in all their sins.”³ Accordingly it is evident from what has been said, that Moses knew the various methods of sacrifice. And to show that he did not think them impure as you do, listen again to his own words. “But the soul that eateth of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people.”⁴ So cautious is Moses himself with regard to the eating of the flesh of sacrifice.

But now I had better remind you of what I said earlier,⁵ since on account of that I have said this also. Why is it, I repeat, that after deserting us you do not accept the law of the Jews or abide by the sayings of Moses? No doubt some sharp-sighted

¹ A paraphrase of *Leviticus* 16. 5-8.

² “Mercy-seat” is the usual version.

³ *Leviticus* 16. 15.

⁴ *Leviticus* 7. 20.

⁵ Cf. 43A.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- γὰρ Ἰουδαῖοι θύουσιν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἀμβλυώπτοντα δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἀπελέγξω, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νενομισμένων ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμῖν ἐν φυλακῇ· δεύτερον δέ, ὅτι θύουσι μὲν ἐν ἀδράκτοις¹ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι
- 306 A πάντα ἐσθίουσιν ἱερὰ καὶ κατεύχονται πρὸ τοῦ θῦσαι καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον διδόασιν ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἀπεστερημένοι δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ, ἥ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔθος λέγειν, τοῦ ἁγιάσματος, ἀπαρχὰς τῷ θεῷ τῶν ἱερείων εἰργονται προσφέρειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὴν καινὴν θυσίαν εὐρόντες, οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντὶ τίνος οὐ θύετε; καίτοι τοῦτο
- 306 B μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκ περιουσίας εἶπον, ἐπεὶ μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐρρέθη βουλομένῳ δεῖξαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁμολογοῦντας Ἰουδαίους ἔξω τοῦ νομίζειν ἓνα θεὸν μόνον. ἐκείνο γὰρ αὐτῶν μὲν ἴδιον, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀλλότριον, ἐπεὶ τά γε ἄλλα κοινὰ πῶς ἡμῖν ἐστι, ναοί, τεμένη, θυσιαστήρια, ἀγνείαι, φυλάγματα τινα, περὶ ὧν ἡ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμῶς ἢ μικρὰ διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . .
- 314 C Ἄνθ' ὅτου περὶ τὴν δίαίταν οὐχὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁμοίως ἐστὲ καθαροί, πάντα δὲ ἐσθίειν ὡς λάχανα χόρτου δεῖν φατε Πέτρῳ πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι, φασίν, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος· “Ἄ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε, σὺ μὴ κοίνου”; τί τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι πάλαι μὲν

¹ Cf. Hesychius s.v. ἄδρακτον ἴδιον. Not in L. and S. The Latin version *Oecolampadius* translates *in propriis*.

¹ Sozomen 5. 22, Socrates 3. 20 and Theodoret 3. 15 relate that Julian summoned the leading Jews and exhorted them to resume their sacrifices. Their reply that they could lawfully sacrifice only in the Temple led him to order its restoration.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

person will answer, "The Jews too do not sacrifice." But I will convict him of being terribly dull-sighted, for in the first place I reply that neither do you also observe any one of the other customs observed by the Jews; and, secondly, that the Jews do sacrifice in their own houses, and even to this day everything that they eat is consecrated; and they pray before sacrificing, and give the right shoulder to the priests as the firstfruits; but since they have been deprived of their temple, or, as they are accustomed to call it, their holy place, they are prevented from offering the firstfruits of the sacrifice to God.¹ But why do you not sacrifice, since you have invented your new kind of sacrifice and do not need Jerusalem at all? And yet it was superfluous to ask you this question, since I said the same thing at the beginning, when I wished to show that the Jews agree with the Gentiles, except that they believe in only one God. That is indeed peculiar to them and strange to us; since all the rest we have in a manner in common with them—temples, sanctuaries, altars, purifications, and certain precepts. For as to these we differ from one another either not at all or in trivial matters. . . .²

Why in your diet are you not as pure as the Jews, and why do you say that we ought to eat everything "even as the green herb,"³ putting your faith in Peter, because, as the Galilaeans say, he declared, "What God hath cleansed, that make not thou common"?⁴ What proof is there of this, that of old

¹ According to Cyril, Julian then says that the Christians in worshipping not one or many gods, but three, have strayed from both Jewish and Hellenic teaching.

² Cf. 238D, note.

⁴ *Acts* 10. 15.

- 314 D ἅττα¹ ἐνόμιζεν ὁ θεὸς μιαρά, νυνὶ δὲ καθαρὰ πεποίηκεν αὐτά; Μωυσῆς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετραπόδων ἐπισημαινόμενος πᾶν τὸ διχηλοῦν, φησὶν, ὀπλὴν καὶ ἀναμαρκεῖζον μαρκεῖσμον καθαρὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀκάθαρτον εἶναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ χοῖρος ἀπὸ τῆς φαντασίας Πέτρου νῦν προσέλαβε τὸ μαρκεῖσθαι, πεισθῶμεν αὐτῷ· τεράστιον γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰ μετὰ τὴν φαντασίαν Πέτρου προσέλαβεν αὐτό. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐψεύσατο ταύτην ἑωρακεῖναι, ἵν' εἴπω καθ' ὑμᾶς, τὴν ἀποκά-
 314 E λυψιν ἐπὶ τοῦ βυρσοδεψίου, τί ἐπὶ τηλικούτων οὕτω ταχέως πιστεύσομεν; τί γὰρ ὁ Μωυσῆς ὑμῖν ἐπέταξε τῶν χαλεπῶν, εἰ ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐσθίειν πρὸς τοῖς ὑείοις τὰ τε πτηνὰ καὶ τὰ θαλάττια, ἀποφηνάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνοις ἐκβεβλήσθαι καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πεφηνέναι;
 319 D Ἄλλὰ τί ταῦτα ἐγὼ μακρολογῶ λεγόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐξὸν ἰδεῖν, εἴ τινα ἰσχὺν ἔχει; λέγουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ νόμῳ θεῖναι τὸν δεύτερον. ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ γενέσθαι πρὸς καιρὸν περιγεγραμμένον χρόνοις ὠρισμένοις, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι διὰ τὸ τὸν Μωυσέως χρόνῳ τε καὶ τόπῳ περιγεγράφθαι. τοῦτο ὅτι ψευδῶς λέγουσιν, ἀποδείξω σαφῶς, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Μωυσέως οὐδέκα μόνας, ἀλλὰ μυρίας παρεχόμενος μαρ-
 319 E τυρίας, ὅπου τὸν νόμον αἰώνιον φησιν. ἀκούετε δὲ νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου. “Καὶ ἔσται ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη ὑμῖν μνημόσυνον, καὶ ἐορτάσατε αὐτὴν

¹ ἅττα Klimek; αὐτὰ Neumann.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

God held certain things abominable, but now has made them pure? For Moses, when he is laying down the law concerning four-footed things, says that whatsoever parteth the hoof and is cloven-footed and cheweth the cud¹ is pure, but that which is not of this sort is impure. Now if, after the vision of Peter, the pig has now taken to chewing the cud, then let us obey Peter; for it is in very truth a miracle if, after the vision of Peter, it has taken to that habit. But if he spoke falsely when he said that he saw this revelation,—to use your own way of speaking,—in the house of the tanner, why are we so ready to believe him in such important matters? Was it so hard a thing that Moses enjoined on you when, besides the flesh of swine, he forbade you to eat winged things and things that dwell in the sea, and declared to you that besides the flesh of swine these also had been cast out by God and shown to be impure?

But why do I discuss at length these teachings of theirs,² when we may easily see whether they have any force? For they assert that God, after the earlier law, appointed the second. For, say they, the former arose with a view to a certain occasion and was circumscribed by definite periods of time, but this later law was revealed because the law of Moses was circumscribed by time and place. That they say this falsely I will clearly show by quoting from the books of Moses not merely ten but ten thousand passages as evidence, where he says that the law is for all time. Now listen to a passage from *Exodus*: "And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the Lord

¹ *Leviticus* 11. 3.

² *i. e.* of the Galilaeans.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ἐορτὴν κυρίῳ εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν. νόμιμον
 αἰώνιον ἐορτάσατε αὐτήν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
 τῆς πρώτης ἀφανιεῖτε ζύμην ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν
 ὑμῶν." . . .¹ πολλῶν ἔτι τοιούτων παραλελειμ-
 μένων, ἀφ' ὧν τὸν νόμον τοῦ Μωυσέως αἰώνιον
 ἐγὼ μὲν εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ πλήθος παρητησάμην·
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπιδείξατε, ποῦ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Παύλου
 μετὰ τοῦτο τολμηθὲν εἴρηται, ὅτι δὴ "τέλος
 νόμου Χριστός." ποῦ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὁ θεὸς
 320 B ἐπηγγείλατο νόμον ἕτερον παρὰ τὸν κείμενον ;
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδὲ τοῦ κειμένου διόρθωσις.²
 ἄκουε γὰρ τοῦ Μωυσέως πάλιν· "Οὐ προσθήσετε
 ἐπὶ τὸ ρῆμα, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ
 ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. φυλάξασθε τὰς ἐντολὰς
 κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν
 σήμερον" καὶ "Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει
 πᾶσιν." ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀφελεῖν καὶ προσθεῖναι
 τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μικρὸν ἐνομίσατε,
 τὸ δὲ παραβῆναι τελείως αὐτὸν ἀνδρειότερον τῷ
 320 C παντὶ καὶ μεγαλοψυχότερον, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν,
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶσι πιθανὸν βλέποντες . . .

¹ Lacuna. Before πολλῶν Neumann would insert, in order to connect, *ἱκανὰς δὲ δοκῶ μοι χρήσεις ἤδη παρατεθεῖσθαι*, "But I think I have now cited enough passages."

² *διόρθωσις* Klimek ; *διόρθωσιν* MSS., Neumann, with a verb, *e.g.* "promises," understood.

¹ *Exodus* 12. 14-15 ; Julian went on to quote several similar passages from the Old Testament, but these are missing.

² *Romans* 10. 4.

³ "The gods, not being ignorant of their future intentions, do not have to correct their errors," says Julian, *Orat.* 5. 170A.

⁴ *Deuteronomy* 4. 2.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance forever; the first day shall ye put away leaven out of your houses." . . .¹ Many passages to the same effect are still left, but on account of their number I refrain from citing them to prove that the law of Moses was to last for all time. But do you point out to me where there is any statement by Moses of what was later on rashly uttered by Paul, I mean that "Christ is the end of the law."² Where does God announce to the Hebrews a second law besides that which was established? Nowhere does it occur, not even a revision of the established law.³ For listen again to the words of Moses: "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it. Keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you this day."⁴ And "Cursed be every man who does not abide by them all."⁵ But you have thought it a slight thing to diminish and to add to the things which were written in the law; and to transgress it completely you have thought to be in every way more manly and more high-spirited, because you do not look to the truth but to that which will persuade all men. . . .⁶

¹ *Deuteronomy* 27, 26, "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them." Cf. *Galatians* 3. 10.

² According to Cyril, Julian next discussed the letter of the Apostles to the Christian converts, and, quoting *Acts* 15. 28, 29, which forbid the eating of meats offered to idols and things strangled, says that this does not mean that the Holy Ghost willed that the Mosaic law should be disregarded. He ridicules Peter and calls him a hypocrite, convicted by Paul of living now according to Greek, now Hebrew, customs.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 327 A Οὕτω δέ ἐστε δυστυχεῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ
τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παραδεδομένοις ἐμμενεῆ-
κατε· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ δυσσεβέ-
στερον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἐξεργάσθη. τὸν
γοῦν Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Παῦλος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν θεὸν
οὔτε Ματθαῖος οὔτε Λουκᾶς οὔτε Μάρκος. ἀλλ’
- 327 B ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης, αἰσθόμενος ἤδη πολὺ πλῆθος
ἐαλωκὸς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων καὶ Ἰταλιω-
τίδων πόλεων ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς νόσου, ἀκούων δέ,
οἶμαι, καὶ τὰ μνῆματα Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου λάθρα
μέν, ἀκούων δὲ ὅμως αὐτὰ θεραπευόμενα πρῶτος
ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν. μικρὰ δὲ εἰπὼν περὶ Ἰωάννου
τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, πάλιν ἐπανάγων ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ κηρυττόμενον λόγον “Καὶ ὁ λόγος” φησὶ
“σάρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν,” τὸ δὲ
ὅπως οὐ λέγει αἰσχυρόμενος. οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν
- 327 C οὔτε Ἰησοῦν οὔτε Χριστόν, ἄχρις οὐ θεὸν καὶ
λόγον ἀποκαλεῖ, κλέπτων δὲ ὥσπερ ἡρέμα καὶ
λάθρα τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν, Ἰωάννην φησὶ τὸν βαπτι-
στὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταύτην ἐκθέσθαι τὴν
μαρτυρίαν, ὅτι ἄρ’ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν χρὴ πεπιστευ-
- 333 B κέναι θεὸν εἶναι λόγον. ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν τοῦτο περὶ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ φησιν Ἰωάννης, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀντι-
λέγω. καίτοι δοκεῖ τισι τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἄλλον
- 333 C μὲν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι Χριστόν, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ
Ἰωάννου κηρυττόμενον λόγον. οὐ μὲν οὕτως
ἔχει. ὃν γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰναί φησι θεὸν λόγον,
τοῦτον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου φησὶν ἐπιγνωσθῆναι τοῦ
βαπτιστοῦ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὄντα. σκοπεῖτε οὖν,
ὅπως εὐλαβῶς, ἡρέμα καὶ λεληθότως ἐπεισάγει

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

But you are so misguided that you have not even remained faithful to the teachings that were handed down to you by the apostles. And these also have been altered, so as to be worse and more impious, by those who came after. At any rate neither Paul nor Matthew nor Luke nor Mark ventured to call Jesus God. But the worthy John, since he perceived that a great number of people in many of the towns of Greece and Italy had already been infected by this disease,¹ and because he heard, I suppose, that even the tombs of Peter and Paul were being worshipped—secretly, it is true, but still he did hear this,—he, I say, was the first to venture to call Jesus God. And after he had spoken briefly about John the Baptist he referred again to the Word which he was proclaiming, and said, “And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.”² But how, he does not say, because he was ashamed. Nowhere, however, does he call him either Jesus or Christ, so long as he calls him God and the Word, but as it were insensibly and secretly he steals away our ears, and says that John the Baptist bore this witness on behalf of Jesus Christ, that in very truth he it is whom we must believe to be God the Word. But that John says this concerning Jesus Christ I for my part do not deny. And yet certain of the impious think that Jesus Christ is quite distinct from the Word that was proclaimed by John. That however is not the case. For he whom John himself calls God the Word, this is he who, says he, was recognised by John the Baptist to be Jesus Christ. Observe accordingly how cautiously, how quietly and in-

¹ For Christianity a disease cf. *Oration* 7. 229D, and *Letter* 58 To Libanius 401C.

² *John* 1. 14.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- τῷ δράματι τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ἀσεβείας οὕτω τέ
 ἔστι πανοῦργος καὶ ἀπατεών, ὥστε αὐθις ἀνα-
 δύεται προστιθείς. “Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε πώποτε·
 333 D ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρός,
 ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.” πότερον οὖν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ
 θεὸς λόγος σάρξ γενόμενος, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ
 ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρός; καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτός,
 ὄνπερ οἶμαι, ἐθεάσασθε δήπουθεν καὶ ὑμεῖς θεόν.
 “ἐσκήνωσέ” γὰρ “ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐθεάσασθε τὴν δόξαν
 αὐτοῦ.” τί οὖν ἐπιλέγεις, ὅτι θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἐώρακε
 πώποτε; ἐθεάσασθε γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν
 πατέρα θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν λόγον. εἰ δὲ ἄλλος
 ἐστὶν ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὥς
 ἐγὼ τινων ἀκήκοα τῆς ὑμετέρας αἰρέσεως, ἔοικεν
 οὐδὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης αὐτὸ τολμᾶν ἔτι.
- 335 B Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ κακὸν ἔλαβε παρὰ Ἰωάννου
 τὴν ἀρχήν· ὅσα δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐξῆς προσευρήκατε, πολ-
 λούς ἐπεισάγοντες τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ τοὺς προσφά-
 τους νεκρούς, τίς ἂν πρὸς ἀξίαν βδελύξαιτο; πάντα
- 335 C ἐπληρώσατε τάφων καὶ μνημάτων, καίτοι οὐκ
 εἴρηται παρ’ ὑμῖν οὐδαμοῦ τοῖς τάφοις προσκα-
 λινδεῖσθαι καὶ περιέπειν αὐτούς. εἰς τοῦτο δὲ
 προεληλύθατε μοχθηρίας, ὥστε οἶεσθαι δεῖν ὑπὲρ
 τούτου μηδὲ τῶν γε Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου ῥημά-

¹ John 1. 18.

² John 1. 19.

³ Yet in *Letter* 47. 434c, Julian reproaches the Alexandrians with worshipping as God the Word “one whom neither you nor your fathers have ever seen, even Jesus.”

⁴ i.e. that Jesus was God.

⁵ For the collection of the “bones and skulls of criminals,” and the apotheosis of the martyrs as it struck a contemporary pagan, see Eunapius, *Lives* p. 424 (Loeb edition). Julian, in

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

sensibly he introduces into the drama the crowning word of his impiety; and he is so rascally and deceitful that he rears his head once more to add, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."¹ Then is this only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father the God who is the Word and became flesh? And if, as I think, it is indeed he, you also have certainly beheld God. For "He dwelt among you, and ye beheld his glory."² Why then do you add to this that "No man hath seen God at any time"? For ye have indeed seen, if not God the Father, still God who is the Word.³ But if the only begotten Son is one person and the God who is the Word another, as I have heard from certain of your sect, then it appears that not even John made that rash statement.⁴

However this evil doctrine did originate with John; but who could detest as they deserve all those doctrines that you have invented as a sequel, while you keep adding many corpses newly dead to the corpse of long ago?⁵ You have filled the whole world with tombs and sepulchres, and yet in your scriptures it is nowhere said that you must grovel among tombs⁶ and pay them honour. But you have gone so far in iniquity that you think you need not listen even to the words of Jesus of Nazareth on this

Letter 22. 429b, commends the Christian care of graves; here he ridicules the veneration of the relics of the martyrs, which was peculiarly Christian and offensive to pagans.

⁶ For this phrase, derived from Plato, *Phaedo* 81d, cf. *Misopogon* 344A. Eunapius, *Lives* p. 424 προσεκαλινδούντο τοῖς μνήμασι, of the Christian worship at the graves of the martyrs.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- των ἀκούειν. ἀκούετε οὖν, ἃ φησιν ἐκεῖνος περὶ τῶν μνημάτων· “Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκοιμημένοις· ἐξώθεν ὁ τάφος φαίνεται ὡραῖος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμει ὀστέων νεκρῶν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας.”
- 335 D εἰ τοίνυν ἀκαθαρσίας Ἰησοῦς ἔφη πλήρεις εἶναι τοὺς τάφους, πῶς ὑμεῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν θεόν; . . .
- 339 E Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ τίνος προσκαλυνδεῖσθε τοῖς μνήμασι; ἀκούσαι βούλεσθε τὴν αἰτίαν; οὐκ ἐγὼ φαίην ἅν, ἀλλ’ Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης. “Ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι’ ἐνύπνια.” σκοπεῖτε οὖν, ὅπως παλαιὸν ἦν τοῦτο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῆς μαγγανείας τὸ ἔργον, ἐγκαθεύδειν τοῖς μνήμασιν ἐνυπνίων χάριν. ὃ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὑμῶν εἰκός ἐστι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου τελευτὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαντας ὑμῖν τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδοῦναι τοῖς πρώτοις πεπιστευκόσι, καὶ τεχνικώτερον ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς μαγγανεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ μεθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδείξαι δημοσίᾳ τῆς μαγγανείας ταύτης καὶ βδελυρίας τὰ ἐργαστήρια.
- 343 C Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἃ μὲν ὁ θεὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐβδελύξατο καὶ διὰ Μωυσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἐπιτηδεύετε, προσάγειν δὲ ἱερεῖα βωμῷ καὶ θύειν παρητήσασθε. πῦρ γάρ, φασίν, οὐ κάτεισιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Μωυσέως
- 343 D τὰς θυσίας ἀναλίσκον. ἅπαξ τοῦτο ἐπὶ Μωυσέως

¹ *Matthew* 23. 27.

² According to Cyril, Julian quoted *Matthew* 8. 21, 22: ‘Let the dead bury their dead,’ to prove that Christ had no respect for graves.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

matter. Listen then to what he says about sepulchres: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres; outward the tomb appears beautiful, but within it is full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness."¹ If, then, Jesus said that sepulchres are full of uncleanness, how can you invoke God at them? . . .²

Therefore, since this is so, why do you grovel among tombs? Do you wish to hear the reason? It is not I who will tell you, but the prophet Isaiah: "They lodge among tombs and in caves for the sake of dream visions."³ You observe, then, how ancient among the Jews was this work of witchcraft, namely, sleeping among tombs for the sake of dream visions. And indeed it is likely that your apostles, after their teacher's death, practised this and handed it down to you from the beginning, I mean to those who first adopted your faith, and that they themselves performed their spells more skilfully than you do, and displayed openly to those who came after them the places in which they performed this witchcraft and abomination.

But you, though you practise that which God from the first abhorred, as he showed through Moses and the prophets, have refused nevertheless to offer victims at the altar, and to sacrifice. "Yes," say the Galilaeans, "because fire will not descend to consume the sacrifices as in the case of Moses." Only once, I answer, did this happen in the case of

³ In part from *Isaiah* 65. 4; the literal meaning of the Hebrew is "that sit in graves and pass the night in secret places," a reference to incubation for the sake of dream oracles, a Hellenic custom. Julian professes to believe that this practice, which Isaiah abhorred, was kept up by the Christians.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

ἐγένετο καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου πάλιν μετὰ πολλοὺς χρόνους. ἐπεὶ, ὅτι γε πῦρ ἐπέισακτον αὐτὸς ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰσφέρειν οἶεται χρῆναι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατριάρχης ἔτι πρὸ τούτου, δηλώσω διὰ βραχέων . . .

346 E Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νύων Ἀδὰμ ἀπαρχὰς τῷ θεῷ διδόντων, “Ἐπείδεν ὁ θεὸς”

347 A φησὶν “ἐπὶ Ἀβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ Κάιν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχε. καὶ ἐλύπησε τὸν Κάιν λίαν, καὶ συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Κάιν· “Ἰνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου, καὶ ἵνα τί συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτες;” ἀκοῦσαι οὖν ἐπιποθεῖτε, τίνες ἦσαν αὐτῶν αἱ προσφοραὶ; “Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ’ ἡμέρας, ἀνήνεγκε Κάιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ Ἀβελ

347 B ἤνεγκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν.” ναί, φασίν, οὐ τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐμέμψατο πρὸς Κάιν εἰπών· “Οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἡμαρτες;” τοῦτο ἔφη τις πρὸς ἐμὲ τῶν πάνυ σοφῶν ἐπισκόπων· ὁ δὲ ἡπάτα μὲν ἑαυτὸν πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ἡ γὰρ διαίρεσις μεμπτή κατὰ τίνα τρόπον ἦν, ἀπαιτούμενος, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως διεξέλθῃ, οὐδέ ὅπως πρὸς ἐμὲ ψυχρολογήσῃ.¹ βλέπων δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξαπορού-

¹ ψυχρολογήσῃ Klimek; ψυχρολογήσειε Neumann.

¹ Leviticus 9. 24.

² 1 Kings 18. 38.

³ Cyril says that Julian told the story of the interrupted sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham from *Genesis* 22.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

Moses;¹ and again after many years in the case of Elijah the Tishbite.² For I will prove in a few words that Moses himself thought that it was necessary to bring fire from outside for the sacrifice, and even before him, Abraham the patriarch as well. . . .³

And this is not the only instance, but when the sons of Adam also offered firstfruits to God, the Scripture says, "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offerings; but unto Cain and to his offerings he had not respect. And Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. And the Lord God said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? Is it not so—if thou offerest rightly, but dost not cut in pieces rightly, thou hast sinned?"⁴ Do you then desire to hear also what were their offerings? "And at the end of days it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof."⁵ You see, say the Galilaeans, it was not the sacrifice but the division thereof that God disapproved when he said to Cain, "If thou offerest rightly, but dost not cut in pieces rightly, hast thou not sinned?" This is what one of your most learned bishops⁶ told me. But in the first place he was deceiving himself and then other men also. For when I asked him in what way the division was blameworthy he did not know how to get out of it, or how to make me even a frigid explanation. And when I saw that he was greatly

⁴ *Genesis* 4. 4-7. The Hebrew text of the last sentence is corrupt, and its meaning is disputed. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 106, calls the Septuagint version, followed by Julian, fantastic.

⁵ *Genesis* 4. 3-4.

⁶ This was, perhaps, Aetius, for whom see p. 289.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- 347 C μενον, “Αὐτὸ τοῦτο,” εἶπον “ὃ σὺ λέγεις, ὁ θεὸς ὀρθῶς ἐμέμψατο. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς προθυμίας ἴσον ἦν ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι δῶρα ὑπέλαβον χρῆναι καὶ θυσίας ἀναφέρειν ἀμφοτέροι τῷ θεῷ. περὶ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν ὁ μὲν ἔτυχεν, ὁ δὲ ἡμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ. πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμψυχα, τὰ δὲ ἄψυχα, τιμιώτερα δὲ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐστὶ τὰ ἐμψυχα τῷ ζῶντι καὶ ζωῆς αἰτίῳ θεῷ, καθὸ καὶ ζωῆς μετείληφε καὶ ψυχῆς οἰκειοτέρας¹—διὰ τοῦτο τῷ τελείαν προσάγοντι θυσίαν ὁ θεὸς ἐπηυφράνθη.”
- 351 A Νυνὶ δὲ ἐπαναληπτέον ἐστὶ μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς· διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ περιτέμνεσθε; “Παῦλος,” φασίν, “εἶπε περιτομὴν καρδίας, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῆς σαρκὸς δεδόσθαι πιστεύσαντι² τῷ Ἀβραάμ. οὐ μὴν ἔτι τὰ κατὰ σάρκα ἔφη, καὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πέτρον κηρυττομένοις λόγοις οὐκ ἄσεβέσιν.” ἄκουε δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι τὴν κατὰ σάρκα περιτομὴν εἰς διαθήκην ὁ θεὸς λέγεται δοῦναι καὶ
- 351 B εἰς σημεῖον τῷ Ἀβραάμ· “Καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διατηρήσεις ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ³ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν. καὶ περιτμηθήσεσθε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔσται ἐν σημείῳ διαθήκης ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ σπέρματός σου.” . . . ὅτε τοίνυν, ὅτι προσήκει τηρεῖν

¹ οἰκειοτέρας Asmus; οἰκειότερα Neumann.

² πιστεύσαντι Neumann suggests; καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι MSS.

³ σοῦ Wright; ὑμῶν Neumann.

¹ An allusion to *Romans* 4. 11-12 and 2. 29.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

embarrassed, I said, "God rightly disapproved the thing you speak of. For the zeal of the two men was equal, in that they both thought that they ought to offer up gifts and sacrifices to God. But in the matter of their division one of them hit the mark and the other fell short of it. How, and in what manner? Why, since of things on the earth some have life and others are lifeless, and those that have life are more precious than those that are lifeless to the living God who is also the cause of life, inasmuch as they also have a share of life and have a soul more akin to his—for this reason God was more graciously inclined to him who offered a perfect sacrifice."

Now I must take up this other point and ask them, Why, pray, do you not practise circumcision? "Paul," they answer, "said that circumcision of the heart but not of the flesh was granted unto Abraham because he believed.¹ Nay it was not now of the flesh that he spoke, and we ought to believe the pious words that were proclaimed by him and by Peter." On the other hand hear again that God is said to have given circumcision of the flesh to Abraham for a covenant and a sign: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep, between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations. Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be in token of a covenant betwixt me and thee and betwixt me and thy seed." . . .² Therefore when He³ has undoubtedly taught that it is proper

¹ A paraphrase of *Genesis* 17. 10-11; according to Cyril, Julian quoted *Matthew* 5. 17, 19, to prove that Christ did not come to destroy the law.

² *i. e.* Christ.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- τὸν νόμον, ἀναμφισβητήτως προστέταχε καὶ τοῖς
 μίαν παραβαίνουσιν ἐντολὴν ἐπήρτησε δίκας,
 ὑμεῖς, οἱ συλλήβδην ἀπάσας παραβεβηκότες,
 ὁποῖον εὐρήσετε τῆς ἀπολογίας τὸν τρόπον; ἡ
 γὰρ ψευδοεπήσει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἡγουν ὑμεῖς πάντη
 351 D καὶ πάντως οὐ νομοφύλακες. “Ἡ περιτομὴ ἔσται
 354 A περὶ τὴν σάρκα σου,” ὁ Μωσῆς φησι. παρα-
 κούσαντες τούτου “Τὰς καρδίας” φασὶ “περι-
 τεμνόμεθα.” πάνυ γε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ παρ’ ὑμῖν
 κακοῦργος, οὐδεὶς μοχθηρός· οὕτω περιτέμνεσθε
 τὰς καρδίας. “Τηρεῖν ἄζυμα καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα
 οὐ δυνάμεθα” φασίν· “ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄπαξ
 ἐτύθη Χριστός.” καλῶς· εἰτα ἐκώλυσεν ἐσθίειν
 ἄζυμα; καίτοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰς εἰμι τῶν
 354 B ἐκτρεπομένων συνεορτάζειν Ἰουδαίοις, αἰεὶ δὲ προσ-
 κυνῶν τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ,
 οἱ ὄντες αὐτοὶ Χαλδαῖοι, γένους ἱεροῦ καὶ θεουρ-
 γικοῦ, τὴν μὲν περιτομὴν ἔμαθον Αἰγυπτίοις
 ἐπιξενωθέντες, ἐσεβάσθησαν δὲ θεόν, ὃς ἐμοὶ καὶ
 τοῖς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἀβραὰμ ἔσεβε, σεβομένοις
 εὐμενὴς ἦν, μέγας τε ὢν πάνυ καὶ δυνατός, ὑμῖν
 δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκων. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ
 μιμείσθε, βωμοὺς τε ἐγείροντες αὐτῷ καὶ οἰκοδο-
 354 C μούντες θυσιαστήρια καὶ θεραπεύοντες ὥσπερ
 356 C ἐκεῖνος ταῖς ἱεουργίαις. ἔθυε μὲν γὰρ Ἀβραάμ,
 ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς. ἐχρήτο δὲ
 μαντικῇ τῇ τῶν διαττόντων ἄστρον· Ἑλληνικὸν
 ἴσως καὶ τοῦτο. οἰωνίζετο δὲ μερίζονως. ἀλλὰ

¹ Cf. *Genesis* 17. 13.

² This is a sneer rather than an argument.

³ Cf. *Letter* 20, *To Theodorus*, 454A, where Julian says that the Jewish god “is worshipped by us under other names.”

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

to observe the law, and threatened with punishment those who transgress one commandment, what manner of defending yourselves will you devise, you who have transgressed them all without exception? For either Jesus will be found to speak falsely, or rather you will be found in all respects and in every way to have failed to preserve the law. "The circumcision shall be of thy flesh," says Moses.¹ But the Galilaeans do not heed him, and they say: "We circumcise our hearts." By all means. For there is among you no evildoer, no sinner; so thoroughly do you circumcise your hearts.² They say: "We cannot observe the rule of unleavened bread or keep the Passover; for on our behalf Christ was sacrificed once and for all." Very well! Then did he forbid you to eat unleavened bread? And yet, I call the gods to witness, I am one of those who avoid keeping their festivals with the Jews; but nevertheless I revere always the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob;³ who being themselves Chaldaeans, of a sacred race, skilled in theurgy, had learned the practice of circumcision while they sojourned as strangers with the Egyptians. And they revered a God who was ever gracious to me and to those who worshipped him as Abraham did, for he is a very great and powerful God, but he has nothing to do with you. For you do not imitate Abraham by erecting altars to him, or building altars of sacrifice and worshipping him as Abraham did, with sacrificial offerings. For Abraham used to sacrifice even as we Hellenes do, always and continually. And he used the method of divination from shooting stars. Probably this also is an Hellenic custom. But for higher things he augured from the flight of birds.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- καὶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον τῆς οἰκίας εἶχε συμβολικόν.
356 D εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ τις ὑμῶν, αὐτὰ δείξει¹ σαφῶς τὰ
 ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰρημένα Μωυσῇ· “μετὰ δὲ τὰ ῥή-
 ματα ταῦτα ἐγενήθη κυρίου λόγος πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ
 λέγων ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός· μὴ φοβοῦ, Ἀβραάμ,
 ἐγὼ ὑπερασπίζω σου. ὁ μισθός σου πολλὸς ἔσται
 σφόδρα. λέγει δὲ Ἀβραάμ· δέσποτα, τί μοι
 δώσεις; ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολύομαι ἄτεκνος, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς
 Μασέκ τῆς οἰκογενεῦς μου² κληρονομήσει με. καὶ
 εὐθὺς φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντος·
356 E οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐξελεύσεται
 ἐκ σοῦ, οὗτος κληρονομήσει σε. ἐξήγαγε δὲ
 αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀνάβλεψον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 καὶ ἀρίθμησον τοὺς ἀστέρας, εἰ δυνήσῃ ἐξαριθ-
 μῆσαι αὐτούς. καὶ εἶπεν· οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα
 σου. καὶ ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλο-
 γίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.”
- Εἴπατε ἐνταῦθα μοι τοῦ χάριν ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐδείκνυνεν ὁ χρηματίζων ἄγγελος
 ἢ θεός; οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνωσκεν ἔνδον ὦν, ὅσον τι τὸ
357 A πληθὸς ἐστι τῶν νύκτωρ αἰὲ φαινομένων καὶ
 μαρμαρυσσόντων ἀστέρων; ἀλλ’, οἶμαι, δείξαι
 τοὺς διάττοντας αὐτῷ βουλόμενος, ἵνα τῶν ῥή-
 μάτων ἐναργῇ πίστιν παράσχηται τὴν πάντα
 κραίνουσαν καὶ ἐπικυροῦσαν οὐρανοῦ ψῆφον.
358 C ὅπως δὲ μή τις ὑπολάβῃ βίαιον εἶναι τὴν τοιαύ-

¹ δείξει Klimek; δείξω Neumann.

² οὗτος Δαμασκὸς Ἐλίεζερ which follow now in the Septua-
 gint are omitted by Julian, who seems to have quoted this
 passage from memory.

AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

And he possessed also a steward of his house who set signs for himself.¹ And if one of you doubts this, the very words which were uttered by Moses concerning it will show him clearly: "After these sayings the word of the Lord came unto Abraham in a vision of the night, saying, Fear not, Abraham: I am thy shield. Thy reward shall be exceeding great. And Abraham said, Lord God what wilt thou give me? For I go childless, and the son of Masek the slave woman will be my heir. And straightway the word of the Lord came unto him saying, This man shall not be thine heir: but he that shall come forth from thee shall be thine heir. And he brought him forth and said unto him, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed in the Lord: and it was counted to him for righteousness." ²

. Tell me now why he who dealt with him, whether angel or God, brought him forth and showed him the stars? For while still within the house did he not know how great is the multitude of the stars that at night are always visible and shining? But I think it was because he wished to show him the shooting stars, so that as a visible pledge of his words he might offer to Abraham the decision of the heavens that fulfills and sanctions all things. And lest any man should think that such an interpre-

¹ *Genesis* 24. 2, 10, 43, foll. This was Eleazar. Maimonides the Jewish jurist, writing in the twelfth century, says, "One who sets signs for himself . . . like Eleazar the servant of Abraham," with reference to *Genesis* 24. 14. The epithet *συμβολικὸς* is probably a translation of the Hebrew. I am indebted for this note to Professor Margoliouth.

² Partly paraphrased from *Genesis* 15. 1-6.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

- την ἐξήγησιν, ἐφεξῆς ὅσα πρόσκειται παραθεῖς αὐτῷ πιστώσομαι. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐξῆς· “Εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν σε ἐκ χώρας Χαλδαίων, ὥστε δοῦναί σοι τὴν γῆν ταύτην κληρονομήσαι αὐτήν. εἶπε δὲ· δέσποτα κύριε,
- 358 D κατὰ τί γνώσομαι, ὅτι κληρονομήσω αὐτήν; εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ· λάβε μοι δάμαλιν τριετίζουσας καὶ αἶγα τριετίζουσας καὶ κριὸν τριετίζοντα καὶ τρυγὸνα καὶ περιστερὰν. ἔλαβε δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ταῦτα καὶ διεῖλεν αὐτὰ μέσα· καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὰ ἀντιπρόσωπα ἀλλήλοις· τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα οὐ διεῖλε. κατέβη δὲ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ τὰ διχοτομήματα καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβραάμ.
- Τὴν τοῦ φανέντος ἀγγέλου πρόρρησιν ἤτοι θεοῦ διὰ τῆς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁράτε κρατυνομένην, οὐχ, ὥσπερ παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἐκ παρέργου, μετὰ θυσιῶν
- 358 E δὲ τῆς μαντείας ἐπιτελουμένης; φησὶ δέ, ὅτι τῇ τῶν οἰωνῶν ἐπιπτήσει βεβαίαν ἔδειξε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ἀποδέχεται δὲ τὴν πίστιν Ἀβραὰμ προσεπάγων, ὅτι ἀληθείας ἄνευ πίστις ἡλιθιότης ἔοικέ τις εἶναι καὶ ἐμβροντησία. τὴν δὲ ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκ ψιλοῦ ῥήματος, ἀλλὰ χρή τι καὶ παρακολουθῆσαι τοῖς λόγοις ἐναργὲς σημεῖον, ὃ πιστώσεται γενόμενον τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον πεποιημένην προαγόρευσιν. . . .
- 351 D Πρόφασις ὑμῖν τῆς ἔν γε τούτῳ ῥαστώνης περιλείπεται μία, τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θύειν ἔξω γεγονόσι
- 324 τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, καίτοι Ἥλιου τεθυκότος ἐν τῷ
- C, D Καρμηλίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔν γε τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει.

¹ Cyril says that Julian then asserted that he himself had been instructed by omens from birds that he would sit on the throne.



AGAINST THE GALILAEANS

tation is forced, I will convince him by adding what comes next to the above passage. For it is written next: "And he said unto him, I am the Lord that brought thee out of the land of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle-dove and a pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another; but the birds divided he not. And the fowls came down upon the divided carcasses, and Abraham sat down among them."

You see how the announcement of the angel or god who had appeared was strengthened by means of the augury from birds, and how the prophecy was completed, not at haphazard as happens with you, but with the accompaniment of sacrifices? Moreover he says that by the flocking together of the birds he showed that his message was true. And Abraham accepted the pledge, and moreover declared that a pledge that lacked truth seemed to be mere folly and imbecility. But it is not possible to behold the truth from speech alone, but some clear sign must follow on what has been said, a sign that by its appearance shall guarantee the prophecy that has been made concerning the future. . . .¹

However, for your indolence in this matter there remains for you one single excuse, namely, that you are not permitted to sacrifice if you are outside Jerusalem, though for that matter Elijah sacrificed on Mount Carmel, and not in the holy city.²

¹ 1 Kings 18. 19.

FRAGMENTA ¹

1

τοιαῦτα πολλάκις ἐγίνετο καὶ γίνεται, καὶ πῶς
ταῦτα συντελείας σημεία ; ²

2

Μωυσῆς ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα νηστεύσας ἔλαβε
τὸν νόμον, Ἡλίας δὲ τοσαύτας νηστεύσας θείων
αὐτοψιῶν ἔτυχεν. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τί μετὰ τοσαύτην
νηστείαν ἔλαβεν ; ³

3

καὶ πῶς εἰς τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν Ἰησοῦν
ἀνήγαγεν ὄντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ; ⁴

¹ Only the fragments which preserve the actual words of Julian are here given ; several of Neumann's are therefore omitted.

² Neumann *frag.* 3 ; from Julian, Book 2, derived from Cyril, Book 12. Quoted by Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, in his Commentary on the New Testament. Neumann thinks that Theodorus probably wrote a refutation of Julian at Antioch about 378 A.D.

FRAGMENTS

1

Such things¹ have often happened and still happen, and how can these be signs of the end of the world? ²

2

Moses after fasting forty days received the law,³ and Elijah, after fasting for the same period, was granted to see God face to face.⁴ But what did Jesus receive, after a fast of the same length? ⁵

3

And how could he lead Jesus to the pinnacle of the Temple when Jesus was in the wilderness? ⁶

¹ *i. e.* wars, famines, etc.

² Cf. *Matthew* 24. 3-14.

³ *Exodus* 31. 18.

⁴ *1 Kings* 19. 9.

⁵ *Matthew* 4. 2, foll.

⁶ *Matthew* 4. 5.

³ Neumann *frag.* 4; from the same source as 1.

⁴ Neumann *frag.* 6. From the same source as 1 and 2.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

4

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοιαῦτα προσεύχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἄθλιος συμφορὰν φέρειν εὐκόλως οὐ δυνάμενος, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγγέλου θεοῦ ὧν ἐνισχύεται. τίς δὲ καὶ ἀνήγγειλέ σοι, Λουκά, περὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, εἰ καὶ γέγονε τοῦτο ; οὐδὲ οἱ τότε παρόντες εὐχομένῳ κατιδεῖν οἰοί τε ἦσαν· ἐκοιμῶντο γάρ. διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἐλθὼν εὗρεν αὐτοὺς κοιμωμένους ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ εἶπε· “Τί καθεύδετε ; ἀναστάντες προσεύχεσθε” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· εἶτα· “Καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ τοῦτο λαλοῦντος, ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολὺς καὶ Ἰούδας.” διὸ οὐδὲ ἔγραψεν Ἰωάννης, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶδε.¹

5

Ἀκούσατε καλοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ παραγγέλματος· “Πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δότε πτωχοῖς· ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς βαλάντια μὴ παλαιούμενα.” ταύτης τίς εἰπεῖν ἔχει πολιτικωτέραν τῆς ἐντολῆς ; εἰ γὰρ πάντες σοι πεισθεῖεν, τίς ὁ ὠνησόμενος ; ἐπαινεῖ τίς ταύτην τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἥς κρατυνθείσης οὐ πόλις, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐκ οἰκία μία συστήσεται ; πῶς γὰρ πραθέντων ἀπάντων οἶκος ἔντιμος εἶναι δύναται τις ἢ οἰκία ; τὸ δέ, ὅτι πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πιπρασκομένων, οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθεῖεν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες, φανερόν ἐστι καὶ σιωπώμενον.²

¹ Neumann frag. 7. From the same source as 3.

² Neumann, frag. 12. From Cyril, Book 18, quoted by Photius.

FRAGMENTS

4

Furthermore, Jesus prays in such language as would be used by a pitiful wretch who cannot bear misfortune with serenity, and though he is a god is reassured by an angel. And who told you, Luke, the story of the angel, if indeed this ever happened? For those who were there when he prayed could not see the angel; for they were asleep. Therefore when Jesus came from his prayer he found them fallen asleep from their grief and he said: "Why do ye sleep? Arise and pray," and so forth. And then, "And while he was yet speaking, behold a multitude and Judas." ¹ That is why John did not write about the angel, for neither did he see it.

5

Listen to a fine statesmanlike piece of advice: "Sell that ye have and give to the poor; provide yourselves with bags which wax not old." ² Can anyone quote a more statesmanlike ordinance than this? For if all men were to obey you who would there be to buy? Can anyone praise this teaching when, if it be carried out, no city, no nation, not a single family will hold together? For, if everything has been sold, how can any house or family be of any value? Moreover the fact that if everything in the city were being sold at once there would be no one to trade is obvious, without being mentioned.

¹ *Luke 22. 42-47.*

² *Luke 12. 33.*

THE EMPEROR JULIAN

6

Πῶς ἤρε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος αἷτιος πολλοῖς μὲν πατροκτονίας, πολλοῖς δὲ παιδοκτονίας γενόμενος, ἀναγκαζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τοῖς πατρίοις βοηθεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐξ αἰῶνος αὐτοῖς εὐσεβείας παραδεδομένης ἀντέχεσθαι ἢ τὴν καινοτομίαν ταύτην προσίεσθαι; διὰ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς, ὃς ἀναιρέτης ἐλθὼν τῆς ἁμαρτίας πλειστηριάσας ταύτην κατείληπται;¹

7

Quod de Israel scriptum est, Matthaeus evangelista ad Christum transtulit, ut simplicitati eorum qui de gentibus crediderant illuderet.²

¹ Not in Neumann; reconstructed by him from the polemical writings of Archbishop Arethas of Caesarea who wrote in refutation of Julian in the tenth century. First published by Cumont, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de l'empereur Julien*, Brussels, 1898. Neumann's reconstruction is in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 10. 1899.

² Neumann frag. 15. Preserved by the fifth century writer Hieronymus in his *Latin Commentary on Hosca* 3. 11.

¹ Julian is criticising St. John's Gospel, as he criticised its prologue in *Against the Galilaeans*, Book 1. He attacks *John* 1. 29; cf. *John* 1. 3. 5.

FRAGMENTS

6

How did the Word of God take away sin,¹ when it caused many to commit the sin of killing their fathers, ~~and many their children?~~² And mankind ~~are~~ compelled either to uphold their ancestral customs and to cling to the pious tradition that ~~they have inherited from the ages~~³ or to accept this innovation. Is not this true of Moses also, who came to take away sin, but has been detected increasing the number of sins?⁴

7

The words that were written concerning Israel⁵ Matthew the Evangelist transferred to Christ,⁶ that he might mock the simplicity of those of the Gentiles who believed.

² *Matthew* 10. 21. "And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death."

³ He means that in this case too their sins have not been taken away by the Word, since they remain heathens.

⁴ In *Leviticus* 16. Aaron is to make atonement for the sins of Israel, but the severe Mosaic law increased the opportunities for transgression.

⁵ *Hosea* 11. 1. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt."

⁶ *Matthew* 2. 15. "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son.'"

TABLE OF NUMBERS

	Hertlein.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
LETTERS	1. ¹	—	—
2.	To Prohaeresius . . .	14	31
3.	To Libanius . . .	52	96
4.	To Aristoxenus . . .	35	78
5.	To Theodora . . .	33	85
6.	To Ecdicius . . .	46	112
7.	To Atarb ² . . .	37	83
8.	To George . . .	67	188
9.	To Ecdicius . . .	23	107
10.	To the Alexandrians . . .	21	60
11.	To the Byzacians ³ . . .	39	54
12.	To Basil . . .	26	32
13.	To Count Julian . . .	9	28
14.	To Libanius . . .	53	97
15.	To Maximus . . .	12	190
16.	To Maximus . . .	59	191
17.	To Oribasius . . .	4	14
18.	To Eugenius . . .	60	193
19.	To Hecebolius . . .	63	194
20.	To Eustochius . . .	54	41
21.	To Callixeine . . .	42	81
22.	To Leontius . . .	11	152
23.	To Hermogenes . . .	13	33
24.	To Sarapion . . .	80	180
25.	To the Jews . . .	51	204
25 b.	Concerning Physicians . . .	31	75 b
26.	To the Alexandrians . . .	24	110

¹ Hertlein 1 is by the sophist Procopius of Gaza and is not reprinted here.

² Hertlein, *To Artabius*.

³ Hertlein, *To the Byzantines*.

TABLE OF NUMBERS

	Hertlein.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
LETTERS	27. To Libanius . . .	58	98
	28. To Gregory . . .	71	196
	29. To Alypius . . .	6	9
	30. To Alypius . . .	7	10
	31. To Aetius . . .	15	46
	32. To Lucian . . .	64	197
	33. To Dositheus . . .	68	200
	34. To Iamblichus . . .	79	187
	35. For the Argives . . .	28	198
	36. To Porphyrius . . .	38	106
	37. To Himerius ¹ . . .	69	201
	38. To Maximus . . .	8	26
	39. To Eustathius . . .	44	35
	40. To Iamblichus . . .	78	184
	41. To Iamblichus . . .	74	186
	42. On Christian Teachers ² . . .	36	61 c
	43. To Hecebolius . . .	40	115
	44. To Priscus . . .	5	11
	45. To Zeno . . .	17	58
	46. To Evagrius . . .	25	4
	47. To the Thracians . . .	27	73
	48. To Plutarch ³ . . .	72	153
	49. To Arsacius . . .	22	84 a
	50. To Ecdicius . . .	45	108
	51. To the Alexandrians . . .	47	111
	52. To the Bostrenians . . .	41	114
	53. To Iamblichus . . .	75	185
	54. To George . . .	66	189
	55. To Eumenius and Phari- anus . . .	3	8
	56. To Ecdicius . . .	49	109
	57. To Elpidius . . .	65	195
	58. To the Alexandrians . . .	48	59
	59. To Nilus-Dionysius ⁴ . . .	50	82
	60. To Iamblichus . . .	77	183

¹ Hertlein, *To Amerius*.

² Hertlein, *To Zeno*.

³ Hertlein no title.

⁴ Hertlein, *To Dionysius*.

TABLE OF NUMBERS

	Hertlein.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
LETTERS	61. To Iamblichus . . .	76	181
	62. To an Official ¹ . . .	18	88
	63. To Theodorus . . .	20	89 a
	64. To the People . . .	<i>fr.</i> 12	176
	65. To a Painter . . .	<i>fr.</i> 13	177
	66. To Arsaces . . .	57	202
	67. To Sopater ² . . .	61	182
	68. To Philip . . .	30	40
	69. To Eutheries . . .	10	29
	70. To Diogenes . . .	70	199
	71. To Priscus . . .	1	13
	72. [To Julian] ³ . . .	83	36
	73. To Eucleides . . .	62	192
	74. To Libanius . . .	53	97
	75. To Basil . . .	81	205
	76. To Eustathius . . .	43	34
	77. Concerning Funerals ⁴ . . .	56	136 b
	78. To a Priest ⁵ . . .	19	79
	79. To Photinus ⁶ . . .	55	90

	Papadopoulos-Kerameus.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
LETTERS	1.* To Count Julian . . .	29	80
	2.* To Theodora . . .	32	86
	3.* To Theodorus . . .	16	30
	4.* To Priscus . . .	2	12
	5.* To Maximinus . . .	73	19
	6.* To Theodora ? . . .	34	87

¹ Hertlein no title.

² By Eustathius. Hertlein, *To Libanius*.

³ Hertlein no title.

⁴ Hertlein, *To Sosipater*.

⁵ Hertlein no title.

⁶ Hertlein no title.

TABLE OF NUMBERS

Hertlein.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
FRAGMENTS 1	p. 38	30
2	1	155
3	p. 36	30
4	2	25 b
5	3	20
6	4	161
7	5	25 a
8	6	61 d
9	7	61 d
10	8	165 a
—	9	94
—	10	178
—	11	134
LETTER 64	12	176
LETTER 65	13	177
—	14	157

Hertlein.	Wright.	Bidez-Cumont.
EPIGRAMS 1	1	168
2	2	166
3	3	172
4	4	169
5	5	174
—	6	170

INDEX

- AARON**, 365, 403, 405, 433
Abel, 419
Ablabius, the prefect, xxxvi
Abraham, 61, 379, 418, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427
Achaea, the proconsul of, xviii, xxxv, 37, 84, 87, 93, 235
Achilles, shrine of, 51, 53
Acts of the Apostles, cited, 394, 411
Adam, 325, 327, 419
Adrastela invoked, 17, 67, 169
Aeacus, 369
Aedesius, the philosopher, ix, xl, xlv, liv, lix
Aegae, Asclepius at, 99, 375
Aelian, the historian, 263
Aeneas, 370
Aeschylus, cited, 241, 299
Aesop, *Fables*, 227
Aetius, the heretic, *Letter* 15 to, 35; biography of, x, xviii, xxx, 288, 419
Africa, 125, 221
Agamemnon, 167
Agesilaus, 369
Alaric in Greece, lviii
Alcinous, garden of, 205, 273
Alemanni, the, xii, 199
Aleppo (Beroea), 201
Alexander of Macedon, lvi, 31, 61, 87, 145, 147, 169, 170, 172, 224, 381
Alexander Severus, decree of, xxx
Alexandria, viii, xxxvii, xxxix, 76, 142; ascetics at, 154; Athanasius at, 76; Bishop George at, 42; music at, 155; Zeno the physician at, 43
Alexandrians, the, *Letter* 21 to, 61; *Letter* 24 to, 75, cited, 151; *Letter* 47 to, 143, cited, 121; *Letter* 48 to, 153; turbulence of, 63, 64, xl, 144, 414
Alexandria Troas, Julian at, 51
Alodiae, the, 351
Alps, the, 105
Alypius, Governor of Britain, *Letters* 6 and 7 to, 16-21; biography of, xxxii, 67
Alypius, the dwarf, of Alexandria, xxxiii
Amerius (Himerius), xlix, 227
Ammianus Marcellinus, cited, Introduction, *passim*, 11, 21, 23, 28, 31, 33, 35, 41, 63, 98, 101, 125, 129, 137, 141, 155, 164, 172, 183, 197, 199, 200, 203, 205, 207, 209, 296, 300, 301
Amphion of Thebes, 39
Anacharsis, the Scythian, 347
Anacreon, cited, 212
Ancyra, xxxviii, 123
Angels, the, 401
Anthology Greek, the, 153, 304, 305, 309
Antioch, Alypius at, xxxii, St. Babylas at, 191; Constantius at, xvi; Gallus at, ix, 289; Julian at, vii, xxiii, xxv, xlv, 72, 98, 107, 117, 125, 135, 181, 314; Senate of, xxv, 201; temple of Fortune at, 301; winter camp of, at Litarbae, 201, 209, 428
Antiochus, 215
Apamea, Julian of, 255; Sopater of, lxi
Aphobius, *consularis* of Palestine, 55
Aphrodite, 159; sandal of, 169
Apis the sacred bull, xliii
Apollinaris (Apollinarius), the Syrian, xx, 303
Apollo, 237, 239, 255, 387; in Simonides, 281; Didymus, 47; temple of, at Daphne, xxiv, li, 55, 98, 203
Apollodorus in Plato, *Symposium*, 5
Apostles, the, 411
Arabia, 129
Archidamus, 369
Archilochus, 103
Areius, the Stoic, 146, 147

INDEX

- Ares, 199, 302, 345, 373, 387
 Arethas of Caesarea, 432
 Argentoratum (Strasbourg), battle of, xii
Argives, the, concerning, *Letter* 28, 85; discussion of, *Letter* 28, xxii
 Argos, xxiii, 84, 85
 Argus, Io's guardian, 263
 Arians, the, xxx, xxxix, 37, 126, 127, 187; persecution of orthodox Christians by, 129; Gallus, an Arian, 290
 Aristaeus, 237
 Aristides the Just, 369
 Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 34; *Birds*, 299; *Plutus*, 81, 101; on figs, 269
 Aristophanes of Corinth, xxvii, xlv, lv, 181, 183, 296; biography of, xxxiii
 Aristotle, xxxi, 5, 7, 12, 119, 270, 271
Aristoxenus, *Letter* 35 to, 115, xxiv, xliii
 Arles, Constantius at, ix
 Armenia, xxx, 199, auxiliaries from, xxv, *Letter* 57 to King of, 197
 Arrian, the historian, 169, 171
Arsaces (Arsacius) King of Armenia, *Letter* 57 to, 197; biography of, xxxv
 Arsacius, high priest of Galatia, 67
 Artemius of the Crossroads, 139
 Artemius, *dur Aegypti*, biography of, xxxvii, 62, 63
 Asclepius, 99, 141, 163, 247, 261, 265, 315, 375, 387, 389
 Asia, temples in, 57
 Assyrians, the, 367, 379
 Astydamos in Philemon, 83, 159
Atarbius, *Letter* 37 to, 123; biography of, xxxviii
 Athanasius, St., biography of, xxxix, 61, 75, 142, 144, 151; return of, to Alexandria, xviii
 Athenaeus, cited, 268
 Athene, 51, 241, 279, 345, 387
 Athenians, the, xv, 87
 Athens, xxxiii xliii, 1, 153, 225, 316; Diodorus of Tarsus at, 189; Julian at, xi, xxii, lix, 6, 85; Prohaeresius at, xix, 34; St. Basil at, xi
 Attuarii, the, xv
 Augustus, Emperor, 87, 147
 Aulus Gellius, 163
 Aurelius Victor, 239
 Baal, 367
 Baal-peor, 363
 Babel, tower of, 349
 Babrius, *Fable* 33, 161; *Fable* 107, 227
 Babylas, St., church of, at Antioch, 99; translation of bones of, lii, 191
 Babylon, 369
 Babylonia, *History* of, 366
Basil, St., *Letter* 26 to, 81, cited, 139, 159; *Letter* 81 to, 285, cited 302, 303; *Letters* of, 284; Julian's relations with, xi, xvi, xx, xxxii, xlvii, 80, 285; biography of, xli
 Basilina, mother of Julian, vii, viii, li
 Batnae (Tell-Batnân), 201, 202, 203, 205
 Batnae in Osroene, 202
 Beer *Epigram* 1 on, 305
 Belos (Baal), 367
 Beroea (Aleppo), 201
 Berosus, the historian, 366
 Besontio (Besançon), 23
 Bethany, 377
 Bethsaida, 377
 Bisanthe (Rodosto) in Thrace, 124
 Bithynia, viii, xlv, 77, 129
 Bosphorus, the, 238
Bostra, *Letter* 41 to, 129, cited, xxiv, 123, 133, 376
 Briareus, 281
 Britain, Alypius in, xxxii
 Bromius, epithet of Dionysus, 305
 Bupalus in Callimachus, 19
 Byron, 299
Byzaciens, the, *Letter* 39 to, 125, cited, xviii
 Byzantium, 124
 Caesar, Julius, *Gallie War*, 23
 Caesarea (Mazaca), xlii, 75, 287, 432; Constantius at, xv, xxxvi; birth place of Julian, the Sophist, l, lix, lxiv
 Caesarius, brother of Alypius, xxxiii, 17
 Cain, 419
 Callimachus, 19; the *Hecale* of, 239
 Callippus, the Athenian, 162, 163
 Callisthenes, the historian, 169, 171
Callixeine, the priestess, *Letter* 42 to, 135
 Capitol, the, at Rome, 63; the Capitoline, 371
 Cappadocia, xl, xliii, xlv, 75, 107, 140; Eustochius of, 185; Macellum in, viii, 315

INDEX

- Cappadocians, the, Christians, 117
 Carmel, Mt., 427
 Carrhae, Julian at, xxv, 208
 Cedrenus, the historian, lvii
 Celsus, the pagan apologist, 314, 315
 Celts, the, 211, 305, 346, 347
 Cenchreae near Corinth, 235
 Chalce (Halki), the island, xxix, lxii
 Chalcedon, the commission at, xvii, 33, 183; Maris, bishop of, 301; straits of, 245, 255
 Chalcis in Syria, xlix
 Chaldaeans, the, xlv, 366, 367, 369, 403, 423, 427
 Chamavi, the, xli
 Cherubim, the, 401
 Chiron, the Centaur, 367
 Chnodomar, King of the Alemanni, xii
 Christ the Word, 148, 189, 313, 315, 411
 Christianity called atheism, 68; a disease, 135, 207, 413; Julian's apostasy from, ix, x
 Christians (Galilaeans), xxiv; compared with Cynics, 119; destroy temples, 99, 287; compared with pagans, 29; treatment of, by Julian, xviii, xix, li, lix, 190, 299, 362, 372, 388, 391, 392; by Valens, 127; at Bostra, 132, 133; called Galilaeans, 313; Christian teachers prohibited from teaching the classics, lix, 117, 303
 Chrysanthius, ix, xv
 Cimon, 369
 Cinyras, wealth of, 169
 Circumcision, 421, 423
 Claudia, legend of, 371
 Claudian, the poet, 210, 259
 Claudius, Emperor, 377
 Cleitus and Alexander, 171
Codex Justinianus, xxxviii; *Theodosianus*, xviii, xix, xxiv, xliii
 Constans, Emperor, xxxiii, xxxvi, lvi, lix, 28, 157, 159, 166, 173
 Constantia, wife of Gallus, ix
 Constantine, Emperor, vii, xix, xliv, xlix, lx, 79, 120, 125, 199, 206, 213, 238, 244, 254, 257, 297
 Constantinople, Gallus at, ix, xi, 289; Julian at, viii, xvi, 26, 29, 31, 35, 43, 61, 79, 232, 306, 307; Julian leaves, xxxiii, 98, 107; monolith at, 152, 153; temple of Fortune at, 301; view of, 79, 186, 214
 Constantius, Emperor, ix, xlv, 9, 18, 25, 33, 51, 63, 74, 99, 120, 153, 158, 199, 207, 238, 299, 300, 398; Arianism of, xxxix, 76, 126, 129; cruelty of, 183; marries Galla, vii; marries Eusebia, xi; marries Faustina, xvi; death of, xvi, 21; Julian's march against, 17, 235; panegyrics on, x; war with Sapor, xiv; murders Gallus, 289; recalls Sallust, xiii, 12; treatment of Jews by, xxi, 179
 Constantius, Julius, father of Julian, vii, viii
 Corinth, Aristophanes of, xxxiii, 183; canal, 39; Colony of Rome, 87; Isthmus of, 235; Museum at, 39; pro-consular residence, 87, 235; relations with Argos, xxiii, 84, 91; wild beast shows at, 85
Corinthians, To the, frag. 3, 297, xv, xvi, xxxiv, 89
Corinthians, Epistle to the, 385
 Cornelius, the centurion, 377
 Cos, 375
 Cotti, the, 285
 Crassus, the Roman general, xxv
 Crete, 283, 369
 Crispus, son of Constantine, ix
 Cronos, 291, 325
 Ctesiphon (Tak-i-Kesra), xxv; Julian at, xxxvi, 208, 209
 Cybele at Pessinus, xxiv, 137, 346, 371, 372
 Cyclades, the, 39
 Cydnus, the river, xxiv
 Cynics, the, 119, 168
 Cyrene, 19
 Cyrenius, the Governor, 379
 Cyril of Alexandria, 314, 315, 323, 362, 364, 367, 370, 387, 403, 407, 416, 421, 426, 430
 Cyzicus, 129
 Daedalus, 211
 Damascus, praise of, 273
 Danube (Ister), xii, xv, xlii, 238, 285
 Daphne, suburb of Antioch, xxiv, li, 55, 98, 203
 Dardanelles, the, l, 244
 Dardanus, 370
 Darius, 17, 230, 285
 David, King, 367, 382, 395, 397
 Decentius, the tribune, xiv
 Delphi, last oracle at, lvii, 89; inscription at, 237, 373

INDEX

- Demeter, 137, 305
Democritus of Abdera, 230, 231, 263
Demonax, the Cynic, 230
Demosthenes, cited, 30, 241, 243, 275;
praise of, 119
Deuteronomy, *Book of*, 341, 394, 397,
401, 402, 410, 411
Didymus (Apollo), 47
Dio of Syracuse, 162
Diodorus of Tarsus, 187, 189
Diogenes, *Letter 70 to*, 223
Diogenes of Argos, 92
Diogenes Laertius, 16
Diomedes, 219
Dionysius (Nilus), *Letter 50 to*, 157, 27;
biography of, iv
Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, 162,
163
Dionysus, 5, 79, 239, 305, 315, 325
Doubis (Doubis), the river, 23
Dositheus, *Letter 68 to*, 227
Ediccius (Olympus), prefect of Egypt,
xi; biography of, xliii; *Letter 23 to*,
73, cited, 123; *Letter 45 to*, 141;
Letter 46 to, 141; *Letter 49 to*, 155
Echo, a goddess, 221
Edessa, xxv, xlviii 126; Valens at,
127
Egypt, xxxiii, xxxvii, xliii; prefects of,
xlix, 67, 141, 143; Proteus of, 265,
361, 367, 369, 403, 433
Egyptians, bad character of, xxxiv,
145, 347, 367, 369, 373, 423
Eleazar, 365, 425
Electra in Euripides, 167
Eleusis, mysteries of, xi; procession
to, 101
Elijah, the Prophet, 419, 427, 429
Ellis, games at, 89
Elpidius, the philosopher, biography
of, xlv, 220; *Letter 65 to*, 221
Elpidius, prefect of the East, xlv
Empedotimus of Syracuse, xvi, 297
Enyo, 387
Ephesus, Council of, 316; Julian at,
ix, xxx, ; Maximus at, 21, 26
Epictetus, 313
Epidaurus, 375
Ethiopians, the, 275, 294, 295, 357
Eucleides, the philosopher, *Letter 62*
to, 215
Eugenius, the philosopher, *Letter 60*
to, 211
Eugenius, father of Themistius, 211
Eumenius, fellow student of Julian,
Letter 3 to, 7; at Athens, 6
Eunapius, the sophist, evidence of,
xli; *History of*, cited, xxvii, liii, lvii,
300; *Lives of*, cited, ix, xi, xvi, xix,
xxxiii, xxxvi, xlv, xlvii, xlix, lii, lix,
lxiii, 8, 21, 26, 27, 34, 137, 191, 414,
415
Euphrates, the district, xxxviii, 123;
the river; Julian's march to, xxv,
171, 202, 205
Eupolis, echo of, 43
Euripides, *Amphion*, 41, *frag.* 137;
Orestes, 166
Eusebia, Empress, xi, xii, xiii
Eusebius, the chamberlain, xvii, 10
Eusebius, Bishop, viii
Eusebius *Praep. Evang.*, cited, 382,
383
Eustathius, the philosopher, bio-
graphy of, xlv; *Letter 43 to*, 137;
Letter 44 to, 139; *Letter 63 to*
Julian, 291
Eustathius, son of Oribasius, lviii
Eustochius, of Cappadocia, *Letter 54*
to, 186
Eutharius, the eunuch, biography of,
xvi; *Letter 10 to*, 29, xv, xvi
Euthymeles, the tribune, *frag.* 10 to,
301
Eutropius, the historian, xxv
Evagrius, the rhetorician, biography
of, xlv; at Nish, 25; *Letter 25 to*,
77
Eve, 325, 327
Exodus, cited, 341, 343, 344, 360, 378,
402, 409, 410
Ezekiel, cited, 380
Facundus Hermianensis, 186, 189
Florentius, the prefect and consul,
xiii, xiv, xv, xvii, 10, 11
Fortune, temple of, 301
Franks, the, xii, 199
Fronto, the sophist, 185
Funerals, Edict concerning, xviii, 191
Galatia, 69, 129
Galatians, Epistle to the, 343, 411
Galen, the physician, lvii, 211
Galilaean, *Against the*, xxii, xxv, 295,
299, 316, 319; Introduction to, 313
Galilaean, the (Christians), 37, 47, 49,
53, 61, 71, 75, 121, 123, 125, 129,
135, 143, 147, 381, 391, 397, 399,

INDEX

- 417, 419, 423; Julian's use of the word, 313, 319, 321
- Galilee, 313
- Galla, wife of Constantius, vii
- Gallus Caesar**, half-brother of Julian, vii, ix, x, xlii, xxi, xxx, xxxvii, lx; *Letter* 82 from, 288, 51, 99, 207, 289, 290
- Gaul, 7, 35, 199, 209; Julian goes to, xi, xii; condition of, xii; Julian in, x, xv, xxxii, xlvi, lv, 6, 23, 55, 105, 298, 304; *Letters* 1-7 from, 2-21; Priscus invited to, 15
- Gauls, the warlike disposition of, 349
- Genesis*, the *Book* of, cited, 325, 326, 331, 334, 358, 366, 394, 401, 418, 419, 421, 422, 425, 427
- Gentiles, the, 61, 343, 389, 407, 433
- George, bishop, the Cappadocian, viii, xxxvii, xxxix, xliii, lxiii, 42, 63, 76; library of, 75, 123; murdered, 43, 61, 65
- George**, the financier, *Letter* 66 to, 221; *Letter* 67 to, 223, 226
- Germans, the, xii, 349, 353, 357; fierceness of, 347
- Germany, 296; Julian in, 304
- Giants, the, 401
- Gibbon, the historian, 124
- Glauco, in the *Iliad*, 219
- Gnostics, the, 127
- Gospels*, the, 79, 159
- Graces, the, 79, 159
- Gratian, Emperor, xvi
- Gregory Nazianzen, xi, xviii, xx, xxi, xxii, xxxix, xlii; *Letters* of, cited, 185; *Orations*, cited, 69, 127, 303, 313, 316
- Gregory**, the Commander, *Letter* 71 to, 233
- Gyara, Musonius at, 39
- Hades, Empedotimus in, 297, 325
- Hebrews, the, 145, 313, 319, 321, 323, 341, 355, 367, 373, 375, 381, 383, 391, 411
- Hecale in Callimachus, 239
- Hecate (Trivia), 186
- Hecebolius**, an official of Edessa, xlviii; *Letter* 40 to, 127, cited, 123
- Hecebolius**, the sophist, viii; biography of, xlvii; *Letter* 63 to, 217, 106, 126, 222
- Hector, shrine of, 51
- Hector, son of Parmenio, 171
- Hekatos, epithet of Apollo, 281, 283
- Helen in the *Odyssey*, 229
- Helena, Empress, 297
- Helena, wife of Julian, xi
- Heliopolis, 152
- Helios (Mithras), 15, 53, 149, 259, 375
- Hellenes, the, 29, 117, 133, 183, 245, 313, 319, 321, 323, 343, 347, 367, 369, 375; Hellene synonym for pagan, 71, 189
- Hemerius (Himerius), xlix, lxi
- Hephaestus, 387
- Hera, girdle of, 279; Heraean games at Argos, 88
- Heracleidae, the, 87
- Heracleides of Pontus, 297
- Heracles, 315
- Hercynian forest, the, 295, 296, 297
- Hermes, 9, 181, 187, 239, 243, 302, 345; god of eloquence, 119, 211, 225, 247, 261, 267, 387; Trismegistus, 366, 367
- Hermogenes**, prefect of Egypt, *Letter* 13 to, 33, 32, 197
- Hermolaus, 169, 171
- Herodes Atticus, 230
- Herodotus, cited, xiii, 16, 29, 86, 87, 119, 269, 294, 346
- Hesiod, 91, 119, 165, 185
- Hesychius, 406
- Hezekiah, king, 399
- Hierapolis (Membej), Julian at, xxv, lii, lx, 201, 205, 207, 208
- Hierius, prefect of Egypt, xlix
- Hierocles, son of Alypius, xxxii
- Hieronymus, 432
- Hierophant, the, of Greece, lx
- Hillel (Iulus) the Patriarch, 179
- Himerius**, biography of, xlviii; *Letter* 69 to, 227
- Himerius, father of Iamblichus II, xlviii, l
- Himerius, the sophist, of Bithynia, xlviii
- Hippia, wife of Priscus, lix
- Hippocentaur, *Epigram* 5 on the, 309
- Hippocrates of Cos, 163, 269, 383
- Homer, x, 119, 217, 261, 267, 279; *Iliad*, cited, 43, 47, 55, 97, 166, 171, 185, 191, 203, 219, 229, 242, 283, 291; *Odyssey*, cited, 9, 31, 55, 71, 73, 79, 120, 139, 205, 223, 225, 226, 229, 243, 251, 263, 265, 267, 269, 272, 307, 351

INDEX

Horace, cited, 19, 103

Hosea, cited, 433

Iamblichus I, the philosopher, ix, x, xxix, xxxiii, lx; biography of, xlix, 5, 207, 213, 236, 297; *Letters* 74-79 to, **237-263**, *Letter* 78, cited, 209

Iamblichus II, l, 5.

Ilios (New), 51

Illyricum, Julian in, 23

India, wars of, 275; Indians, the, 285

Io, 263

Ionia, Julian in, 289, 375

Isaac, 418, 423

Isaiah, cited, 358, 399, 417

Isauria, province of, 100

Isis, 145

Isocrates, 119, 267, 383; *Nicoles* of, 19

Israel, 341, 365, 367, 389, 393, 397, 403, 405, 418, 433

Ister (Danube), 285

Isyllus, 247

Italy, 199, 370, 413

Iulus (Hillel), Jewish Patriarch, 179

Jacob, 379, 389, 397, 423

Jehovah, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 341, 345

Jerome, cited, xxxix

Jerusalem, Temple at, xxxli, lxiii, 180, 181, 308; taken by Ptolemy, 145, 407, 427

Jesse, 396, 397

Jesus Christ, 147, 341, 343, 373, 375, 376, 377, 379, 381, 393, 395, 402, 403, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 421, 423, 429, 431, 433

Jews, the, treatment of, xxi; *Letter* 51 to, **177**, 58, 59, 61, 71; Jewish ascetics, 154; 301, 313, 321, 329, 341, 343, 377, 379, 383, 389, 391, 393, 403, 405, 407, 417, 423

John, St., 381, 397, 398, 399, 413, 415, 431

John, St., Gospel according to, 313, 414, 432

Joseph, St., 395

Josephus, cited, 145

Jovian, Emperor, xxvi, 133

Judaea, 341, 355, 393

Judah, 397

Judas, 431

Judges, *Book* of, 378

Julian, Count of the East, xlvii;

biography of, li; *Letter* 9 to, **27**, 67; *Letter* 29 to, **97**

Julian, Emperor, biography of, vii foll.; apostasy of, ix, x; studies of, ix, xiii; at Troy, x; at Milan, x; appointed Caesar, xi; marriage of, xi; sent to Gaul, x, xi; crosses the Rhine, xii; proclaimed Augustus, xii, xiv, 11; at Athens, xi, lix; at Naissa, xv, 165; at Constantinople, xvi; at Antioch, xxiii, xxv, 187; at Pessinus, xxiv; at Tarsus, xxiv; at Carrhae, xxv; at Litarbae, xxv; at Hierapolis, xxv, lii; death of, xxvi; Pontifex Maximus, xxvii, lxi, 44; policy towards the Church, xviii, 130; *Letter* of Gallus to, **288**; *Caesars* of, cited, 31, 94, 158, 170, 199; *Kronia*, xvi, 296; *Misopogon*, xxiv, 15, 17, 33, 71, 83, 125, 135, 168, 191, 203, 205, 296, 301; *To the Athenians*, 8, 10, 27, 105, 245, 289; *To Themistius*, 31, 39, 146, 166, 218; *Fragment of a Letter*, lxii, 45, 47, 60, 68, 71, 149

Julian of Caesarea, the sophist, l, lix, lxiv, 215, 220

Julian, son of Bacchylus, 255

Julius Constantius, father of Emperor Julian, vii, 297

Julius Julianus, father of Count Julian, li

Kings, the *Book* of, 383, 418, 427, 429

Lacedaemonians, the, 87

Laertes, garden of, 205

Lauprias, the Argive, 92

Latin, Julian's knowledge of, viii; the study of, lii; use of, in the *Letters*, 69

Lauricius, Bassidius, 100, 101, 103, 168

Leontius, *Letter* 11 to, **29**

Lesbos, Actius in, xxxi

Leviticus, 405, 409, 418, 433

Libanius, the sophist, biography of, lii, xviii, xix, xx, xxxiii; friend of Basil, xlii; *Letter* 52 to, **181**; *Letter* 53 to, **183**; *Letter* 58 to, **201**, cited, 122, 257, 413; *Letter* 5 wrongly addressed to, 15; correspondent of Lauricius, 100, 101; friend of Zeno, 42; protected by Mygdonius, 113; *Letters* of, cited, xxii, xxvii,

INDEX

xxviii, xxxii, xxxv, xxxix, xlv,
xlv, 101, 104, 108, 109, 123, 137,
139, 181, 183, 185, 220, 298;
Orations of, cited, xviii, xix, xxv,
xxxiii, xlviii, liii, 25, 33, 125, 181,
201, 203, 214, 296, 297, 298, 314, 316
Libyans, the, 357
Licinius, the usurper, 1
Litarbae (El-Terib) in Syria, Julian
at, xxv, 201
Livia, Empress, 147
Livy, cited, 371
Lucian, the satirist, 19, 209, 230, 253,
259, 347
Lucian, author of *Philopatriis*, 219
Lucian, the sophist, *Letter* 64 to, **219**
Luke, *Gospel* of, cited, 121, 379, 396,
397, 413, 431
Lupicinus, officer of Julian, xiv
Lycurgus, the lawgiver, 365, 369
Lydia, gold of, 261; Chrysanthius,
high priest of, xvii
Lydius, *De Mensibus*, quotes Julian,
xxi, *frag.* 11, **300**
Lysias praised by Julian, 119

Macedonia, colonised by Temenids,
86, 87; Atarbius in, 123
Macellum in Cappadocia, Julian in-
terned at, viii, xi, xi, xliii, 75, 315
Magnentius, the usurper, xii, xiii, lvi,
158, 159, 173
Maimonides, the jurist, 425
Mamertinus, the consul, xvii, 33
Mandragora, a proverb, 136
Marcellus, master of horse, xlv
Marcus Aurelius, 185
Mardonius, the eunuch, viii
Maris, Bishop, 301
Marius, piety of, 372, 373
Mark, St., 413; *Gospel* of, 381
Marsyas, 237
Martyrs, the, 414, 415
Mary, the Virgin, 395, 399
Masek, the slave, 425
Matthew, St., 121, 396, 397, 402, 413,
416, 429, 433; *Gospel* of, 126, 421,
433
Maximinus, *Letter* 73 to, **235**
Maximus, of Ephesus, the theurgist,
biography of, liv; teacher of Julian,
ix, xiii, xvi, xviii; in Persia, xxvi,
lix, lxi; *Letter* 8 to, **21**; *Letter* 12
to, **31**; *Letter* 59 to, **209**, 55, 109,
139, 208, 259

Maximus of Tyre, the philosopher, 5
Mazaca (Caesarea), xlii
Medes, the, 379
Melanthius, the poet, 62
Memphis, Athanasius at, xli
Mesopotamia, xii, 126
Messiah, the, 395
Milan, Constantius at, ix; Julian at,
x, xi; the court at, xlv, 51, 398
Miletus, inscription at, 47
Minos of Crete, 369, 370
Mithras (Helios), the god, mysteries
of, xviii, xxxiii, liv, 15, 53, 55, 98
Momus, the god of criticism, 169
Moore, Thomas, 299
Mopsucrene in Cilicia, death of Con-
stantius at, xvi
Moschus, 221
Moses, 149, 313, 315, 321, 329, 333,
339, 343, 349, 353, 355, 359, 363,
381, 382, 389, 393, 397, 401, 402,
411, 419, 423, 425, 433
Muses, the, 119, 181, 211, 217, 237,
238, 251, 387
Musonius, 36, 39
Mygdonius, 108, 109, 113
Myths, Julian's attitude to, 327

Naissa (Nish), Julian at, xv, xlvii, 21,
26, 27, 29, 165
Nazarene, the, 189, 341
Nazareth, 415
Nebridius, quaestor and prefect, xv
Nemean games, the, 89
Nemesis (Adrasteia), 17, 67
Neoplatonism, Syrian, x, xlix, lxi,
336, 366
Nero, Emperor, 39
Nevitta, the Goth, consul, xvii, 33
Newman, Cardinal, on Aetius, xxxi
Nicaeans the, 187
Nicomedia, earthquake at, xxiv, 1,
lii, 51, 244, 254, 255
Nile, the, measurement of, xliii, 141,
171
Nilus (Dionysius), biography of, lv,
Letter 50 to, **157**, 27
Nisibis, city of, xxv, 190
Numa, Pompilius, 370, 371
Numbers, the *Book* of, 331, 363, 364,
397

Oannes, the Babylonian god, 367
Odysseus, 167, 225, 243, 263, 297

INDEX

- Olympia, Zeus of Phaidias at, 225;
games at, 89
Olympias, daughter of Abiabius the
prefect, xxxvi
Olympus, Mt., 203, 213
Orestes, 241
Organ, the, *epigram* 2 on, 305
Oribasius, the physician, biography
of, lvii; pupil of Zeno of Oyrpus,
lxiv; *Letter* 4 to, 8, cited, xlii, 100
Origen, 315
Orpheus, 237, 263, 265
Osroene, 126
Ossa, Mt., 203
- Paeonia (Pannonia), 254
Pagans, the, 388
Palestine, 345, 379; Eustochius of,
185
Pan, the god, 237, 239; Echo and,
221, 223
Pannonia, 1, 244, 245, 254, 255
Paphlagonia, 129
Paris, Julian at, xii, xiv, xv, xxxii;
his illness at, 15; *Letter* 5 from, 15
Parnassius, prefect of Egypt, xxxiv
Parthia, 197; Parthians confused with
Persians, 197, 353
Paul, "the Chain," the informer, xvii,
xxxiv, 183
Paul, St., 341, 343, 377, 385, 391, 393,
411, 413, 421
Pegasus, the priest, at Troy x, 44,
49, 51, 53
Pellon, Mt., 203
Penelope in Homer, 137, 307
Pentadius, xv
Pergamon, Julian at, ix, xiv, liv,
lviii, 289, 375
Pericles, 35
Perseus, 369
Persephone, 325
Persia, xxxvi, 127, 181, 199, 238, 275,
289, 314, 353; the Persians, xii, xvi;
at Samos, 17; confused with Par-
thians, 197; diet of, 207, 285, 294,
300, 353, 379
Pessinus, Julian at, xxiv, 72, 137;
Cybele at, 73, 133
Peter, St., 407, 409, 411, 421
Phaeacians, the, 31, 227, 243, 297
Phaedo of Elis, lvi, 163, 164
Pharaoh, 341; daughter of, 383
Phaidias, the sculptor, 224, 225
Phaidias, the gem-cutter, 224, 225
Philemon, the comic poet, 83, 159
Philip of Macedon, 81
Philip, *Letter* 30 to, 106
Philostorgius, the Church historian,
xxi, xxvi, xxxi, xxxviii, xi, li, 126,
191, 288
Philostatus, *Letters* of, cited, 169;
Life of Apollonius, cited, 39, 41;
Lives of, cited, 147; *Nero*, 39
Philotas, 171
Phinehas, 363, 365, 367
Phocylides, 383
Phoenicians, the, 369
Photinus, the heretic, *Letter* 55 [to,
187; cited, 313, 314, 398, 399
Photius, 430
Phrygia, 135, 137; in Persia, xxi
Physicians, decree concerning, 107
Picts, the, xiv
Pindar, 81, 163, 217, 259, 263, 281
Plato, 4, 5, 7, 12, 97, 119, 267, 315,
Proclus on, 297, 363, 369; *Apology*,
39, 161; *Cratylus*, 161; *Crito*, 160;
Euthyphro, 111; *Laws*, 41, 81, 355;
Letter 7 163; *Menexenus*, 73, 81;
Phaedo 5, 415; *Phaedrus*, 17, 81,
182, 292, 293; *Republic*, 95; *Sophist*,
41, 161; *Theaetetus*, 296; *Timaeus*,
160, 329, 331, 332, 335, 339
Plautus, *Mercator*, 91
Pliny, *Nat. History*, 141
Plutarch of Chaeronea, 31, 62, 163,
169, 239, 372
Plutarch, a philosopher, *Letter* 72 to,
235
Pola, Gallus executed at, ix
Pontus, the, 155
Porphyrius, *Letter* 38 to, 123, 74
Post, the State, reform of, xix
Praetextatus, Vettius Agorius, pro-
consul of Achaia, xviii, xxxv, 84
Priscus, biography of, xiii, xvi, xxvi,
xxxiii, lviii; *Letter* 1 to, 3; *Letter* 2
to, 3; *Letter* 5 to, 14, 181
Proclus on Plato, *Cratylus*, 161; on
Republic, 297
Procopius, the general, xxv, xxxiii
Prohaerentius, the sophist, xi, xix, 1;
biography of, lix; *Letter* 14 to,
35
Propontis, the, 79
Proteus of Egypt, 265
Psalms, the, 343
Ptolemies, the, 147; Ptolemy Lagus,
145

INDEX

- Pythagoras, 5, 297; Pythagorean phrase, 57; silence, 107
 Pythian games, 89
 Python, the, 281
- Quadi, the, xii
 Quintus, Curtius, cited, 169, 171
 Quirinus, the governor, 379
- Rhadamanthus of Crete, 371
 Rhine, the Roman ports on, xii, 21, 211
 Rodosto in Thrace, 124
Romans, Epistle of Paul to, 385, 420
 Romans, the, at Carrhae, xxv, xxxvii, 87, 147, 287, 343, 346, 347, 365, 375, 410; at Corinth, 93
 Rome, xxiii, xxxvi, 87, 287, 370, 371, 375, 379; the Capitol at, 63
 Romulus, 370
- Sagadares, the, 285
 Sallustius, of Gaul, xiii, xvi, xvii, xviii, 12, 13, 33, 186, 327
 Samos, Persians at, 17
 Samosata, 129
 Samson, 387
 Sapor, King of Persia, xiv, xxv, xlv, 199, 285
 Sappho, cited, 213, 217, 247, 250, 251
 Saracens, the, 207, 285, 403
Sarapion, xxix; *Letter* 80 to, 267; cited, 222
 Sardanapalus, 169
 Sardis, lviii
 Sarmatians, the, xii
 Satan, 387
 Saverne, xii
 Scots, the, xiv
 Scriptures, the, 313, 314, 316
 Scythians, the, 300, 301, 346, 357
 Scythopolis, trial at, xxxiv
 Selene as demiurge, 148, 149
 Seleucus of Cilicia, 109
 Seneca, *Dialogues*, 147
Septuagint, the, 394, 419, 424
 Sequani, the, 23
 Serapis, the god, at Alexandria, xxxvii, xlv, 61, 63, 143, 145, 147; the Serapeum, xxxvii, 63
 Seraphim, the, 358
 Sergius, the proconsul, 377
 Shiloh, 394
 Sibyl, the, 371
 Sicily, 371, 372
- Sideta, Philip, 316
 Silvanus, the usurper, xiii
 Simonides, cited, 281
 Sintula, officer of Julian, xiv
 Sirens, the, 237, 238
 Sirmium (Mitrovitz), xv; Constantius at, 187; Synod at, 187; Photinus of, 187, 398
 Socrates, the Church historian, cited, xviii, xx, xxii, xxvii, xxxi, xxxix, xl, xlv, xlviii, 16, 39, 61, 75, 127, 133, 142, 266, 267, 298, 301, 406
 Solomon, 383
 Solon, 365
 Sopater, the Elder, lx, 206, 207, 213, 243, 257
 Sopater, the Younger, lx, lxi, 207, 257
 Sopater (Sospater), *Letter* 61 to, 213
 Sopater of Beroea, lx
 Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 182, 249; *O. T.* 135, 256
 Sosipatra, the wife of Eustathius, xlv
 Sozomen, the Church historian, cited, xviii, xx, xxi, xxvi, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, xlv, li, 61, 63, 67, 69, 75, 108, 117, 125, 127, 129, 131, 134, 142, 179, 187, 191, 197, 198, 199, 285, 286, 287, 301, 302, 303, 406
 Spartans, the, xv
 Stobaeus, lxi
 Strasbourg (Argentoratum), battle of, xii, xiii
 Suidas, xii, xvi, lviii, 36, 38, 40, 116, 122, 294, 296, 298
 Susa, 16
 Swinburne, *The Last Oracle* of, lvii
 Syloson in Herodotus, proverbial, 16
 Symmachus, the Elder, the Senator, lv, 164, 165
 Symmachus, the Younger, the orator, 164, cited, 31
 Syracuse, Dionysius of, 162
 Syria, xxxiii; Julian in, 99, 371, 379; the Syrians effeminate, 347, 353
- Tarentum, 375
 Tarsus, Constantius at, xvi; Julian at, xxiv; Julian buried at, xxvi, 99, 209
 Taurus, the range, 297
 Telemachus, 263
 Temenus at Argos, 86, 87
 Tempe, Valley of, 203, 295

INDEX

- Temple, the, at Jerusalem, restoration of, xvii, xxi, xxxii, lxiii, 406, 429
- Temples, destruction of the, xlv
- Teos, Anacreon of, 213
- Tereus, king of Thrace, 241
- Testament*, the *New*, 59, 428; the *Old*, 59, 379, 387, 410
- Thales, the philosopher, 369
- Thamyris, the bard, 237
- Thebes in Egypt, 283
- Themistius, the philosopher, xviii, 259
- Theocritus, 181, 239
- Theodora**, the priestess, *Letters* 32-34 to, 109
- Theodoret, the Church historian, cited, xx, xxi, xxvi, xxxi, li, 75, 117, 406, *frag.* 7 in, 298
- Theodorus**, the high priest, xxiii, lxi, 36, 44, 49; *Letter* 16 to, 37, 93; *Letter* 20 to, 53, 121, 422
- Theodorus of Asine, 5
- Theodorus, father of Socrates, 383
- Theodorus of Mopsuestia, 316, 428
- Theodosius, Emperor, liii, 153, 179, 316
- Theognis, the poet, 343, 383
- Theophilus, military prefect, 141
- Theophrastus, 271
- Thermopylae, 295
- Thersites, 167
- Theseus in the *Hecale*, 239
- Thomas, St., Church of, at Edessa, 127
- Thoth, the god, 366
- Thotmes III, of Egypt, 152
- Thrace, Anacharsis in, 346, winter in, 241, 243
- Thracians**, the, *Letter* 27 to, 83
- Thucydides, praise of, 119
- Tiberius, Emperor, 377
- Tigris, the river, xxv, 208, 209
- Tithonus, age of, 169
- Titus, bishop of Bostra, 132, 133
- Trivia (Hecate), 186
- Troas (Alexandria), Julian at, x, 51
- Tunis, 124
- Tyana, Julian at, xxiv, xliii, 115, 117
- Typhoeus in Pindar, 281
- Tzetzes, *Epigram* 5, quoted by, 309
- Valens, Emperor, xxxi, xxxii, xxxix, liv, lviii, lx; at Edessa, 127
- Valentine, the heresiarch, 127; the Valentinian sect, 127
- Valentinian, Emperor, xxi, xxxv, lviii, 125
- Virgil, *Aeneid*, 191, 283, 371; *Georgics*, 237, 265
- Vetranio, the usurper, xlii
- Victorinus, the sophist, xix
- Vienne, Oribasius at, xiii, 8; Florentinus at, xiv, 11; Julian at, xv
- Voltaire, cited, 211
- Waller, the poet, 299
- Word, God the, 399, 403, 413, 414, 415, 433
- Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 160
- Xerxes, a theme, 239
- Zedekiah, king, 395
- Zeno of Cyprus, the physician, lxiii
- Zeno** of Alexandria, the physician, biography of, lxiii; *Letter* 17 to, 43, 42
- Zonaras, cited, 99
- Zosimus, cited, xxv, xxvii, xxxv, liv, 23, 200, 207, 296, 297, 298

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